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HISTORY

OF

THE KINGDOM OF NAPLES

1734-1825.

BY GENERAL PIETRO COLLETTA.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ITALIAN

BY S. HORNER.

WITH A SUPPLEMENTARY CHAPTER

1825-1856.

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HISTORY OF THE KINGDOM OF NAPLES.

BOOK VI.

REIGN OF JOSEPH BONAPARTE.

1806—1808.

CHAPTER I.

THE KINGDOM OF NAPLES IN 1806.

Before describing the changes in the State, or the events which occurred during the reigns of the new kings in the ten succeeding years fraught with perpetual wars or civil discord, the errors of the people and of their rulers, the progress made by the Neapolitans amidst so many vicissitudes and trials, and the reforms in their laws, it is necessary to review the state of the kingdom in 1806. Although the reader is already acquainted with the details of this period of our history, I hope that it may not be unacceptable if I present him with a general picture of those transactions most important in assisting us to form a correct judgment of the reigns of the two French kings. As I propose rather to recall what has been already related, than describe facts or principles, I shall briefly review the past; my object being to gain the attention of careful readers, and not by lengthening my narrative and by repetitions, to spare the indolence of those who read only for idle amusement.

At the close of the year 1805, the civil judicature was guided by the twelve legislative codes mentioned in the First Book of this History, which not being collected into one fixed code, but inscribed unmethodically in many volumes, remained open to the disputes of litigants and judges; hence arose various interpretations, glosses, comparisons of new with old laws, cases and legal questions, all

which afforded matter to fill other volumes, and which were appealed to as authorities in lawsuits, occasioning disputes about words. Jurisprudence had not yet been reduced to a science; every legal controversy, however absurd its origin, found a support in some dogma, and the greatest talent as well as the success of a lawyer, was supposed to consist in the use of legal subtleties. When it is remembered that the body of the law is the work of twenty centuries, and what and who were the legislators, how various the constitutions of the State, what were the necessities of princes, and the circumstances of the people, it is easy to comprehend the impossibility of consistent rules of justice, and a common perception of duties and rights proceeding from such discordant sources.

Such was the state of the laws. The tribunals were the same as in the reign of Charles; but the royal authority, which, although not defined in the written laws, was always exercised, disturbed and altered existing rules, conferred new powers, or withdrew those already given, and diminished or increased them at the royal pleasure; new judges were often added to the ordinary, new tribunals instituted, and new forms and procès prescribed by the favour of the king, or only as an exercise of despotic power, whence the terms *ministri aggiunti* and *rimedii straordinarii*,[1] well known in the history of the Neapolitan courts of law. From these judges and laws descended long and intricate cases, which were so protracted, that in the cause between . . . . and . . . . sixty-seven years elapsed before it could be settled to what tribunal the case was amenable. There was no security that a verdict would be fulfilled, as it could be set aside by an appeal to a higher authority: forensic quibbles (which were, however, called legal remedies), and still more frequently the royal will, which was almost a law above the laws, suspended the course of some, accelerated others, abolished past verdicts, and created new. By such irregular proceedings, a trial was not a necessary concatenation of legal acts, but an aggregate of facts, varying according to the caprices of fortune or the royal will.

The state of the criminal judicature was even worse than the civil. Trials were conducted by secret inquiry; the *Scrivani*[1]

[1] See Note, vol. i. p. 52.

were employed in this inquisitorial office; the tribunal was either the *Regia Udienza*,[1] or the *Commissario di Campagna*,[2] or the *Vicaria Criminale*.[3] Although torture was no longer practised towards the accused or witnesses, the martyrdom of the dungeon, chains, and starvation had not ceased. The proofs of guilt were all paid for by the Government,[4] therefore the crime which had most proofs was most severely punished; while the evidence produced was less considered matter to supply arguments addressed to the consciences of the judges, than as forming part of the crime itself; and therefore the question of greater or lesser punishment, of the galleys or the dungeon, was decided according to their number. The trial by *Truglio*[5] (I am ignorant of the barbarous origin of the word as well as the practice) was continued, and in a worse form than ever; it was a kind of compromise between the Government and the officer appointed by the king to plead in defence of the accused, by which these last were suddenly, without a hearing, or defence, and before their trial was concluded, transported from the dungeon to the galleys. The prisoners were counted off and sentenced without distinction; the only object being to empty the dungeons as expeditiously as possible, and avoid the trouble of passing sentence on each separately. The royal interference was so common in trials for criminal offences, that after the commission of a crime, the king frequently named the tribunal by which the case was to be tried, and ordered the mode of procedure and the punishment; as we witnessed in the cases for treason of 1799. Trials *ad horas* and *ad modum belli*, were common. It happened once that a case of parricide was brought before two tribunals, in each of which the judges were equally divided in opinion as to the guilt or innocence of the accused; King Charles, although usually inclined for mercy, believing the guilt certain, and impatient at the postponement of punishment, interrupted the delay by commanding that the pri-

[1] *Regia Udienza.* A tribunal dependent on the king.

[2] *Commissario di Campagna.* The judge in the provincial courts, appointed by the king.

[3] *Vicaria Criminale.* The judge in the high criminal court of Naples.

[4] See Note, vol. i. p. 52.

[5] Trial by *Truglio.* A mode of trial by which the prisoners were judged and condemned in a mass, without any separate examination.

soner, Captain Galban, should be hung. The blind submission of the judges to the arbitrary bidding of the sovereign, was the worst among the numerous faults in Neapolitan legislation.

I shall now describe the burdens imposed by the Exchequer, and what effect they had upon the national wealth. The principal imposts were the capitation tax, called *di once a fuoco*;[1] a government tax upon the communes, and levied according to the number of persons contained in each family; the *arrendamenti*,[2] or duties laid upon articles of consumption (which duties having most of them been sold, the benefits arising from an increased population or a greater demand for provisions, were turned to private advantage); the predial tax, called the tithe, which was unfairly assessed, because depending upon voluntary statements, and favouring the church lands, while wholly excluding the royal and feudal domains. The barons paid their ancient tribute, called the *Adoa*, the *Rilevio*,[3] and the *Cavallo Montato*,[4] which were small in amount, and bore no proportion to the common taxes. The king drew his revenue from the royal domains, and (as a part of them) from the Foggia (to which I shall revert when treating of the Tavoliere in Puglia), besides from numerous offices for sale, not even excepting those of justice. Thus by ignoring all the principles of taxation and equality among the rate-payers, and distributing many of the public burdens by caprice or favour, or withdrawing them without cause, sixty millions of ducats were annually poured into the royal treasury.

Property remained almost inalienable in a few hands, by feudal rights, primogeniture, and entail, or because claimed by the Church or corporations; therefore monasteries, bishoprics, baronies, and *commende*[5] were wealthy, while all else were poor. The industrial arts were few, the abundance of natural products diminished by the

[1] *Di once a fuoco.* This *once* or ounce was the supposed weight of the money paid for the tax; and the *fuoco*, fire or hearth, was a common expression to signify a house or family.

[2] See Note, vol. i. p. 127.

[3] See Note, vol. i. p. 133.

[4] *Cavallo Montato.* The nobles were formerly always obliged to have a horse in readiness for the use of the royal family; which obligation had been commuted to a fixed sum of money or fine.

[5] *Commende.* Benefices held *in commendam* till a proper pastor be provided. This may be temporary or perpetual, and the *commende* here alluded to were lay and ecclesiastical benefices attached to the dignity of commander in the orders of knighthood, and to a dignity of equal rank and privilege among the clergy.

improvidence of the laws and of rulers; who fixed the annual supply for the storehouses of each community, and forbade the export of corn to any distance, from the dread of a famine. Every error in political economy was regarded as an axiom. Manufactures were few and rude, because there was a scarcity of machinery; capital was scarce, associations attended with danger, and improvements in art impossible. Commerce was hampered, subject to duties on every import and every export, the products of foreign industry and ingenuity overtaxed under the pretence of protecting native products, while these again were imperfect and expensive; therefore while the number of consumers was increased, the capitals of reproduction were destroyed or diminished. The public works were left to the care of the exchequer, and were generally neglected, or, if commenced, never finished; and meantime the people had to pay heavy taxes for the construction of new roads, which money was secretly applied to other uses, or placed at the disposal of the king or his ministers. Extensive plains might be seen, once fertile, but now under water; the Garigliano, the Volturno, and the Ofanto were hardly contained within their beds; the lake of Fucino, rising daily higher, submerged lands and cities, and the mountains were bare of vegetation, while thick forests covered the plains.

There were no specific laws for the administration of the public money, nor special minister near the person of the king, nor magistrate in the provinces appointed for the purpose. What was subsequently understood by the word 'administration,' and confided to the Minister of the Interior, was either shared by all the ministers, neglected, or not understood. The municipal revenues were derived from land or from taxes, and the Government taxes were paid in the money thus raised; while what remained over was, by ancient privilege, applied for the advantage of the larger proprietors, and a very small share reserved to supply the public wants. The entire separation of the fiscal and municipal property, the former limited in extent, when compared with the latter, is a sign of prosperity in the State; and the reverse is as great a proof of its unhappy condition.

A syndic with two eletti administered the communal revenues; but as there was no municipal council, these officers were elected by the

voice of the people summoned to meet in parliament; but this political institution, not being on a par with the rest, proved mischievous. Such disorderly assemblies of the low populace, of serfs, the poor and idle, are apt to mislead, and are only a semblance of freedom. The accounts were tardily or never given in; public property was defrauded, and the auditors gave a false estimate, either because a party to the fraud, or because afraid of vengeance from those implicated. There was no kind of administration either in the districts or provinces; but a supreme tribunal of auditors in Naples, called *La Regia Camera* (the royal chamber), who were totally ignorant of the sources whence the money was derived, examined into the municipal accounts at their leisure. Thus defective was the system of administration throughout the whole kingdom.

From what has been already related of the army, the reader will be enabled clearly to comprehend the history and condition of the war so far as it concerned Naples. This kingdom forms the extreme south of Italy; it is bounded on three sides by the sea, and on the fourth is united to the mainland: Sicily would form its citadel, if connected by military works with the neighbouring province of Calabria; but it is separated by a barren coast, by the stormy channel of the Faro, and by the animosity of its inhabitants. The geographical formation of the kingdom presents no means of escape, when attacked; the struggle and the combat are alike mortal; and thus in ancient as well as modern warfare, the contest has been equally desperate; and carried on not only by a city, a seaport town, or province, but by the whole kingdom at once. The fate of the Government and of the State, the lives and fortunes of the inhabitants have always been decided by arms; the mass of the people, therefore, aware of the great perils to which they are exposed, have commonly sought safety by a surrender to the enemy; a self-interested conduct which, though sheer madness and suicide, is natural in an ignorant population, accustomed to servitude, and unfortunate in having more to hope than to fear from a change of government.

Thus it was, that in the wars of Naples, which were always excited or supported by political factions, the soldier, who was at the same time the adherent of a party in the State, saw the sufferings of a prison, exile, and execution, added to the dangers of the

fight; and even where he despised the honourable dangers of war, he dreaded the infamy which followed in its train; since it is natural in man to fear that which it is out of his power to escape or revenge. Further, let it be remembered, that the balance of power in governments, is tyranny for the people; and that the foreign army which had reached the confines of Naples, was already dominant in Italy, and had conquered nations and kings by its arms and name. To have enabled us to prolong the war, we should have had at least fortresses upon the frontiers, internal lines of defence, and all the obstacles invented by art; whilst, in place of this, the frontiers were left exposed, and the kingdom unprotected from the Tronto to the Faro.

These geographical and statistical details may help to explain some of the events in our recent history, which may appear surprising to the ignorant: for the Neapolitans, though intrepid in duels, and bold in faction, want courage when engaged in regular warfare in defence of their country; the same men who displayed so much valour in Spain, Germany, and Russia, were panicstricken in Italy, and took to flight upon the Garigliano and Tronto: but on the Dwina and Tagus they were only soldiers, whereas in Italy they belonged to a faction, and therefore abandoned their standard on the frontiers to return home. When there, as no faculty of body or soul could enable them to escape the researches of the police, or the fury of tyrants, confidence in their own powers was succeeded by hesitation, fear, caution, and flight. Those who dread shame more than the prison or scaffold, do not form a majority in any army, and such virtue, where it exists, is rare, and doomed to suffer; it may receive a passing tribute of praise, but is soon forgotten, swept along in the common disaster and ruin.

What has been told in this chapter may lead the reader to infer that the social condition of Naples in 1805, was barbarous, and better fitted for a despotic than a free constitution of government; but, on the other hand, when he remembers the prodigies of valour performed in the cause of liberty in 1799, and the distinguished men of that time, the humiliation of the Papal power, and the blow given to the feudal system, he will perceive that such a people were ripe for a higher destiny.

These opposite views, both correct, yet both erroneous, may be

explained by the recollection that the good reign of Charles, and the still better reign of Ferdinand up to 1790, with the reforming genius of the last century, had led the ministers of the Crown and the educated classes to higher ideas of political liberty; but these ideas were above the comprehension of the mass of the people.

After 1790, a change took place in the king, who, terrified by the revolution in France, and suspicious of reforms in the State, governed tyrannically; but the people continued to advance, and although Ferdinand used terrible severities towards men of the noblest characters, and many perished in the wars, or were executed, still civilisation was spreading, and the desire for better laws had increased.

Society was never more dislocated than in Naples in the commencement of the nineteenth century, when the power of the king was unlimited, yet exercised without any ultimate aim, not even that of tyranny, as he wanted force of character to compass his end; when men of learning were despised, without hope, and their words disbelieved, while the people were not the less slaves because unfitted for obedience; when the class of nobles was unruly and weak; neither forming an aristocracy, nor yet included in the people, and when the factions of 1799 were rebellious to the laws, rapacious, powerful to destroy, yet powerless to create. It was therefore impossible to restore order in the State through its own elements; a new king and a new kingdom were needed, and events of sufficient importance to absorb civil strife, and present one common aim for which to labour and to hope.

CHAPTER II.

THE ARRIVAL OF THE FRENCH ARMY IN NAPLES, FOLLOWED BY THAT OF JOSEPH BONAPARTE—EVENTS OF THE WAR AND THE KINGDOM.

The king, the queen, and the royal family, having fled by sea, and the Princes Francis and Leopold having retreated with the army into Calabria, a timid and inexperienced regency governed Naples. The kingdom was exposed to the enemy, the city without defence, and the partisans of the king were fugitives, or lay in concealment. The lower orders wavered between their thirst for plunder, and their fear of punishment; while the respectable classes armed in their own defence, and for the maintenance of order in the city. Such was the state of the kingdom in the first days of February 1806, when fifty thousand French, led by Marshal Massena, conducted Joseph Bonaparte to the throne, under the title of Lieutenant to the Emperor Napoleon. The French army having passed the frontiers without opposition, advanced by the road of Aquila, Ceperano, and Fondi, and summoned the commanders of Civitella, Pescara, Capua, and Gaeta to surrender. They, however, refused to comply, although, through the usual neglect in military matters, or some visionary hope of peace, the necessary supply of provisions to enable them to stand a siege had been delayed. Meantime the army continued to advance. The city of Naples obtained a shameful exception in her favour, and secured her own safety, by resigning her keys to the conqueror upon his arrival at Aversa; she thus agreed, at the price of lasting servitude, to purchase for herself a brief and ignoble repose. The terrified regents, therefore, consented, through their ambassadors, to deliver up the fortresses, castles, and fortified places to the enemy, thus violating the commands left them by King Ferdinand, never to yield the fortresses of the kingdom, however extreme the case might be.

By this convention, Pescara and Capua were given over to the French ; Civitella (which, by the courage of its commander, Colonel Woed, refused to submit) was besieged a few days, and blockaded during three months, when it only surrendered from being reduced to the last distress from want of provisions, and the conquerors levelled the walls to the ground. Gaeta prepared for defence ; for the Prince of Philipstadt, who held the command, had replied to the regents, that in disobeying their orders, he obeyed those which proceeded from a higher authority, as well as the rules of military honour.

On the 14th February, the first French battalions occupied the city ; but the effect of the magnificent preparations for their entrance—the military music, costumes, and banners—was spoiled by violent rain. The same tempest obliged seven ships to return into harbour, which the day before had left for Sicily, laden with wealth, and with persons, who, either conscious of their evil deserts, or from attachment to the Bourbons, from fear, mortification, or ambition, had fled from their country. The bad reputation of some among them, and the ill fortune of all, caused them to be thrown into prison as soon as the police had them in their power.

That same day the Marquis Vanni died by his own hand. The son of respectable parents, but tempted on by evil ambition, he first acted the part of a State informer, and next became a cruel inquisitor and unjust judge. His evil deeds, which had procured him power, titles, and wealth, finally led to his being shunned and despised ; and on the approach of the French army, he wished to escape into Sicily : he therefore reminded the queen of his services, and asked a refuge in one of the royal ships, but was refused. Stung by such ingratitude and weary of life, he waited the arrival of the enemy in the city, and after writing as follows, put an end to his life :—" The ingratitude of a perfidious court, the approach of a terrible enemy, the want of an asylum, have determined me to take away my life, which is now a burden to me. May my example serve as a warning to all other State inquisitors." A wise admonition, which would have done honour to the writer, had it not been prompted by despair.

The death of Vanni leads me to mention two other cases. Guidobaldi, alarmed by the entrance of the French, maltreated,

and thrown into prison, obtained permission, in reply to his entreaties, and in pity to his age, to live, confined within the precincts of a small village of the Abruzzi, his native place, but which possessed no attractions for him, as he had left it in infancy, and his family, his home, all his possessions, and the associations of his life, were elsewhere; he continued to reside there a short time, as in a prison, and died miserably.

The ferocious Speciale had acted in 1799 with even greater cruelty than Guidobaldi. He was living despised in Sicily, his native country, when, his intellect being disordered by a troubled conscience, he became a furious maniac towards the end of his life, and suffered all the pain and insults to which those in that unhappy state are exposed: so much public odium followed him to the grave, that his near relations, ashamed of being connected with him, concealed their tears, and did not venture to wear mourning.

On the 15th February, Joseph Bonaparte having entered Naples, received the public homage due to the representative of a great monarch, and a prince whom fame had already proclaimed the sovereign of the kingdom. Besides the oaths of allegiance, and the officious attentions paid him by the magistrates at the command of the regents, he received great and spontaneous demonstrations of welcome from the people, which were not owing to gratitude, since he had only just arrived, nor to hope, since he came as a conqueror, but to the fascinations which surround success and power. A king, all but in name, he took up his abode in the palace, and styled himself in his edicts Prince of France, Grand Elector of the Empire, Lieutenant of the Emperor, and Commander-in-chief of the Neapolitan army.

His first edict was the proclamation of the Emperor Bonaparte, who, in the pride of victory, and warm with gratified vengeance, spoke thus from the camp at Schönbrunn:—

"Soldiers, during ten past years I have done all in my power to preserve the King of Naples, and he has done his utmost towards his own ruin.

"After the battles of Dego, of Mondovi, of Lodi, he could only offer a feeble resistance to my arms: confiding in his promises, I treated him generously.

"The second confederation against France was dissolved at

Marengo; the King of Naples, who first excited this unjust war, remained without allies, and without the means of defence. Abandoned in the treaty of Luneville, he appealed to me, although his enemy; and I pardoned him for the second time.

"A few months had scarcely elapsed, when (you being at the gates of Naples) I suspected some new act of treachery in that court, and might have prevented it, and at the same time revenged myself for the past, but I was generous, I acknowledged the neutrality of Naples. I commanded you to evacuate that kingdom; and, for the third time, the House of Bourbon was confirmed upon the throne of Naples, and was saved.

"Shall we pardon a fourth time? Shall we again confide in a court without faith, without honour, without prudence? No! no! The House of Naples has ceased to reign; its existence is incompatible with the repose of Europe, and with the honour of my crown.

"Soldiers, march, and if the weak battalions of the tyrants of the sea have the courage to await you, drive them back into the waves; show the world how we punish perjury; hasten to inform me that all Italy is ruled by my laws or by those of my allies; that the most beautiful land on earth is at last delivered from the yoke imposed on it by the most perfidious of mankind; that the sanctity of treaties is avenged, and that the shades of my brave soldiers are appeased, who, led back from Egypt, and having escaped the dangers of the sea, of deserts and battles, were basely murdered in the ports of Sicily.

"Soldiers, my brother is with you; he is the repository of my thoughts and of my authority; I confide in him; do you confide in him likewise."

The style of this proclamation, and the power of its author, assured the Neapolitans that they need not again dread the vengeance of the Bourbons, such as they remembered to have experienced in 1799.

The first care of Prince Joseph was to pursue the Bourbon army, which was retreating into Calabria. Having gained easy possession of the islands of Capri, Procida, and Ischia, and of many castles, with all the fortresses, except Gaeta, he concluded little else was required to drive the standard of the old dynasty from

the kingdom, and complete the conquest. Ten thousand French, commanded by General Reynier, were in close pursuit of fourteen thousand Neapolitans under General Damas, with whom were the royal princes, Francis and Leopold, whose presence however rather proved a hindrance than advantage in the war. Princes and kings, if actively engaged, afford useful examples to armies, but when they keep themselves aloof from fatigue and danger, are an obstacle and discouragement. The Neapolitans were encamped at Campotanese, a vast extent of level ground in the midst of mountains, which could be only reached or quitted by two long and rugged valleys. The people of Calabria were not disposed to accept the invitation to join the Bourbons, and I have already shown what was at that time the condition of the Neapolitan army.

The French, who had routed detachments of troops under Colonel Sciarpe at Campestrino and Lagonegro, next forced a Neapolitan squadron, placed as a vidette at Rotonda, to retreat, and the fugitives gave warning to the troops at Campotanese to stand to their arms. They were ranged in two lines, and whilst preparing to defend the pass, they perceived the French rapidly descending towards the plain from the mountains above them, where they had neglected to place a sufficient guard, believing them to be inaccessible. Seized with panic, they fell into disorder, and, as the enemy approached nearer and commenced firing, they retreated in confusion. Owing to the narrowness of the gorge, and the exit being choked up by baggage-waggons, and the crowd of fugitives, each separately endeavouring to effect his escape, only a few were killed, and the bulk of the army was captured. The remainder, and the two princes, who were a considerable distance in advance of the retreat, having reached the ports and shores of the extreme south of Calabria, embarked for Sicily. The French subdued the whole country, with the exception of Maratea, Amantea, and Scilla, which were strongly fortified and well provided with arms.

Whilst the army was thus engaged in Calabria, Joseph was organizing the government in Naples. He determined that the laws and magistrates should continue the same as before his reign, and by promising to reform the State, without attempting any

violent change, he dispelled suspicion, soothed the feelings of the despondent, and awakened hope and ambition. He, at the same time, formed the new Cabinet, consisting of six ministers; four of whom were Neapolitans, and two French; of the former, three were nobles, Commendator Pignatelli, the Prince of Bisignano, and the Duke of Cassano; and the fourth, a magistrate, Michel Angelo Cianciulli; all of them men who were deservedly respected. Not one of them had ever professed the doctrines of the ultra-liberal party, but had always been attached to monarchy; of the two Frenchmen, Miot, the minister of war, was reputed to entertain moderate opinions, and Saliceti, the minister of police, to be a Jacobin. The patriots finding there was no favour shown them, and that they were even excluded from the chief places, grumbled, but Saliceti silenced them by promises, and by an exhibition of his power.

A regiment of infantry was raised, to which afterwards three more were added; but it is enough here to mention the fact, reserving the details of the military transactions belonging to the reigns of both the French kings, to the reign of Joachim. The police were next organized; amidst the various functions conferred on the minister of police, the decree, which empowered him "*as a precautionary measure to arrest and detain in the prisons persons accused of political crimes,*" was an offence to justice, and a terror to the innocent; this rigorous act on the part of the new government, though perhaps necessary, caused alarm. In filling up vacant offices, and in the choice of those who were to exercise judicial and administrative power, the claim of prior services to the State was admitted. Those who had suffered under the late king for their liberal opinions, were appointed to the police, but all were required to bear a good character, and to have conducted themselves with propriety.

Joseph next visited his newly conquered territory in Calabria, where he was welcomed by the inhabitants from obedience rather than affection. His merits were not such as attract the multitude; he had neither a commanding person nor a bold presence, nor confidence, dignity, nor readiness of speech. He gave permission to his ministers (who governed the metropolis in his absence) to decide upon the fate of the soldiers who had been taken prisoners

at Campotanese, and in other parts of the kingdom; they accordingly decreed that all who would consent to swear fealty to the new government, should be set at liberty, thus offering a premium to treachery, while the few who remained faithful to their oath were imprisoned; General Rodìo alone was reserved for trial. Rodìo had, as has been said, sided with the Bourbons in the civil commotions of the Abruzzi in 1799, and having been successful, gained the royal favour, and been rewarded with large gifts, and the rank of brigadier in the army; but he had disgraced his rank by the infamy of his deeds during the period of anarchy. In 1804, when, to punish King Ferdinand, and as a security for his good faith, the French occupied the Abruzzi and Puglia, Rodìo was appointed by the government civil commissary in these provinces. He served with zeal, prevented much evil, resisted the rapacity of the army of occupation, and as is usual with those placed in authority, made himself enemies. His previous notoriety, and the recent enmities he had provoked, and not his real misdeeds, were the motives for bringing him to trial; but as these could not be the ostensible motives, he was accused of having instigated the people to attack the French army in the rear, but was acquitted by a military commission; the first of the kind in the kingdom; a terrible tribunal from whose sentence there was no appeal. Nevertheless, certain Frenchmen, who were more unforgiving enemies than those who had sat in judgment on him, and (to the national disgrace) two Neapolitans of rank and name, feigning danger to the State, persuaded the Government to subject Rodìo to a new tribunal. The second commission condemned him to death, and in order to enhance the severity of the sentence, ordered him to be shot in the back.[1] Thus this unfortunate man had to undergo two trials within ten hours, was acquitted and condemned, set at liberty and executed, though he had a wife and children, past services, and fame, which might have pleaded for mercy. All were disgusted at the inhumanity of the proceeding, and it occasioned great and general alarm.

Our condition now became daily worse. The island of Capri, which was carelessly guarded, was, after a feeble resistance, taken possession of by the English. The soldiers by whom it had been

[1] A mode of punishment reserved for traitors.

garrisoned were captured, and such of the islanders as had been indiscreet enough to join the French, were punished by death or imprisonment. The island was fortified and provided with numerous garrisons, and became a shelter for brigands, the forge and centre of political plots. It was governed by Colonel Lowe, the same who some years later became the rigid jailer of Bonaparte at St. Helena. The neighbouring island of Ponza was at that time garrisoned by Sicilians under the command of the Prince of Canosa, then new to fame, but whose name was soon sullied by the worst actions. Gaeta, strengthened by an accession of troops, menaced the French camp, while the ports in Calabria, which had not surrendered, afforded shelter to numerous Bourbonists, who remained in them assisting at the defence, and making sallies in which they ravaged the country possessed by the enemy. The Queen of Sicily sent into the kingdom such of her champions of 1799 on whom she could best rely ; and these various torches of civil discord helped to light a conflagration for which the people were already prepared by corrupt morals, the evils inherent in a conquest, and the vices of the conquerors.

While the kingdom was thus convulsed, Joseph was named King of the Two Sicilies. The decree of the Emperor Napoleon, dated Paris, 30th March 1806, ran thus :—By the legitimate right of conquest, he (Napoleon) having become lord of the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, appointed his brother, Joseph Bonaparte, king ; he next proceeded to regulate the order of succession, converting part of the Neapolitan territory into six great fiefs of the empire, and reserving a million of francs (240,000 ducats) as an annual revenue, out of which rewards were to be bestowed on the most deserving in the army ; he maintained Joseph's right of succession to the throne of France, but declared the crown of the Two Sicilies to be always separate from those of France and Italy. Joseph was in Reggio, in the south of Calabria, when he received this decree, and hastened to Naples, which he reached on the 11th May with a royal cortège, and an ostentatious parade of luxury and splendour, which was enhanced by the gorgeous robes of three French senators, sent in the name of the French senate to pay their respects to the new monarch. But the people looked on in silence at this display of magnificence, because the royal title added

nothing to the power which was already acknowledged, and internal discord dimmed the splendour, and menaced the security of the throne.

The French troops were not in sufficient numbers, at the same time, to maintain the territory they occupied, to subdue the enemy, to repress tumults and rebellions, and to repulse the assaults of the English and the King of Sicily. The Neapolitan Government therefore laboured to increase the efficiency of the troops by training and skilful distribution: the army was divided into three corps; one was intended to garrison the fortresses, the metropolis, and the most considerable places in the kingdom; the second to scour the provinces, and the third to urge on the sieges: while to this were added measures of internal policy; the police showing themselves vigilant, arbitrary, severe, and powerful, while good laws promised future prosperity to the State, and at the same time the adherents of the French were gratified in all they desired, and their numbers increased.

The siege of Gaeta was slowly advancing; the assailants being obliged to shelter themselves from the fire of the bastions, and of the ships, which, cruising along the coast, battered the flank of the camp and the approaches. Within the fortress, the number of soldiers was increased, magazines and provisions abundant, the fatigued and invalids exchanged for fresh troops, and the retreat upon the vessels secured; the garrison had not therefore to suffer the ordinary privations of a besieged city, such as scarcity of food, the want of necessary repose, and neglect of health and life. The prudence and intrepidity of the Prince of Philipstadt, who held the supreme command within the fortress, inspired his soldiers with courage, and if their skill had equalled their valour, the labours of the besiegers would have been more protracted and fatal.

The French squadrons, while scouring the rebellious or refractory provinces, carried with them devastation and terror, increased by the adherents of the new government, who either from zeal, or prompted by their evil passions, denounced those of the opposite party, and thus occasioned their death. The troops destined to subdue Calabria were ordered to attack Maratea, a walled city, which at that time contained a considerable number of Bourbonists, who had collected there, both because its rocky situation made the

place more secure, and because a retreat was easy upon the ships which lay beneath, in the sea of Policastro. The able commander of the French, General Lamarque, was not, however, to be deterred from attempting the assault, and kept up the fight during three days; his troops having the advantage, in a more skilful disposition, and those of the besieged, in greater numbers; while both sides displayed equal valour. The victory was several times doubtful; the first day the Bourbonists were on the point of abandoning the city; on the second, the French had prepared to raise the siege; but on the third, discord, so easy to kindle where numbers are collected together, caused some of the besieged to fly, others to seek shelter on board the ships, and the remainder to shut themselves up in the citadel. The city having been taken, and given up to pillage, the citadel surrendered the next day, and many and cruel were the executions which followed; for in that degenerate age, the humane usages practised towards prisoners of war, were not considered applicable in the case of an armed populace, although engaged in a sacred and legitimate cause.

Maratea being dismantled and left to its misery, the French advanced into Calabria, subduing the land as far as Cosenza, and invested the city of Amantea: but such was the animosity of the inhabitants, that at the first appearance of the soldiers, the citizens deserted their cities, the peasants their villages, and following circuitous roads and hidden paths, assembled in arms in the rear of the French columns, attacking the last files of the soldiers, and overpowering all who, from fatigue or sickness, lingered behind the main body. When the King of Sicily heard of these risings, he collected a force of his partisans and soldiers, who were landed near Reggio, attacked that city, laid siege to Scilla, which had, some time previous, surrendered without a blow to the French, and, followed by an infuriated mob, approached Monteleone. Meanwhile General Stuart sailed from the ports of Sicily with six thousand English,[1] horse and foot, and furnished with an abundant supply of naval artillery, assisted by galley slaves, he landed near Nicastro, on the Gulf of Santa Eufemia, and pitched his

[1] The English troops were only 4795; a great majority of whom had never seen an enemy.—See *Military Transactions*, 1805-1810, by Lieutenant-General Sir Henry Bunbury, p. 55.

camp at a little distance from the shore; after fortifying it with powerful masked batteries of cannon, he provided against the chances of defeat, by securing his retreat upon the ships. He remained stationary, not to lose the advantages of his present position, and because the mere rumour of his arrival was sufficient to excite the people still more against the French.

General Reynier, who commanded in Calabria, on finding himself attacked by the Sicilians and English on either side, collected his troops, to the number of six thousand men, and encamped at Maida, in an elevated and strong position, seven miles distant from the enemy's tents; but the insurgents around the camp daily carried off his provisions, murdered stragglers, and increased the difficulty of finding subsistence, besides rendering his position doubly perilous. The English army planted upon the burning sands of that desert coast, pierced in the day-time by the fiery rays of a July sun, and at night breathing the unwholesome vapours of the adjoining marshes, languished, sickened, and were on the point of abandoning the enterprise, when Reynier, thirsting for revenge on his own account, assaulted their camp: he had been defeated by Stuart in Egypt, and he now hoped to restore his fortunes in Calabria.

He disposed his troops in two lines, which advanced parallel to the English order of battle, as they stood firmly planted before their camp; Reynier intended (as he said) to drive them in disorder into the sea, so that their ships might be of no avail: but the English, watching the enemy from a short distance, allowed him to make the first onset, and then unmasked their batteries, and commenced a brisk fire of cannon and musketry. The first line of the French was thrown into disorder by the number killed, one regiment of Swiss alone losing one thousand and thirteen men in a few minutes. Reynier, renewing the fight, gave the command to advance by alternate lines, and for the cavalry to attack the formidable batteries; but they failed in their attempt to capture them, and a second attempt was as unsuccessful as the first. In less than two hours, the French losses were so great, that the general ordered a retreat, and leading back hardly four thousand men, collected them upon the heights of Nicastro and Tiriolo, retaining possession of Catanzaro, and keeping the road open to-

wards Cosenza. On the other side, General Stuart did not pursue the retreating army, but crossing the south of Calabria, excited the populace to rise, threw garrisons into each place, strengthened the force besieging Scilla, and returned to Messina with the larger number of his men, proud of his second triumph over Reynier.[1]

These events inspired the enemy with courage, and increased the rage and suspicion of the Government. The police was made all-powerful, swarms of spies and informers sprung up, who betrayed the acts and thoughts of their fellow-citizens, and the most virtuous were led to tolerate this infamous trade, disguised under the name of patriotic zeal; while on the other side immunity was granted to brigandage, which was dignified with the name of loyalty to their ancient king. Thus vice and crime assumed the language and demeanour of virtue, and became incurable; and even the basest actions were admired by the faction in whose cause they were performed.

The prisons were crowded with guilty and innocent persons; while the military commissions were hardly enough for the sad office of trying the accused. How many died by a judicial sentence, or how many by arbitrary decrees, was unknown, and it was not even possible to count their numbers. The modes of punishment were various, new, and terrific. In the town of Monteleone (a capital city of the province), the musket, hatchet, and rope being deemed not sufficiently severe, a man was suspended alive from a wall, and torn to pieces by the populace; while in Lagonegro, an important town of the Basilicata, I myself saw a wretch impaled with Eastern barbarity. These executions were not ordered by the government, but between the abuse of authority and the extreme servility of the conquered people, the will and caprice of the agents of royalty had the force of law. In the last-mentioned case, the execution by impalement was ordered by a French colonel, who had himself been imprisoned when travelling in Turkey.

The great number of incarcerated persons, who often broke their chains, or were brought out in a ferocious state, animated by despair and the desire of vengeance, became dangerous; the police, therefore, got rid of them in two ways: they either assassinated them

[1] For an account of the battle of Maida, see *Military Transactions*, 1806-1810, by Lieutenant-General Sir Henry Bunbury, pp. 51-61.

while pretending to remove them to other dungeons, or sent them prisoners to Compiegne, Fenestrelle, or still more remote fortresses of France. By the first means they sacrificed the most obscure, by the second those who were most notorious, such as Duecce, Brandi, Palmieri, and others. The people rejoiced at the fate of these men, until soon afterwards arbitrary proceedings became more common, and those who had committed slight offences, and at last even the innocent, were banished, when the exultation of the heedless multitude was converted into terror.

We will now turn, as a refreshment, to the history of wise laws and beneficent institutions, though we must often (however unwillingly) recur to the subject of brigandage, which was not eradicated until the year 1810, and which disgraced the whole reign of Joseph, and not a small part of that of Joachim.

CHAPTER III.

REORGANIZATION OF THE CABINET AND SYSTEMS OF ADMINISTRATION—RENEWAL OF CIVIL DISCORDS—EVENTS OF THE WAR.

The cabinet was re-organized. The office of minister of foreign affairs, which had been superfluous as long as the war of conquest lasted, was shortly afterwards confided to the Marquis del Gallo, late ambassador from King Ferdinand to the Emperor of the French. This sudden change of party, stigmatized as treachery by those who judge severely, proceeded, in fact, first from the fascination exercised by the power of Napoleon; secondly, from the faults of the king; and, lastly, from the manifest prosperity presented by the new order of things; to which may be added motives of private interest, and the fickle character of the age. The ministry of the interior comprehended that part of the civil economy which included the administration of the communes and provinces, besides institutions for the promotion of art and science, charitable foundations, and those of public utility. After the various systems of administration had been regulated by new laws, the kingdom itself was redivided on an improved plan into provinces, districts, and communes. One head administrator, entitled the *Intendente*[1] (the office of prefect was abolished), managed the affairs of the province, the *Sotto-Intendente* those of the district, the Syndic those of the municipality. A municipal council, called the *Decurionato*, decided on all questions relating to the wants, expenses, and revenue of the commune. They appointed the municipal officers for the year, inspected their conduct during the performance of their duties, and passed judgment upon them when their term of office expired. This representative body was composed of from ten to thirty members, according to the number of inhabitants represented, and were

[1] *Intendente*. The chief civil magistrate of the province.

chosen by lot among the landed proprietors, those alone being eligible who had attained their majority, viz., twenty-one years; and one-fourth of the council being annually renewed.

What the *Decurionato* was for the municipality, the district council was for the district, and the provincial council for the province. The first was composed of ten members, the second of twenty, and both were proposed by a majority of the *Decurionato* from the landed proprietors of the district and province, and elected by the king, who added a president, taken from the most wealthy men and those of highest rank in the kingdom. These councils assembled once in every year (that of the district for fifteen days, and that of the province for twenty), and examined the accounts of the *sotto-intendente* and of the *intendente*, assigned the proportions of the government taxes to be paid by the districts and communes, drew up representations of public grievances; and after suggesting possible remedies, and stating the hopes and desires of the people, laid the matter before the Government. The *intendente*, who held the highest position in the province, was brought in judgment before his subjects on the last day of every year, when, if guilty of any act of injustice, he was accused and censured for default of duty—a law of reciprocity by which the liberty of the subject was maintained.

The administration of the provinces having been thus centred in the authority of the government, a Council of State was found necessary, and was granted. It was composed of thirty-six councillors, one secretary, eight reporters, an unlimited number of auditors, a vice-president, and the king. They were bound by oath and statute to deliver a secret opinion upon every law. This council, which, if its constitution alone be considered, appears to form a part of the royal power, will (if the circumstances of the times are likewise taken into account) be understood to have been a free and democratic body. Though a senate instituted for the purpose of consultation, yet, when in the presence of the king, or brought in contact with the ministers, they formed an opposition, or at least a restraint upon the despotic exercise of power. The king, indeed, created the members, but a new king was obliged to choose them from the most deserving, those who were reputed honest, and from the educated classes. Their vote was secret, but as fifty persons

were present, the beneficial influence of publicity was not wanting, as this does not consist in opening the doors to the rabble, but in the suffrage of the many, which is always unbiassed, and obliges men to speak truly and justly, to obtain their approbation and consent.

And, further (let not this confession offend our pride), we were not at that time prepared for more liberal institutions; for it is the habit of self-government, not laws, which makes a people free; and liberty does not advance by the stride of revolutions, but by the steps of political rights. The legislator who smooths the way to progress, is wiser than he who urges society forward towards an ideal perfection, to which neither the comprehension, tastes, nor habits of the people are equal. Let us acknowledge this truth and trust in the future. Many of our countrymen are only prepared to receive a small share of freedom, and are satisfied with it; for while some of us have attained too refined a conception of political rights, others are not sufficiently advanced for the enterprises of liberty.

The framework of the administrative system which I have described, was imitated from the freest of human societies, those of Greece, of republican Rome, and imperial Rome under Nerva and Trajan. Constantine, from avarice and folly, subsequently deprived the municipalities of their self-government, and his son divided the public property between the treasury and the clergy. Julian repaired these acts of injustice, Valentinian repeated them; but Theodosius abrogated them again. Liberty of administration, and political liberty, advanced together. The commons of France, Germany, England, and Italy, recovered their freedom in the eleventh century; Naples had long before that time possessed a municipal council; but the fatal tree of feudalism overshadowed the world, and every germ of freedom was destroyed; though the restoration of a city, or the philanthropy of a prince, now and then occasioned an exception to the rule of universal servitude, and procured a short breathing-time in the life of nations.

England was the first nation in Europe, as later on, in our times, France, who, with the acquisition of political liberty, restored local self-government to the people. The French Constituent Assembly went beyond what was necessary, for by bestowing a number

of superfluous guarantees, they fettered municipal liberty, and wasted the property of the community to supply the demands occasioned by the necessities and disorders of the Revolution. The Empire succeeded; Bonaparte wishing the prosperity of France, gave her salutary institutions, but gave them in a despotic manner; for this is the fault (if fault it be) incident to great minds. To the vast number of regulations issued by the Constituent Assembly, was now added an excess of energy under the empire, whence arose severe ordinances severely enforced. The councillor who refused to sit in council was threatened; the citizen who declined to accept a charge in the municipality was suspected, and all the offices attached to free institutions were exercised in a servile spirit; the benefits of the system were lost. If to this be added, that the municipal property was burdened with many of the expenses which belong to the exchequer, it will be perceived how the administrative system changed its character and became purely fiscal. The municipal taxes ceased to be paid cheerfully as for family expenses, but were grudged as a tribute to the exchequer. Such was the administrative system of France at that time, which was transplanted into the kingdom of Naples.

But with it one improvement was introduced in the establishment of the militia in the provinces, and of bands of civic guards in the cities, thus confiding arms and power to the people. A legion was raised in each province, divided by districts and communes; six regiments were levied in the city of Naples alone, whose gratuitous services were demanded for the maintenance of public order. The landed proprietors, manufacturers, and public officers served in these legions. They were chosen by the municipal magistrates, were dependent on the civil authority, and were nominated by the king. Such was the foundation of the National Guards, a force subordinate to the Government, yet possessing common interests with the people, and dangerous to their foes.

But the aversion of the Neapolitans to the profession of arms, the fear lest conscripts for the army might be drawn from the militia, the dangers of the service, as the brigands who infested the country were many and daring; and finally, the people not comprehending the salutary nature of the institution itself, occa-

sioned discontent and resistance. The law remained practically in abeyance, until after a time a better understanding of its purpose, and the necessity of resisting the increasing devastations of the brigands, did more to promote the measure than any command. By degrees the militia was formed, although weak, and dispersed throughout the country, as it was reserved for the succeeding reign to augment and complete this noble and patriotic work. Wise men rejoiced to see the conqueror placing arms in the hands of the conquered, and the passion for conquest forgotten in a desire to promote the interests of the country.

A part of the Capitanata, called the Tavolière, consists of a vast plain, which at one time lay at the bottom of the sea, but was subsequently raised by stones and earth washed down by the mountain torrents; abandoned by the salt waters, it was in the course of centuries covered with trees and cities. Its length measures seventy miles, its breadth varying in different parts; the climate is temperate, and herbage and water abundant; so that the flocks of sheep and herds of goats find pasture during the winter in the Tavolière, as upon the mountains in summer.

In so remote a period that the fact would have escaped the memory of man, had it not been recorded by Varro in his works, the soil now abandoned to pasture was a fertile source of revenue to the State. With the changes of government, part of it was sold, or bestowed on barons and ecclesiastics; but in the fifteenth century, Alphonso I. of Arragon reclaimed it for the crown, and assigned it by perpetual leases[1] to the exchequer; in which state it continued until our days. The pastures were common, the flocks wandering over them; yet the taxes heavy, and the distribution of the rate-payers, as well as the assessments, fraudulent; we are surprised, therefore, to find the pastoral habits of a barbarous and early stage of society continuing to the present time, along with the malpractices of the tax-gatherer, and this in the nineteenth century; not even modified under the eyes and in the country of Palmieri, Galiani, and Filangieri, who have so frequently

[1] *Perpetual Leases.* The condition by which these leases were held from Alphonso I., obliged the tenant to use the land only for pasture. A parallel to this case of restricting the purpose for which the land was held, may be found in the Scotch law, *To Feu.*

pointed out the evils of the Tavolière, and suggested remedies; but which have never been accepted.

By a law of Joseph, these lands were again let on perpetual leases;[1] a preference was shown to the *Locati* (by which name the farmers already occupying the land were designated), but limiting the extent of their farms, abolishing serfdom, converting the property into freeholds, and doing away with the *Dogana* and the *Doganella*,[2] with the *Cavallari* and *Guardiani*;[3] by which the industry of that part of the country had from an early period been continually hampered. And thus by the tenants having become landholders, by only as much land being reserved for pasture as was needed for the purpose, by the meadows being cultivated, and useful plants introduced by the sure road of interest, the finances were enriched, agriculture flourished, the fortunes of the shepherds and the condition of their flocks was improved; at the same time, by gratuitous grants of large tracts of land to the poorest of the inhabitants, poverty was relieved, and new proprietors sprang into existence; a wise measure in a new government, and beneficial to a country where the arts of industry were yet in a primitive condition.

Whilst good laws promised future prosperity to the kingdom, it was afflicted with many present evils. General Reynier having been conquered at Santa Eufemia, and now harassed on the mountains of Tiriolo, hearing that Calabria Citra had risen in arms, collected his troops in Cosenza, and uniting them with the small detachment under General Verdier, continued his retreat leisurely towards the Basilicata. Amantea, which was still garrisoned by Bourbonists, was thus relieved from a state of siege, while Scilla, which the Bourbonists were besieging, was more closely beset and despaired of succour; Cotrone yielded to the combined forces of England and Sicily; and all Calabria was lost to the French. The population of the other provinces, the Basilicata, the two Princi-

[1] These leases of Joseph did not impose restrictions on the tenant, like those of Alphonso.

[2] *Dogana, Doganella.* The larger and smaller duties levied principally upon the sheep introduced upon the land, a fixed sum *per head* being paid into the exchequer.

[3] *Cavallari, Guardiani.* Officials appointed to collect the duties. The *Cavallari*, the mounted officers, whose duty it was to scour the country and detect evasions of the law. The *Guardiani*, officers stationed there to levy the duties.

pati, and Molise, which swarmed with Bourbonists, were roused to arms by the example and success of Calabria. The Terra di Lavoro was subdued by Fra Diavolo, the Abruzzi by Piccioli, and Puglia by the enemy's ships which cruised in the Ionic and Adriatic seas. Naples herself was insulted by the guns from Sicilian and English vessels.

Conspiracies were continually breaking out. Many officials, after having taken the oath of fealty to Joseph, deserted in various ways, and augmented the enemy's forces in Gaeta and elsewhere. Intrigues were actively carried on with the governor of Capri and with the Prince of Canosa; the magistrate Vecchioni, councillor of state to Joseph, conspired with other malcontents to overthrow the government. A paper, containing the following words, was found upon the person of a guerilla chief, who had been captured,—"You will rouse all your partisans in the kingdom of Naples, you will excite tumults in the country, and point out the houses to be burnt, and the rebels to be killed." The paper (incredible as it may appear) was signed by Sidney Smith. The friends of the Government, on the other side, and the agents of police became more active and vigilant, and persecuted the Bourbonists. Many were put to death out of retaliation; some after trial, and others from revenge, sometimes because necessary, at other times without cause, the innocent and guilty suffering alike.

The French army was daily diminishing in numbers, more from fatigue than the sword, as the excessive heat of the summer, the unhealthy air, and the disorderly lives of the men, caused sickness and mortality. When modern Europe therefore beheld how a people could wage war on disciplined armies, Spain, and other nations were not slow in following the example; their efforts have hitherto been wasted in the support of fallacies, and for the prolongation of their own servitude; but the time will yet arrive when the lesson will be applied in a better cause. The position of the army had become so perilous, that the Council of State began to consider whether it would not be necessary to order the troops to assemble in a strong place in the Abruzzi, and there await succour from France and from time. The king inclined to the weaker proposal, but Saliceti to the stronger; and it was resolved that

the military appliances and efforts should be doubled, in order to accelerate the surrender of Gaeta, by which fourteen thousand men now engaged before that fortress, would be disposable for the reduction of the rebellious provinces ; and that Marshal Massena should be sent there immediately, as it was believed that his fame and genius would aid and encourage those serving under him, and would strike panic in the enemy.

The besiegers of Gaeta, however, were aided by the stout resistance offered by the distant fort of Scilla, which, as I have before stated, was garrisoned by the French, and closely blockaded by the English and the Sicilians, who had received orders, immediately upon the surrender of the fortress, to march to Gaeta, and reinforce the garrison there ; but Scilla made a marvellous resistance. A small castle, once a baronial residence, fortified at various times, and in various ways, possessing little artillery, garrisoned by only two hundred men, and not having any means of defence beyond what the strength of the place afforded, a spot until that time unknown in military history, it contributed to the success of the army and to the French conquest. From this precedent let military men learn not to judge lightly of the importance of fortified positions, and to remember that the law of honour and the duty of the besieged are ever the same ; not to yield until reduced to the last extremity, by force or famine. But the castle fell at last, on the 16th July 1806, by the explosion of a mine, which opened a large breach in the walls to the assailants, when the garrison was already diminished in numbers, when food was scarce, and the wells exhausted. Nevertheless, the conditions of surrender were honourable to the vanquished, as they obtained permission to retire with the honours of war, and the fall of Scilla had been so long delayed, that it was useless to the Bourbonists in Gaeta.

Gaeta surrendered on the 18th day of that same July. When describing the siege of 1734, I explained the state of the works of this fortress ; but in the years which followed the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, and during the war panic in the reign of Ferdinand, the ancient bulwarks were restored and increased ; and in 1806, the fortress was encircled by double walls with a moat in advance of them, and by two covered ways. Whether owing to the peculiar conditions of the place, or to want of skill in the engineers, the

works were not constructed according to military rules; a circumstance prejudicial or advantageous to the defence, according as the besiegers are learned or ignorant in the art of war.

The investment was commenced in February by blockade, as the assailants were deficient in heavy ordnance, and the necessary *matériel* for conducting a siege. At the end of May, the cannon being ready, and several batteries constructed at Montesecco, the trench was opened, and branches prolonged towards the seas on either side of the isthmus, forming the first parallel. The surface of the ground was composed of hard flinty pebbles, and the land without soil or vegetation; the besiegers had therefore to fetch earth from a distance, and to provide themselves with fascines and gabions from the forest of Fondi, which, although twelve miles off, was the nearest to the camp. The labours of the besiegers would have been still greater, had not they made use of beams and other wood from the houses and churches they demolished in the neighbouring suburbs, once occupied by nine thousand seamen and industrious inhabitants, who deserted their homes at the commencement of the siege; but the place was soon afterwards repeopled, as many voluntarily returned, from attachment to their native soil, although exposed to danger by the enemy's guns, and to the license of two armies.

The trenches advanced, and at the same time other works were constructed upon either shore to keep off the enemy's ships, and to hinder the disembarkation of their troops in the rear of the camp; thus the French were both besiegers and besieged, and sustained the honour and fatigues of a double conflict. Several times, the Sicilian and English vessels were engaged with twelve Neapolitan barks fighting for the French, and were repulsed with shame and injury. The fire from the bastions of the fortress was maintained day and night, and it was reckoned that in the course of twenty-four hours, two thousand shot had been spent without doing any damage.

But not a shot was fired from the camp of the besiegers, who were only occupied urging on the works for the siege. By the end of June they had advanced to the moat, directing the works to those parts where the breach was to be opened, which were two, the citadel (a great tower improperly so called), and the bastion of

the breach, thus named in commemoration of the injury sustained there in the former siege. On the first of July the transport of artillery commenced; on the sixth, the batteries were provided with eighty large cannon and with mortars; on the seventh, at daybreak, on a signal being given, the fire prepared by the besiegers opened with a terrific sound, breaking the long silence to the besieged, who, retiring behind their bastions, replied with a more rapid succession of shots, as they were better supplied with artillery. After battering the citadel incessantly for ten days, the breaches were made, two being required to effect an entrance, but that in the bastion, where the walls were soundest, not being completed, more cannon was brought to bear upon it, and it was hoped that by the evening of the 19th, both ingresses would be open and easy of access.

Although the assault had been prepared for the morning of the 20th, the French, at the first dawn of day of the 18th, formed their troops in column, and made a feint of that movement in the camp, which usually precedes the moment of mounting the breach. The besieged perceiving the opening in the wall, and that the enemy was ready to commence the attack, demanded conditions of surrender. This would not certainly have happened had the valiant Philipstadt been in the fortress; but Colonel Storz (who, after the former had been mortally wounded, had taken his place), although also a brave and resolute officer, only possessed the imperfect authority of second in command, and gave his orders, as advice; the worst calamity which could befall the besieged. That same day, therefore, they agreed to surrender Gaeta to the French, and to embark the garrison for Sicily, after pledging themselves not to bear arms against France or the allies for a year and a day. The prisoners were three thousand four hundred; a few hundreds were left in the hospitals under the same conditions; some escaped by sea, and others, either from treachery or fickleness, secretly passed over to the side of the conqueror.

On the day of the first attack, the 7th of July, the besieged, according to the computation of the besiegers, numbered about seven thousand men, while four English ships of the line, six frigates, thirty gun-boats or bomb-ketches, and several transport ships were hovering round the fortress, or were anchored in the

port. During the siege, one hundred thousand balls or shells had been fired from the fortress, and forty thousand from the enemy. Of dead and wounded there were nine hundred Bourbonists, and one thousand one hundred French. On the Bourbonist side, the Prince of Philipstadt was wounded in the head; on the French, General Vallongue, having been struck by a splinter from a shell, expired on the third day, while General Grigny had his head carried off by a sixteen-pounder. The rest, though equally valiant, bore obscure and unhonoured names.

The army before Gaeta, still under the command of Massena, was sent, after a brief interval of repose, against the insurgents in Calabria, that province having been proclaimed by the Government under martial law. The authority of the ordinary magistrates, and laws, and civil forms, usages, and tribunals, having been suspended, the property and lives of the Calabrese were at the arbitration of whoever held the command of the army. Neither menaces, nor the dangers to which they were exposed, could, however, intimidate this people, who assembled in great numbers at Lauria, supported by the favourable disposition of the citizens, and having a safe retreat upon the high mountains of Gaudo. They lay in ambuscade before the city, and as the first columns of the French appeared, urged on by their fury against the enemy, they fired off their muskets, and thus prematurely discovered their place of concealment; after which, seized with panic, they fled. When the inhabitants of the city beheld their terror, they followed in their flight, leaving behind them those unable to walk; the old, the infirm, and children. Less as a punishment than as a first example, Lauria was given over to pillage, and burned by the conquerors, and with the houses, perished many of the weak and innocent inhabitants they contained. As the army advanced, the other cities of Calabria, rendered cautious by the example of Lauria, received the French with apparent friendship and joy. Massena, after having left troops to carry on the sieges of Amantea and Cotrone, halted at Palme; as the cities in Calabria Ultra, being strongly fortified and well garrisoned, were determined to fight to the last extremity. The ground occupied by the French acknowledged Joseph; that occupied by the English and Sicilians acknowledged Ferdinand; and the remainder, which was unoccupied, by either

army, submitted to whatever political party was uppermost; and thus many perished without a battle in these provinces, suffering the evils of war without its glory.

The two besieged castles yielded at last; the fate of the garrisons was, however, different, though their glory equal. Amantea, a city of Calabria, containing 2500 inhabitants, is situated almost upon the shores of the Tyrrhenean Sea on a great rock, once a bare cliff; precipitous mountains close it in on three sides, and on the fourth it is protected by an old wall between two weak bastions. It was at this time garrisoned by a few soldiers, and a large number of Bourbonists, all under the command of Colonel Mirabelli, a native of the city, rich, noble, trained to arms, and acquainted with the rules of military honour. The ramparts were provided with three iron cannons, there was abundant ammunition and provisions, and consequently the garrison was full of courage. General Verdier advanced to the attack with 3200 men, well provided with artillery; having invested it on the land side, he raised a battery of cannon and howitzers, and at day-break, at a concerted signal, the bravest among the troops, provided with scaling ladders, advanced at a charge; but the strength of the place, and the valour of the garrison, obliging them to retire, they returned with diminished numbers to the camp. After other fruitless attempts by firing at the castle, by assaults and menaces, the general hoped to gain an entrance into Amantea on the side least strongly guarded, because believed inaccessible. In a long and dark night of December, a small detachment, consisting only of seven men, the most expert leading the way, clambered over the rocks which separated the city from the sea, and approached so near that they heard the voices of the enemy's sentinels; a more numerous column meantime, furnished with ropes and ladders, followed their footsteps in silence, and another detachment assaulted the bastions, shouting and discharging their muskets, so as to divert the attention of the defenders from the real point of attack. A child's voice, however, was heard to cry out from the side facing the sea, "The French!" upon which those on guard ran thither, threw stones, and fired in the direction indicated. One of the seven was killed; others belonging to the larger columns were wounded, but not one of them uttered a groan lest they should betray the enterprise.

The garrison being reassured by the silence, stopped firing, and a Calabrian was overheard reproving the child for his obstinacy in persisting he had seen and heard the enemy, when a shell from the camp, bursting in the air, its light discovered the assailants. A thousand shots at once burst from the surrounding points of defence; many of the French were killed, and the remainder stopped half way, and hastened back to the camp. When General Verdier perceived that the city was proof against surprise, stratagem, and force, he raised the siege, and returned to Cosenza, mortified and thirsting for revenge.

At the end of December, having increased his troops, and provided himself better with siege artillery, he returned to the assault, having with him Colonel Amato, a citizen of Amantea, and a relation of Mirabelli, whose companion and friend he had been from infancy. As soon as he reached the camp, Amato wrote in affectionate terms to Mirabelli, who replied in as friendly a spirit, each endeavouring to gain over the other, Amato by extolling the virtue of patriotism, Mirabelli that of fidelity to his king; but both adhering to what they considered a point of honour, they continued, not enemies, but rivals. Several batteries were meantime raised against the castle, and after some days' firing, the breach was opened, and four assaults were made and repulsed. The mode of attack was then changed; advancing by subterraneous passages, they bored a mine under one of the bastions, which exploded and laid it in ruins; but when victory appeared certain, because the entrance was secured, other fortifications, blocking up the way, were discovered, which had been recently constructed. The nearer the combatants approached, the more deadly became the fight; now the skill of the assailants prevailed over the desperate valour of the besieged, and now the besieged overcame the besiegers; but at length the Calabrians yielded to the pressure of hunger, and from no other cause the little castle of Amantea, with its three rusty cannons, defended by men all inexperienced in war, and who were attacked by a powerful army conducted on the most approved principles of military science, surrendered upon honourable conditions, after forty days' siege, without reckoning the first attack. The garrison were permitted to return to Sicily upon their parole for a year and a day.

But the defenders of Cotrone escaped free ; they were partisans of the Bourbonists, who had spent their lives in crime, but were now reduced to misery. Though their provisions were utterly exhausted, yet they were determined not to surrender (because they remembered how often the French had broken faith with brigands), but not knowing by what signals to obtain succour from an English frigate, which was cruising within sight of the citadel, three of the boldest, throwing off their clothes, left the walls before day-break, and gliding silently along, reached the river which washes one side of the city, and is usually shallow, but was that night swollen owing to heavy rains. They plunged into the stream, and, walking in a bent posture, arrived at the mouth without disturbing the French sentinels who lined the banks. While swimming out to sea they were discovered by the enemy's soldiers ; one was killed by a musket ball, and a second wounded, but the third reached the vessel, and communicated to the captain the miserable state of the besieged, and the plan for their escape. The concerted signals were made to the castle, and the following night the frigate approached the shore, and the garrison issuing by the gate where the enemy were fewest, surprised the besiegers, and, fighting their way through them, effected their embarkation. The next day the French took possession of the castle, which they found wholly deserted.

Such was the state of Calabria. In Naples, meanwhile, the finances were regulated, public instruction was improved, the feudal system was abolished, entails were broken, the communal domains were divided, liberal forms were introduced into the tribunals of criminal judicature, and much good effected. I shall treat each of these subjects separately, pointing out how these reforms were accompanied with rebellions, conspiracies, and the violence of faction, with the severities practised by the police, with the barbarities of military chiefs, and with the license of the army. The reader will thus perceive that in the reign of Joseph great good co-existed with great evil ; the first future and theoretic, and the second present and real ; he will thus comprehend how it was that the educated class of Neapolitans supported the conqueror, and the ignorant opposed him ; while in the succeeding reign, the people having become more united, all equally appreciated the benefit of these reforms.

A tribute called the *Fondaria* was levied upon those possessing property in the country and in the towns. The old direct taxes, which were twenty-three in number, were abolished, because unequally distributed and levied upon no fixed principle. The *Fondaria* was a tax upon every income derived from real property; and those usages which favoured the crown lands, and the feudal and ecclesiastical domains, as well as the heavier taxes imposed on certain provinces and communes, were abolished. The tax was therefore equitable since none were either oppressed or privileged, and it contributed a fifth part to the revenue; thus, without bearing heavily upon the rate-payers, it was profitable to the State; the taxes were reckoned at 7,000,000 of ducats, and the whole revenue was conjectured to be 35,000,000—a statement at that time below the truth, but which the historian is not called upon here to demonstrate.

Without a land registry, census, or statistics, by which to assess the taxes, recourse was had to various expedients, and means open to innumerable frauds and errors. A State register was commenced in 1806, and was finished in 1818, more from the neglect of those employed in the work, than because completed. Had a little more time and expense been bestowed on it, the geometric register which we require could have been composed; a fact which I mention as disgraceful to the Neapolitan Government, and therefore in the hope of inducing them to apply a remedy. The taxes were in themselves a grievance, increased by the manner in which they were distributed, and the rigour with which they were exacted; they therefore occasioned discontent, which diminished as the price of corn rose, and property passed rapidly from owner to owner.

The *Arrendamenti* reverted to the exchequer. The claims of those to whom the right of collecting the revenue had been sold, having been ascertained, and inscribed in a book called the "*Gran Libro de' Creditori dello Stato*" (The Great Book of the State Creditors), each creditor received a bond stating his credit guaranteed by the exchequer; negotiable, and productive of an interest of four per cent., though afterwards reduced to three. Ten millions of real property, derived from the suppressed monasteries, were mortgaged to the *Gran Libro*, as a security for the public debt; the bonds, however, being dependent on the destinies

of an insecure government, fell in value, and continued long depreciated, and although they were still available for the purchase of the property mortgaged for their security, the purchasers were exposed to the double risk of the doubtful fortunes of a new State, and of the future fortunes of the Papacy. The avaricious and imprudent were, however, tempted by the charms of wealth, and bought up the lands of the friars, houses, convents, and churches; while the timid, believing the return of the old king certain and near, refused to come forward and settle accounts with the Government; thus the rash spirit of the former, and the fears of the latter, assisted to diminish the State debt.

The tax upon salt was lowered; but shortly afterwards the system of State economy having undergone a change, free trade in salt was forbidden, the article was distributed by communes and families (five *Rotoli*[1] annually per head), the consumption being forced became less, and a just impost was converted into an abhorred capitation tax: but as it was levied more directly, it was less open to imposition. The conduct of the finances was at that time disgraced by numerous frauds, which were the more easily committed because the laws, the taxes, and the means employed to collect them were all new. Besides which, the majority of the administrators and tax-gatherers were French, greedy of gain, and, like all conquerors, insolent towards those who murmured against their imposts. Of all the Government taxes, that upon salt is the most obnoxious to the Neapolitans, who, having salt-mines just below the surface of the ground, and salt in a state of dissolution in several of their rivers, and forming in crystals on the banks, and salt likewise condensed by the fervid rays of the July sun from the waters of the sea upon their shores, behold the bounteous gifts of nature appropriated by greedy financiers. A contraband trade was thus facilitated, while the vigilance which interfered to prevent the inhabitants in the southern parts of the kingdom drawing up the sea-water, because, when exposed in vases to the sun it deposited salt, was a fresh vexation to the people.

The Crown lands being separated from those belonging to the

[1] *Rotolo* is a measure of weight equal to thirty-two or thirty-six English ounces, according to the object sold.

State, the administration of the first was confided to the master of the household, that of the second to a director-general. The former only depended upon the will of the sovereign; the latter was assisted by a council, and subject to the public syndic. The State domains consisted of estates which had belonged to suppressed monasteries, of confiscated lands, and of that belonging to vacant bishoprics and abbeys, and was extremely productive. As long as this property continued under fiscal administration, it was divided in various ways; and whether sold, let on leases, or given away, it was converted to a use conducive to the public benefit; the land was improved by the industry of new hands, and tribute paid into the exchequer; new proprietors were likewise created, whose interests were the same as those of the Government, and who were faithful to its destinies. It would therefore have been wiser if vanity and private interests had not interfered to prevent the whole of these lands being alienated.

The indirect taxes, as well as the domains, were under the control of the director-general; the name indicates what were the taxes thus administered.

The seven banks in the city were reduced to two; that of the Court of San Giacomo, and a private bank established in the building called De' Poveri. The former had an abundant supply of cash, as it was empowered to collect the revenue for the exchequer; the latter was scantily supplied or empty, as it depended on voluntary deposits, and there was a want of confidence in the Government; the frauds which had formerly been practised on the banks, being still fresh in the recollection of the people.

Shortly afterwards the public treasury was established, where the income and expenditure were entered and regulated by law, so that every credit and every expense was cleared by the property of the exchequer; the bank guaranteeing the money received and issued.

The Government finances were thus organized, every income taxed, every tax equally distributed, every branch of finance under administration, and the whole under the control of the public syndic. The treasure of the State was represented in figures in the treasury, and preserved in coin in the bank, while the whole of the Neapolitan finance was registered in one book, and the

money received into one coffer; an admirable simplicity of arrangement, which promised stability.

The feudal system, tracing its origin to conquest, monarchy, the semi-barbarism of the people, and human pride, had sprung up and attained its full growth in the Two Sicilies, as well as in the rest of the world. It flourished in the time of the Lombards and Normans, was humbled by the House of Suabia, restored to power by that of Anjou, and was sustained until the termination of the baronial wars, by the Princes of Arragon. During the long period of the viceroys, motives of sordid avarice caused its continuance, but Charles of Bourbon converted the warlike barons into civilians, by substituting the honours and pageantry of a court for feudal power; civilisation continued to advance under Ferdinand, and rights injurious to mankind were rather gradually abandoned by the force of habit, than abolished by law. But guilds (or the exclusive right of certain corporations to the exercise of a particular trade), the feudal tribute exacted upon land and houses, joint property, and not a small part of the seignorial jurisdiction, besides other indications of serfdom and oppression, were maintained.

This vast residue of the feudal system was destroyed by the laws of 1806, and the entire jurisdiction restored to the Crown, and declared inalienable. All feudal burdens, as well as the right of exemption were abolished; the use of the rivers was made free to all, mixed properties[1] dissolved, serfdom done away with, the order of nobility preserved by titles alone, privileges set aside, and names substituted for power. But these benefits were at that time more in theory than practice; for the feudal system, although tottering and a thing of the past, did not fall at the first stroke; it was necessary to inflict repeated and severe blows under the reign which followed, so that it might truly be said, that though Joseph had the merit of undertaking, Joachim had that of accomplishing the work.

By another law, entails were abolished and those in the present enjoyment of an estate became the real owners. The *Vitalizi*,[2] or

[1] *Mixed Properties.* Property upon which the feudal lord and the peasantry of the village had defined though unequal rights.

[2] *Vitalizi.* The annuities or share of the income of an entailed property assigned to the younger sons, which, when entails were abolished, was capitalized, and they received instead of money an equivalent in the land.

life-rent of younger sons, were converted into freehold property, and all obligations to the owner of the estate cancelled; thus a great extent of land became again marketable. The law of King Ferdinand of 1801, by which the dowry of patrician ladies was limited to fifteen thousand ducats, however rich the family might be, which was an insult and injustice to the sex and to nature, and a remnant of feudalism, since favouring the eldest son, was abolished by a law of Joseph in 1806. These reforms in entails, dowries, and feudal laws, which were undoubtedly beneficial to the majority, injured the interests of feudal proprietors and the nobles. Yet they were laid before the Council of State, and received its assent, although the greater part of the members were themselves nobles or barons. Honour be to them, and may this act prove how far civilisation had advanced in Naples!

The monastery of the Incoronata, in the province of Avellino, was suppressed, as a punishment for having afforded a place of refuge to Fra Diavolo; the Government was glad of a good opportunity to test public opinion, on a measure which touched the consciences of the people; and were rejoiced to observe that the act was approved of by the educated classes, and viewed with indifference by the mass, who had already seen other friars unfrocked in the reign of Ferdinand; while these Jacobins, whose hands were red with blood shed in the revolution of 1799, had destroyed or diminished the traditional reverence for their order. The Government, taking courage, suppressed the numerous monasteries of the Orders of St. Bernard and St. Benedict, and adding argument to command, stated in the preamble to the law, that the genius of the age and considerations of State economy, made the expulsion of these friars imperative. All the monasteries appeared threatened with a similar fate.

But the scheme of the Government, although financially useful, was neither philosophic nor politic; for the wealthy monasteries were suppressed in order to enjoy their spoils, while the poor or mendicant friars were excepted, as their suppression would have been inconvenient. Only a scanty stipend was assigned to the friars who had been suspended, and they, whose interest it was therefore to return to their former habitations, went about rousing the slumbering consciences of the people. The policy of that time

demanded a total suppression of the monastic orders, that their dwellings and churches should be converted to civil uses, and that ample and immediate compensation, besides large promises of lay preferment, should be offered to that most venal race; by these means the plant wasted by age, would have perished. Not that it is ever likely to revive, because from the rival it has become the servant of thrones; it will cease to exist, forgotten like the feudal system; but, nevertheless, the barren and naked trunk which remains, will long prove mischievous to society, and an impediment to the diffusion of gospel truths.

Imperfect though the work might be, it still was beneficial to the State; fresh treasure flowed into the exchequer, the number of new proprietors increased, and the public debt was diminished. The monastic edifices were devoted to purposes of instruction and education, or were converted into institutions of charity applied for objects of industry.[1] The churches were better provided for, the condition of curates improved, additions made to libraries and museums, and the wants of hospitals and other foundations of public utility supplied. The three monasteries of Cava, Montecasino, and Montevergine were abolished as religious houses, and used for the archives of the kingdom, for which purpose they were maintained at the public expense; all the documents relating to the monarchy, and to the history of the Two Sicilies, being preserved in them.

After the suppression of the monasteries, and the abolition of fiefs, it was decreed that the ecclesiastical, feudal, royal, and communal domains should be divided among the citizens, to whom they were rented, with the trifling disadvantage of being taken upon redeemable leases.[2] A preference was shown to the poor; and in the case of those who were destitute, the land was bestowed as a gift. By this universal change of property, the revolution was completed; as States are not overturned by new names or dynasties, but by a change in existing interests.

[1] Such as coral cutting, which is chiefly worked by children in a charitable institution in Naples.

[2] *Redeemable leases.* The land was let at a very low rent; but the tenant might be obliged to commute the annual payment for a small sum of money, equivalent to the value of the land, which thus became his own.

Four new tribunals were instituted, which were called *Straordinarii* (extraordinary), because they were to be dissolved after the code of law had been published. In each of these tribunals eight judges (five civil and three military) were empowered to pass sentence without appeal in cases of political offences, or where the public safety was endangered. The old and barbarous forms of procedure were abolished; a local authority collected the first proofs, the procès was composed by a higher tribunal, and the public accuser denounced the guilty person. From that moment the indictment, documents, the names of the accusers and the witnesses, were made public; the procès was not alone in writing, but was carried on by discussion, when the plaintiff, the advocate, the person accused, and his witnesses, pleaded their cause in the presence of the judge and the public; and the truth, induced from the speeches on either side, was impressed upon the minds of the magistrate and the people.

The judges were an even number, in order that where the votes were equal, the side of mercy should prevail. Secret accusations were admitted, if in writing and under oath; but a false accuser was condemned to be punished by the law of retaliation (*lex talionis*).[1] The people rejoiced in the light of truth and justice which was succeeding the mystery attendant on the old forms of trial, and crowded the courts of justice as a theatre, where real scenes of woe and terror impressed them with the dread of punishment attendant on crime, and taught them the laws. The right of public discussion is a great means of civilisation, little short of the institution of the jury.

Fra Diavolo was tried before a *Tribunale Straordinario*, and was condemned to death. The ground of his accusation was his recognition, after having been banished the country as a public enemy, and his being captured in an attempt to rouse the people to revolt. He died like a coward, cursing the Queen of Sicily and Sidney Smith, who had urged him on to this enterprise. The reader is already acquainted with the history of this man; he was finally sent from Sicily into the kingdom of Naples with three hundred malefactors taken from the galleys, and landed at Sperlonga, from whence he wandered over the country, committing

[1] See Blackstone, vol. iv. chap. i. p. 12.

robberies and murders, and would have proceeded to greater excesses, had he not been attacked by a stronger force, and been obliged to seek refuge amidst the mountains and forests of Lenola. Always closely pursued, defeated in every encounter, and forced to fly, he was left with a small band of followers (the rest having been killed or captured), and for two months he wandered from forest to forest, more frequently by night than day, in the hope of being able to embark for Sicily ; but every way was closed to him. Wounded in a recent encounter, and abandoned by his men, fatigue, poverty, and perhaps weariness of life, induced him to enter the village of Baronissi in disguise and without arms, there to seek repose and purchase balsams ; but some suspicion of his identity having been excited, he was arrested and recognised as Fra Diavolo.

He carried about his person letters from Sidney Smith and from the Queen, in which and in his replies, he bore the rank of colonel in the Sicilian army. This he in fact was ; rank and title alone, however, do not determine the position of a leader, but the office he fills, and the character of the men he commands. Had Fra Diavolo entered the kingdom with a troop of soldiers, and obeyed the rules of war, he would have been admired if successful, and if he had met with reverses and been captured, he would have been treated as a prisoner of war ; but Fra Diavolo, an assassin from the commencement of his career, a chief of assassins, and acting as an assassin, whether successful or defeated, was a low ruffian and criminal. A people in arms is not to be confounded with a band of brigands : the first are the champions of rights, liberty, independence, opinions, and a form of government they desire to see established ; the second is a guilty faction exciting civil war, and guilty of public wrong.

After having introduced reforms into the mode of trial for criminal offences, the Government turned their attention to public instruction, as a means to improve the morals of the people, and more efficacious to diminish crime, than magistrates and punishments. The first light of Italian literature dawned among the Greek colonies in the Neapolitan territory. Zaleucus called himself a native of Locri, Pythagoras of Crotone, Archytas was from Tarentum, Alexis from Sibarum, and, in a later age, Ennius, Cicero,

Sallust, Vitruvius, Ovid, and Horace, were born under our skies. Literature faded away, and the age grown barbarous by the cruel tyranny of the emperors, by seditions among the people, and the license of the army, was followed by that of the invasions of the Huns, Vandals, and Goths. The first who ventured to revive learning, and knew how to impart its charms to the good King Theodoric, was Cassiodorus, a native of Squillace, a small city of Calabria. With him Italian literature expired, and remained for a long period buried under the iron sceptre of the Lombards and of the Saracens, except where it found a small but secret asylum in Montecasino. I need not here remind the reader how literature raised its timid head under the protection of the House of Suabia, how it sank again under that of Anjou, how it was revived by the Arragonese princes, and how it was oppressed under the long viceregal government. It is not literary vanity, or an undue appreciation of the merits of my native country, which induces me thus to speak of past times, but a just desire to expose the iniquity of those kings who have laboured to render a soil barren, once so fertile in literature.

The vicissitudes which Neapolitan literature has undergone, may be partly attributed to the inadequacy of its rewards and its severe sufferings; for in a period of literary adversity, Giannone died in a dungeon,[1] Campanella was put to the torture,[2] and Giordano Bruno was burnt alive,[3] while schools and gymnasiums were closed; and in a happier period, if some few philosophers met with favour, it was in a manner which degraded them into courtiers; and if academies were tolerated, it was only from the love of os-

[1] *Pietro Giannone*, b. 1676, d. 1758, published his History of Naples in 1713, which principally related to the civil and ecclesiastical constitution, the laws and customs of the kingdom. It was considered to contain too strong a censure on the Court of Rome, and Giannone had to seek shelter first in Venice and then in Geneva, where he arrived in 1735. The following year, when visiting a village in the dominions of the King of Sardinia, he was arrested, and remained a prisoner till his death.

[2] *Tomaso Campanella*, b. 1568, d. 1639, entered the Dominican order at fourteen years of age. Remarkable for the precocity of his genius. Accused of conspiring against the State, he was seven times put to the torture, and detained twenty-seven years in prison. He was finally released at the request of Pope Urban VIII., and died in France.

[3] *Giordano Bruno*, born of noble parents at Nola in the beginning of the fifteenth century. He entered the Dominican order, but subsequently abandoning the Roman

tentation. The consequence of the severe and frequent penalties to which learning was exposed, and its rewards being few and ignoble, was, that universal ignorance prevailed in times of oppression; and in better days, only a few remarkable men raised themselves above the gross ignorance which surrounded them. Instruction was not given publicly, nor diffused among the people. Its use even as a means subservient to political ends was lost[1]; an error which continued through all periods of our history, and through all the vicissitudes of Italian literature, until the year 1806.

Several laws were passed in the course of that year to correct this evil. It was decreed that in every city and borough, masters and mistresses should be provided for boys and girls, to teach them reading, writing, and arithmetic, and the duties belonging to their station in life. Every province was required to have a college for men, and an institute for women, where they might receive instruction in the elements of some of the sciences, in the fine arts, and in those elegant accomplishments which adorn cultivated society; and in the metropolis the universities were encouraged, since from the higher studies taught in these institutions, education there reached its culminating point. By other laws, schools were instituted for special objects; such as a royal military college, a polytechnic school, an academy of the fine arts, another for arts and manufactures, a school for the deaf and dumb, a naval academy, a school of design, a college of surgery and medicine, and an academy of music. Some of these institutions were new, others an improvement upon the old, and all were endowed by the exchequer. Seminaries and special colleges for the education of priests were preserved, and although it was proposed to introduce reforms into them, they were postponed to some future time, as in the disturbed state of the new kingdom it was not thought expedient to provoke fresh quarrels with the Pope. Private colleges seconded these efforts for national education; they were started by individuals for their own profit, and were encouraged by the Govern-

[1] Catholic faith, was forced to fly his country, and, in 1580, retired to Geneva, where he embraced Calvinism. He visited England, 1583, and from thence passed to Germany; but in 1598, induced by the desire to see his native land again, he proceeded to Venice, where he was seized by the Inquisition, sent to Rome, and, in 1600, was burnt alive for heresy.

ment, who inspected their systems of teaching, and rewarded their success. An academy of history and antiquity, of sciences and arts, was founded and richly endowed, which afterwards, when grown in importance, obtained the name of the Royal Society. Donations and privileges were likewise bestowed on two other academies, called *L'Incoraggimento* and the *Pontaniana*. These societies are still revered in Italy, in remembrance of their having preserved the germ of literature in a barbarous age, and forgetful that, as their original purpose is no more, they now only exist to swell the pride of our rulers.

From the system of national education here sketched, the means of instruction were thrown open to every class and individual, and no talent need remain buried, because the opportunity for its manifestation was denied; the privileges of birth disappeared, as the highest and the lowest, the son of the patrician and the son of the peasant inhabited the same college. As literature was protected by the Government, schools multiplied, and academies and lyceums were largely endowed, the learned were revered without being made wealthy, as where princes are too lavish in their favours, however the individual may be benefited, the progress of science is retarded. Entire freedom in writing, and an author being the sole proprietor of his own work, are the true incentives and aliment of genius; more or less is detrimental. But the laws of Joseph were yet imperfect; or the public instruction authorized by the French Government, was rather a scheme for political than scientific utility, and was only intended to supply the people with superficial knowledge; from this half-education proceeded ambition, servility, and enervation; whereas the result of sound knowledge is the power of self-government, producing elevation of mind and the same impulsion towards liberty, which from other causes moves a people in a rude and vigorous state. Thus, man is prepared for freedom at two periods in the existence of a nation: in an early and barbarous stage of society, and when he attains the highest civilisation.

But however beneficial these institutions, they only as yet existed on paper, as the condition of the kingdom prevented the law being carried into effect. The brigands having increased in numbers and power, changed their mode of attack, avoided encounters

with the soldiers, and ceased to infest the cities; instead of which they ravaged the country, assaulting the unarmed inhabitants, robbing and destroying all before them, and then concealing themselves; thus they spread misery around, and drying up the sources of public weal, they weakened the conquerors by bringing the conquest into discredit. The agents of Government increased the unpopularity of their employers, for the military commanders in the provinces imposed tributes on the cities, threw the citizens into prison, put them to death, and trampled on old and new laws, our customs and those habits to which our people are most attached.

Every kind of rigour had been tried towards the brigands, and yet brigandage was increasing. The king therefore changed his policy, he issued an edict granting a pardon to all those malefactors who should present themselves unarmed before the authorities, and swear fealty to the Government and obedience to the laws. Numbers laid down their arms and took the oath; not because they repented their misdeeds, or from a sincere desire for peace, but in order to enjoy their ill-gotten wealth undisturbed, and wait their opportunity for new gains. They therefore returned wealthy and insolent to the cities, making a shameless and ostentatious parade of the fruits of their thefts and atrocious villany; and that in the presence of those they had robbed, and of the relations still mourning those they had murdered. When they had exhausted their booty, they returned to their former life of brigandage, which they again quitted to obtain a fresh pardon; and thus, some were pardoned five and six times. When the royal authorities in the provinces perceived how hollow were these acts of submission, they followed the example, and deceiving in their turn, put those to death who had been pardoned, sometimes under a pretence of justice, but more frequently with the most hardened effrontery. I myself saw a number of bodies in the valley of Morano, and was told that on the preceding day, a band of those who had been amnestied (the *amnistiali*, as the French called them) had been massacred by their guards; and in order that it might be supposed they had broken their chains and attempted to escape, they murdered them in different parts of the ground, some in groups, others singly, by sword and musket, wounding them in various ways, as if they had

been engaged in fight, and imitating the incidents of a battle, with studied cruelty. The place had the appearance of a field after an engagement.

These internal disorders were fomented by the news of events occurring in Europe. Although the year 1805 had closed with the Peace of Presburg, the tranquillity which followed was only temporary, because the negotiations pending between France and England in February, were broken up in May, occasioning greater disputes and enmity. The Russians, treating the prayers of Austria with contempt, as well as the menaces of France to maintain a permanent occupation of Germany, continued obstinately to hold the mouths of the Cataro, which they had promised to evacuate. The peace shortly afterwards agreed upon at Paris between the delegates of France and Russia, was not ratified by the Emperor Alexander, and the armies of the two nations disputed the possession of Ragusa. Hanover, having been taken from King George III., and given in trust to Prussia, afforded a pretext for England and Switzerland to declare war against the last mentioned power.

In June, the Batavian Republic, which had been recognised in the recent treaty of Presburg, was changed by Bonaparte into the kingdom of Holland, and his brother Louis was appointed king. In August, Bonaparte formed the Confederation of the Rhine, despoiled some of the German princes of their dominions, aggrandized a few others by adding to their territory and power, abolished old titles, created new, and even made kings; he forced the Austrian emperor to renounce the name and office of head of the Germanic body, and arrogated that dignity and power to himself, with the proud title of Protector. Thus the destiny of the Western States of Germany was changed, and those who had hitherto been opposed to France, now turned against the powers of the North; instead of standing insulated, each the enemy of his neighbour, as had been the case prior to this time, owing to the nature of the Germanic body, they became united, and associated by new ties, and by the peculiar relations of the bond of the Confederation of the Rhine. This state of affairs, and the events of this period became later on a motive of war to the Austrian empire.

In Italy, Piedmont, Genoa, and Corsica were annexed to France;

and, by the treaty of Presburg, the Italian kingdom was enlarged by the states of Venice, Istria, Venetian Dalmatia, the Venetian Isles, and the mouths of the Cataro. Tuscany, although governed by the old laws of Leopold, was subordinate to the interests of France, because she who reigned there[1] held the name and dignity of queen from Napoleon; and the kingdom of Naples, now that the Bourbon race was expelled, was given to a Bonaparte. Nothing therefore remained of the past but Rome, disabled and humbled, and Sicily weak and menaced.

These great changes took place in 1806, and before the end of that year another serious event disturbed the existing state of things, and threatened the security of the new States, and even France herself, making it imperative on Bonaparte to stake the immense fabric of the empire on the chances of victory and fortune. Prussia, on the 1st of October, raised the standard of war against France, allying herself with England, whom shortly before she had pretended to consider her enemy. She was supported by a Russian army, which was advancing by long days' marches to her assistance, and she hoped to engage Austria, the irreconcileable enemy of France, on her side. For twelve years, Prussia had stood aloof, a neutral state in the wars of Europe, expecting to reap a better harvest by diplomacy than arms, but cherishing in her heart a secret hatred against the new kings and the new states. France pretended to be her dupe, but waited the opportunity for revenge. The Confederation of the Rhine put an end to this course of deception, as Prussia, fearing the worst, and France confiding in her own strength, advanced towards war.

The experiment was new. The memory of the great Frederic assisted the arms of Prussia. In the camp of Jena, the king, addressing the army, reminded them of the great name and deeds of former times; even Bonaparte used more than usual caution when examining the movements and position of the enemy, and appeared almost doubtful of the result of the approaching battle; it had hardly, however, commenced, before he exclaimed,

[1] Maria Louisa of Bourbon, daughter of King Charles IV. of Spain, married to Don Louis of Bourbon, eldest son of the Duke of Parma, who was made King of Etruria in 1801, but died in 1802, when his widow was permitted to reign in his stead until 1807.

"The victory is ours!" Having conquered at Jena, he dismantled many of the fortresses of the Prussian kingdom, made himself master of Berlin, drove the king and his family to seek shelter in Königsberg, and overturned and destroyed the power of Prussia. But the French army was diminished by continued fighting, and by detachments drawn off to guard the cities they had vanquished; whilst their adversaries were collecting their fugitives, or those who had been dispersed, and were summoning fresh soldiers from the conquered lands. Order being restored, their courage returned, the Muscovite host crossed the Narew, and part of it encountered the enemy in the vicinity of Warsaw, where the fortune of arms was undecided. In the midst of this agitation and peril, the States, so recently formed, were in danger of falling to pieces, for the new institutions were not yet consolidated, and these countries still continued in a state of conquest.

Such was the condition of Europe about the end of the year 1806, and 1807 opened upon us with a still more gloomy aspect; for conspiracies against the Government were in greater number and force than ever, and produced crimes, followed by severe punishments, alarm, and danger; these conspiracies did not proceed as formerly from obscure men, whose complaints could be disregarded, but from men of high birth and position. The magistrate Vecchioni, councillor of state to Joseph, was proved guilty, and imprisoned in Turin; Luigi la Georgi, rich and noble, was cruelly treated, and died in a dungeon; the Duke Filomarino was beheaded, and the Marquis Palmieri, though a colonel in the army, was hung; whilst this last victim was ascending the steps of the scaffold, a voice was heard among the crowd demanding his rescue; this caused a tumult, which was of no use to the prisoner, but implicated others, who were punished with death the following day. Captain-General Pignatelli, Prince Ruffo Spinoso, Field-Marshal Micheroux, and Counts Bartolazzi and Gaetani were detained prisoners; as well as the noble ladies, Luisa de' Medici and Matilde Calvez, besides other respectable women, and a great number of priests and friars, including the Bishop of Sessa, Monsignor de Felice. The most retired and sacred spots, even the cloisters, offered a shelter to conspirators, and therefore professed nuns were sometimes seen quitting the precincts of their convents, and seated

upon the bench of criminals in the monastic habit, undergoing a public trial.

About this time Agostino Mosca was committed to prison, for having laid in wait ready armed, on the mountains of Gragnano where King Joseph was expected, with the intention of assassinating him. He had a letter about his person from the Queen of Sicily, written with her own hand, covertly instigating him to the crime, and another written by one of her ladies, the Marchioness Tranfo, more openly urging him on. He wore a bracelet of hair set in gold, on his right arm, the gift of that same queen, presented to him (as he alleged) by the hand of Canosa, a pledge of promised rewards. Convicted of the attempted crime, he was condemned to death, and was executed in the market-place with horrible pomp, before a terror-stricken and silent people.

Nor were the conspiracies confined to the city ; for they spread and broke out in scenes of open riot and brigandage in the provinces, where, from the absence or weakness of the Government forces, there was greater license. Legal means not proving sufficient to detect so many plots, and repress all these attempts at rebellion, the police treacherously disguised their emissaries as conspirators, counterfeited letters, and corresponded in feigned characters with the Queen of Sicily, and with the most noted of the Bourbonists ; nor did they rest contented with gaining information of these malpractices, but followed them up ; and when their proofs were matured, they proclaimed and punished those implicated. They did not indeed invent conspiracies, as was calumniously asserted, but actuated by fear and vain-glory, they instigated and fomented them, where they could have stifled them in their commencement. When all was discovered, the emissaries of police who had just before acted the part of conspirators, were transformed into accusers and witnesses ; the letters which had been found and fabricated were produced as proofs, he who laid the snare (a magistrate of police) composed the indictment, and a court-martial appointed for the case, pronounced the sentence. They punished the guilty, although they themselves had instigated the crime ; a trick of the police, which is esteemed a proof of ability by bad governments, and detested as a crime by virtuous govern-

ments; but which is tolerated and thought clever in an age of social corruption.

These severities continuing to increase, the property of refugees, of those who had followed the Bourbon king, or who had fled from the hated rule of the French, was sequestrated. This law which, in many cases, is fair between enemies, was not always strictly adhered to; but it occasioned considerable injury to private individuals, while it was of small pecuniary advantage to the State, and later on, when the sequestration was changed into confiscation, and when property was sold or given away, the jealousies of either faction were roused to fury, and new seeds of future vengeance were sown.

CHAPTER IV.

NEW MEASURES AND CODES OF LAW—REFORMS IN THE CITY AND IN THE STATE.

The metropolis, which had hitherto been so dark as to conceal theft and other crimes, was now lighted by 1920 brilliant oil lamps. The larger cities of the kingdom followed this excellent example.

A new road was opened from Toledo to Capodimonte, a delightful eminence, on the summit of which rises a magnificent villa, built by Charles III., but which neither he nor his successors had completed. Several buildings were demolished to widen the road, and make it more direct, whilst the convent and church of San Francesco di Paola was pulled down to enlarge the square before the royal palace. These demolitions were blamed by the common people, but approved of by their superiors, who expected the result would prove conducive both to utility and beauty: at that time the bridge of the Sanità was constructed, a noble pile of building, but defective as a work of art. The new road, having been carried as far as the royal villa, divided, one branch meeting the high road to Aversa, and the other winding along the eastern declivity of the hill, reached its termination at the Reclusorio. This road was called, in honour of the French Emperor, Corso Napoleone, but after the fall of that great child of fortune, it was named Strada di Capodimonte.

Gambling, the vice of every people and every age, but kept within bounds in civilized nations, was carried to excess in our city. By new enactments of the Government, private gambling-houses were forbidden, and public ones only permitted with a license, by which the exchequer gained 180,000 ducats annually, which shortly afterwards rose to 240,000. On a certain day this

ordinance came into effect. All the different modes of gambling were exposed to public view in various rooms of a vast and richly decorated palace, set apart for games of hazard; money was spread out in abundance, on small tables, a pledge and incitement to extravagant speculation, the man who had farmed the gambling-house, and his agents, appeared in glittering jewels and gay attire; the magistrates were there, arrayed in their robes of office, besides a crowd of gamesters and curious spectators. The vice which, when carried on secretly in all parts of the city, had attracted little observation, when now exposed and legalized, appeared greater and more disgraceful; the gamesters and gambling, therefore, decreased every month, proving that this decree, and an institution by which the shameful state of public morals was held up to view, was a necessary measure on the part of the Government, owing to the corruption of the times.

The king often left the city for his amusement, or to visit the provinces. He loved to exhibit his knowledge of Roman history, and when crossing the Phlegrean hills he blamed the folly of Caligula's bridge at Baia, and his cruel celebration of the event, expressed his horror at the recollection of the infamous matricide at Lucrino, and uttered these words over the ruins of Cumæ: "Thus will the monuments of the Emperor Napoleon lie buried in the lapse of centuries." He visited the house of Tasso at Sorrento, and observing its meanness, ordered a magnificent monument to be erected opposite to it, at the public expense. In Amalfi, he bestowed large gifts on the descendants of Gioja; and in Pompei he purchased the land covering the subterranean city, at that time only partially excavated.

He travelled in the Abruzzi, Molise, and afterwards in Puglia; often stopping in cities and villages, to display his benevolence, liberality, and clemency. He there consulted the public notabilities, and according to their opinion, rewarded the officials they recommended, removed those who were unpopular, and punished those accused of any misdemeanour. He sent a French general back to France, revoked the appointment of an *Intendente*, raised an obscure priest to the position of a councillor of state, and created the magistrates, as if chosen by ballot; but in vain he hoped by these means to gain the affections of his subjects, because,

though benevolence and clemency are attributes of kings, only justice and moderation are real instruments of government.

Laws were enacted for the regulation of public ceremonies, and others for those of the court; in either case, they were made to conform with those of France, dictated by Bonaparte, who added to the pomp used by the old French kings, a splendour peculiar to himself, and the arrogance of the camp. But such state is unsuitable to new kings, born among the people, raised by the people, and who share one common interest and destiny with them. The long exercise of power in European monarchies, the patient endurance of subjects who have been reduced to habits of servitude, the corruption of the times, and the necessity of a reform in society, have made, and still make the office of king necessary; but new kings, who have not the prestige of antiquity, should unite the modest deportment of a citizen with the royal power; for although the old monarchy might imply distinction, the new can only be a magisterial office; the first, emanating from birth, chance, or fortune, the second, proceeding from election or conquest, the reward of merit or valour: the first sustains itself by pomp, titles, and a vain and haughty aristocracy, but the last by a power delegated to them by the people and aristocracy, an institution for the good of society, and a reward for labour and services. New kings might have been an improvement upon the old, if they had adapted the office to the times, and been guided by reason, but these men were corrupted by the examples of pomp and power in preceding monarchs; and thus the new rulers fell, and the thrones of the old were alike shaken by their own errors: the royal authority and the rights of the people were struggling for ascendency, and each faction made use of the usual weapons, rebellion and tyranny.

Another law decreed that the imperial arms of France should be quartered in the centre of the royal arms of Naples; around them the insignia of the fourteen provinces of the kingdom, and that of Sicily in a larger field: the whole to be encircled with the collar of the French Legion of Honour, supported by two syrens, and decorated with the Roman mantle, surmounted by the royal crown; but France, and not the Sicilies, was conspicuous in these armorial bearings. Had these emblems been intended to commemorate the new laws, the regulation of the finances, the

improvements in the administration, the abolition of the feudal system, the suppression of the monasteries, and the growth of political liberty, the collar which surrounded the arms was a fitting symbol of these new principles: but the sovereigns by whom they were established, and who might have formed a small but heroic band to organize and reform the States of Europe, preferred being confounded with the herd of ancient monarchs, although these were detested and despised, and the last of their race. Gold and silver money was about this time issued, bearing the effigy and name of Joseph, king of the Two Sicilies, while Ferdinand IV., under the same title, and in the same year, caused money of equal value to be coined in Palermo. Posterity might be puzzled by two kings reigning at the same time over the same kingdom, if medals instead of history were destined to preserve the memory of that period.

Yet amidst many errors, the real wants of society suggested new institutions in harmony with the genius of the age: foreign wars and internal discord only retarded, without arresting the natural progress of good. The party of the Government daily increased, while their opponents diminished, and no small cause of this double advantage was, that those now in power trusted, employed, and gave authority and stipends to the former adherents of the enemy, some few of whom used their new offices treacherously, and were consequently punished, while most of them, induced by interest or ambition, served the Government with greater zeal than their own partisans. The intermixture of political opinions, which is destructive in weak governments, in strong, extinguishes party passions and interests.

The victories of the French army in Germany conduced to the improved state of our affairs. The battle of Eylau prepared the way for that of Friedland, and this last terminated the war; for the Prussian army being entirely defeated, that of Russia discomfited, and Königsberg taken, King Frederic was driven out of his States, and the Emperor Alexander forced to fall back upon Moscow; the peace demanded by the vanquished was then concluded at Tilsit, by which the kingdom of Westphalia was founded, and given to Jerome Bonaparte, the kingdom of Saxony was increased by the States of Russian Poland, and the kingdom of

Holland, by the lordship of Trêves. The Confederation of the Rhine was recognised, Joseph acknowledged King of Naples, Louis of Holland, and Jerome of Westphalia; no mention was, however, made of Sicily, but this omission was not displeasing to us, as it held out a hope of peace with England. After the Peace of Tilsit, therefore, the new States were confirmed, and the empire of Bonaparte seemed a decree of fate; therefore all, whether friendly or hostile, the reflecting and the heedless, alike believed in the stability of the new state of Europe, regarding the times just past and the present, as two different epochs of society, with different kings, laws, and interests.

But those who are highest, are ever nearest their fall. At this very time the troubles of the House of Spain commenced; weak in their relations abroad, sunk in degradation at home, corrupt in the palace, where the reigning family possessed none of the characteristics of royalty, except the determination to rule after the fashion of barbarous chiefs; the son was seen conspiring against the father, the father ordering the imprisonment of his son, the favourite armed against the heir to the throne, and even the mother accusing her son, while he, betraying a conspiracy in which he was implicated, caused severe punishments to be inflicted on the conspirators; the crimes which disgraced the palace were echoed throughout the kingdom, and rendered the authority of the rulers despicable in the eyes of the people; while public interests and private ambition were confounded, the subjects were split into parties, and all Spain was agitated.

The Emperor of the French, with his usual clear-sightedness, perceived, amidst these disorders, that the opportunity had arrived for the easy conquest he so much desired. The idea of adding the Peninsula to his dominions, and extending them from the Pyrenees to the ocean, was suggested to his mind through various channels; his army, which was crossing Old Castile on its way to punish Portugal for her friendship with Great Britain; the conviction of his irresistible power after the recent victories at Friedland and Jena; his supposed security from any immediate war after the treaties and conferences at Tilsit; the threatening edict of the Prince of the Peace, which furnished a pretext for invading Spain; the advantage or necessity of subjugating these warlike races to a

sovereign of his house, and expelling the dangerous and hostile race of Bourbons; and, finally, ambition, and his own insatiable craving after empire. His past successes were the ladder by which he mounted to this bold design, so that the Spanish enterprise, and the ruin by which it was followed, were connected with those very circumstances which led to his greatness, and form a link in the invisible but necessary chain of cause and effect, regulating the events of this world. If every human action, therefore, were to bear the stamp of the moral condition of him by whom it is performed, we should be able to form a more correct judgment of events, since those very acts which we attribute to error would appear the result of necessity, and history would lose many of its wonders. Napoleon was determined to conduct King Joseph to the throne of Spain, because, being of the race of French kings, and passing from the throne of Naples to that of Spain, he might thus recall the splendid days of Louis XIV. and of Charles III., and satisfy his own insane desire to imitate the Bourbons. Joseph proceeded to Venice in the last month of 1807, and, after several private interviews with the emperor, returned to Naples.

He bore with him an imperial decree, dated December, from Milan, which was more explicit than that of the preceding November from Berlin. Both related to the continental blockade which had now become a law for Europe. Those who seek a reason for this decree in accepted maxims of political economy, will be surprised to discover international commerce interrupted, industry deprived of its reward, the value of some articles diminished, while that of others was destroyed, and the works of Smith and Say, the compass of Gioja, and the fruits of the labours of Columbus, consumed on the same pile with the manufactures of England. The blockade will, therefore, generally appear as a new phase of insanity in the human mind; but although first suggested to Napoleon by resentment and the desire of revenge, it was a well digested scheme, and a wise resolution which tended to his advantage during the war, since it weakened the most powerful weapon possessed by the enemy, his wealth. The arts of industry thus called into existence by necessity, and fostered by extravagant profits, multiplied of themselves; and production, therefore, increasing in Europe, the new commerce displaced the old, and the

means of life and civilisation improved: it was observed with surprise, that in the year 1815, nations which had grown rich during the war, were, for the same reasons, impoverished after the peace.

In a long and dark night of January, the inhabitants of the Riviera di Chiaja were terrified out of their sleep by the bursting of what appeared a mine, followed by the sound of falling buildings, and, in fact, twenty-two rooms of the palace of Serracapriola, inhabited by the minister of police, Saliceti, had been levelled by an explosion of gunpowder. He himself, being in another wing of the edifice, only felt the walls shaken as by an earthquake; but his daughter, who was awake, though in bed, was borne down with the ruins from her chamber into the court, and lay there covered with stones and rubbish. Her husband, the Duke di Lavello, was separated from her by the fall, and remained half dead amidst the ruins; they were thrown from a height of forty-six palms, or twelve metres.

The minister, who had only a few instants before entered the house, hastily ascended to the apartment inhabited by his daughter; he was followed by a servant, but the dust and smoke was so dense, that the torch they carried gave no light, and he walked along, guided only by his knowledge of the place, calling her by her name. Suddenly he came upon a spot where the floor had sunk, and he, with his servant, fell upon a heap of ruins. He was raised by some persons who ran from the palace to his assistance, but careless of himself, though injured, he would not give up his search after his daughter.

One of his domestics, Cipriani, the same who many years afterwards died in St. Helena in the service of Bonaparte, begged all to be silent; and clambering upon the heaps of rubbish, he bent his head to the ground, and proceeded from place to place, and from fissure to fissure, shouting Caroline, and instantly applied his ear to the spot to listen for an answer or cry. At the fourth trial he thought he heard a voice; he listened more attentively, and calling to those who were watching him, shouted, "She is here, quick!" All ran to the spot, but in such haste that their zeal impeded the success of their efforts, and their anxiety delayed her rescue. But as soon as the unhappy lady was disinterred, she was carried for dead into an adjoining room on the ground-floor, where

after a while she recovered her senses, and finding herself in the arms of her father, she exclaimed in broken accents, "Seek for my husband."

Shortly before, whilst they were still anxiously searching for her, a naked body had been found upon the ruins, supposed to be dead, and had been carried out of the palace, and left upon the road. This was the Duke di Lavello, who soon afterwards was recognised and attended to, when he recovered, and was conveyed to the same room where lay his father-in-law and wife. All three were injured in different ways, according to the different risks they had incurred. The servant, who had fallen with the minister, had fractured his legs; another servant, who was sleeping in one of the rooms which had sunk down, was killed; and as fifty-three persons inhabited the palace, it was no extenuation of the crime that only one person perished. On the morning of the 31st of January the city was terrified by the information of what had occurred; the enemies of Saliceti, many of whom held offices in the Court of Joseph, smiled in derision as they discussed the event. The police were covered with shame. Saliceti was severely wounded both in body and in spirit, but suffered most severely from the mortification to his vanity, and from seeing himself overreached in that art upon which all his past reputation, and his means to obtain office, and succeed in his arbitrary projects, were built. This man, who as a partisan of liberty, and as the minister of a king, amidst the convulsions of France and of Italy, had boldly faced a thousand dangers in revolution and war, now wept bitterly, touched by a feeling common to all—shame.

When the rubbish was removed, the remains of a machine were discovered, made of rope smeared with tar, and wound round and round, until capable of containing thirty *rotoli* of powder. It had been placed beneath the vaulting of a small staircase in the interior of the building, to which no one had access except one Viscardi, a partisan of the Bourbons, and an enemy of the French, a wretched being, bearing a bad character, but who had been left in the place with his chemical apparatus, either from inadvertence or by some fatal chance; he with his two sons and three pupils were arrested and imprisoned. The police thirsting for revenge, and more vigilant and active than ever, made many more researches in

the city and in the provinces, placing spies in every house and over every person ; they discovered other conspiracies formed against the State, and criminal correspondence with the Queen of Sicily, with Villatranfo, and with Canosa ; besides plots, meetings of conspirators, and atrocious schemes. Many persons, most of whom were guilty, although several among them were innocent, were thrown into prison ; many more fled or concealed themselves, and all trembled for their safety. A single crime committed by a faction thus became a public calamity.

Some of those who were imprisoned, and, above all, the Viscardi, were severely handled by the agents of police. The father from the weakness of age (he was seventy-six years old), or from habitual perfidy, revealed the whole plot on a promise of pardon for his share in the crime. He affirmed that it had been the work of the Queen of Sicily and the Prince of Canosa, whose emissaries had some of them arrived from Palermo, while others had been acted upon in Naples; their aim was to compass the death of Saliceti, because they hated him personally, and because he was an obstacle in the way of the revolution they had prepared in the kingdom. He described the machine and where it was placed, and the moment they intended to fire the train, which was to have been just as the minister entered the palace, as they hoped it would have exploded at the moment when he passed into the room above ; further, how the explosion was delayed by want of courage in the man employed for the work, and in what way those implicated had escaped on board a vessel bound for Ponza or Sicily. He betrayed the names of the persons engaged, the time employed, and all the particulars of the conspiracy, mixing up false with true, and inculpating one of his own sons who was absent and safe at Palermo ; but a few days later, when he was no longer in the power of the police, and neither under torture nor menaces, but only dreading lest the promised impunity should not be fully maintained if he did not reveal all he knew, he accused his two sons who were imprisoned with him, and over whom the axe of justice was still suspended. But this deed of accusation, written by the hand of their unnatural father, was returned to him by the magistrate[1] employed

[1] Compilatore di Processo, the magistrate who collects and prepares the evidence upon which an a cused person is brought to trial.

to draw up the indictment, and our knowledge of the fact proceeds from Viscardi himself, who, in the course of the trial, when reproached for some falsehood, appealed to this paper as an argument of his sincerity, and thus betrayed his own acts to the tribunal and the public.

Upon the trace of his revelations, and of other documents discovered by the industry of the police, the indictment was drawn up and publicly discussed. Two of the accomplices, one of whom was the son of Viscardi, were condemned to death. The promise to the father was faithfully performed, and he passed his few remaining days in infamy. In the course of the trial, it was discovered that in 1799 he had attempted to poison the bread distributed to the French troops, and that in 1800 he had boasted of it, and demanded a reward for his services from the Government which had succeeded the Republic. Although the sentence of those guilty of the destruction of the palace was made public, and the procès printed, some asserted, and others believed the sentence to have been unjust, for it is a condition attached to the possession of power, to have justice itself suspected, when the decision happens to be in favour of those holding authority.

The orders of knighthood having ceased with the fall of the Bourbon race, the royal order of the Two Sicilies was instituted, in imitation of that of the French Legion of Honour. The badge was a ruby-coloured star with five rays, and the arms of Naples in the centre, with the motto *Renovata Patria* on one side, and on the other the effigy of the king, with the inscription *Joseph Napoleo, Siciliarum rex instituit,* surmounted by a golden eagle, and suspended by a blue ribbon. The king was grandmaster, there were fifty high dignitaries, a hundred commanders, and five hundred knights. The grandmaster in council granted rewards and promotion for military merit, public service, and for every kind of talent. They were alike bestowed on generals, soldiers, savans, princes or artisans: and thus following in the steps of modern civilisation, social distinctions sprang from the bosom of equality. The highest court officials, officers in the army, the most celebrated native artists, literary men, and the first of the nobility, were decorated with this order; and a great many crosses were reserved as rewards for future services. The acknowledged merits of those who were

first decorated shed a lustre on the new order, and afterwards the order shed a lustre on new persons.

The French army had now been two years in the kingdom, and all the provinces obeyed the new king, except Reggio, Scilla, and some districts of southern Calabria, possessed by the Bourbonists and the English. The cities of Seminara and Rosarno, with the vast plain as far as Nicotèra, garrisoned by both parties, suffered more than the conquered lands; for they were used by either army as a battle-field, each preparing leisurely for war within their separate boundary lines, and then sallying forth to attack the other. Thus the army led by the Prince of Philipstadt burst on the plains of Seminara, and strong in numbers, and impetuous in their first charge, bore back the defeated French to Monteleone, and encamped at Mileto. But General Reynier, having collected his troops again, assaulted their camp in return, and routed them, driving the enemy back as far as Reggio, and then resumed his former position, not being in sufficient force to maintain new territory, and to invest Scilla, which was defended by the English.

Reinforced by additional regiments in the beginning of February, he approached Reggio; as part of the road leading to the city borders on the sea, four English vessels steering close in to shore, kept up a brisk fire of cannon, killing the French soldiers, breaking their lines, and harassing the march of the army. Just then a storm at sea fortunately arose, of such violence that the ships could hardly bear up against the hurricane; but it was so important to continue the attack on the enemy's lines, that they would not quit the vicinity of the shore, although as naval men, they were well aware of the danger they incurred, nor cease firing, although from the motion of the waves, they seldom hit the mark.

The wind rose to such a height, that the course their warlike ardour had hitherto prompted them to pursue, was now forced upon them by necessity; for the ships, thrown violently towards the land could no longer move freely, and the galley slaves by whom they were manned, only thought of self-preservation. Their danger was seen from Messina, off which the English navy was anchored. Captain Glaston, who commanded a ship of the line, embarked on board a war brig, and set sail for Calabria. The French observing the difficulties with which the smaller vessels were contending, and

that a larger ship was approaching to their assistance, threw themselves into the sea, and swimming with their swords in their mouths, were fortunate enough to reach them; holding on by the gunnel with their left hands, they fought with their right, and triumphantly succeeded in boarding them; thus were four armed vessels captured by naked infantry. The brig thrown on the coast of Calabria by a furious wind from the south, and by the currents, grounded upon the sands; and the French seeing it in this condition, ran to the neighbouring shore, whilst some of them reached the place by swimming. The fight lasted two hours; the captain was killed, and the ship, which had fourteen cannon and a considerable number of soldiers on board, besides a large body of galley slaves, surrendered to the enemy.[1]

The conquerors, reanimated by this victory, where the efforts of French valour had been favoured by wind and fortune, gained possession of the city of Reggio that same day, forcing the garrison of eight hundred soldiers to retire into the citadel, which they surrendered on the morrow. Reynier, immediately turning his troops and artillery against Scilla, began the siege on the 4th February, which ended on the 17th, by the English retreating by covered stairs, which they had hewn with immense labour in the living rock, during the eighteen months that they had kept possession of the place, and taking refuge on their ships which lay prepared to receive them. The French found the fortress empty, and destroyed less by the ravages of war, than by the precaution and spite of the garrison who had fled. As no event of this siege is sufficiently important to detain us upon the subject, I will only mention that after the expulsion of the garrisons of Reggio and Scilla, not another stronghold remained to the Bourbonist flag within the kingdom, nor any further hope of dominion or of the restoration of the old king.

[1] General Colletta was misinformed on the whole of this affair, which is thus described by an English authority: "On the 30th January 1808, the sixteen-gun brig-sloop 'Delight,' Captain P. C. Handfield, while engaged in endeavouring to recapture four *Sicilian* gunboats which General Reynier had a few days before taken, grounded under the batteries of Reggio. Captain Handfield, a very promising young officer, was killed; and Captain Thomas Secombe of the 'Glutton,' who was serving on board the 'Delight,' was mortally wounded and taken prisoner. The 'Delight,' however, was of no use to the enemy, having been burnt by the survivors of the crew."—James's *Naval History*, vol. v. p. 12.

New laws were passed, identical with the French laws composing the Code Napoléon; thus named, because Napoleon when First Consul and legislator had honoured it with his name. It included the civil and penal codes, those relating to commerce, and to criminal and civil procedure. The civil which combined the legislative wisdom of the ancient Greeks and Romans, and that of modern Europe, was divided under two heads, containing all that related to *persons* and *things*. All the laws under this head were founded on the one true and immutable principle, that numerous effects may be deduced from a single and simple cause. Under the head *persons*, marriage was first considered, which is in some codes only treated as a civil compact, and therefore subject to change like every other civil transaction, while in others it is considered a religious rite, immutable as a decree of God; but in the Code Napoléon, it was treated as a natural connexion belonging to man, not fortuitous, nor temporary, but deliberately entered upon by both parties, and unalterable. The principle regulating all the laws relating to *things* was personal equality, a principle in which the most strict and necessary justice resides; for those civil laws which really equalize the rights and duties of citizens do not admit injustice towards any individual.

Of the two sections which composed the commercial code, those which related to foreign commerce were wanting, while internal commerce was carefully regulated, frauds prevented or punished, and assistance provided in the case of losses arising from adverse fortune. The rules or obligations imposed on merchants would seem superfluous, had not long habits of fraud, negligence in the enforcement of former ordinances, the increased passion for gain, and the corruption of the times, made this rigour necessary. The tribunals of commerce instituted by the Code, were wisely conceived; merchants were the judges, elected by merchants, to be changed from time to time; and were provided with a jury of merchants. The section of the code which was to regulate foreign commerce and international dealings was postponed on account of the war mania and hatred against England, and it was hoped that it would be added at the restoration of peace.

The penal code, as instituted in France, was neither adapted to our habits, nor was it, in our case, just; for though it may be

expedient and even desirable, for a people to accept a code of civil laws from another, because social and artificial interests are the same all over Europe, yet the occasions which make penal laws necessary, as they arise from the physical and moral constitution of society, and must depend on the way in which men think and feel, differ in various races of mankind. The amount of guilt attached to misdeeds, and patience under suffering is not alike in all; therefore the punishments which are adapted for some cases are too great, and for others too trifling. The scale of crimes and punishments was in fact defective with us; the punishments were far too severe, and there was too much prodigality of human life. In France, this was the result of the number of revolutions which had taken place in a period of twenty years. In cases of confiscation, likewise assigned as a punishment for certain misdemeanours, the innocent unborn posterity were made to suffer for the crime of their ancestor, an injustice proceeding from the avarice and cupidity of those in power, and from the habit of seeing patrimonies despoiled by the thousand, men of opulence ruined, and the sons of rich fathers in destitution. In particular cases, the government reserved to itself the power, when an individual had been acquitted by the magistrates, of leaving him in the custody of the police, which was a necessary and unhappy consequence of the times, and was the subject of a special law, not belonging to the code. The punishment of the pillory was abused; a punishment which may perhaps be just where a sense of shame is general, but is most unjust in our country, where from corrupt morals no sense of shame exists, or where it is found, is often excessive.

The code intended to regulate the mode of criminal procedure is unlike that for punishments necessarily influenced by time or place, and though founded upon the judgment and reason of man, is immutable and eternal. Penal codes should be as various as the people of the earth and the changes of time, but if the code regulating criminal trials were fair and equitable, it would apply to every nation and every age. We, therefore, neither committed an error, nor decided rashly, when we adopted that of another nation, which was however unfortunately presented to us in an imperfect state. Bonaparte, when First Consul, permitted the introduction of juries

in France, but when Emperor, forbade the exercise of this right in Naples, and Joseph, forced to obey, did not even allude to the institution in his new code.

Exceptional and police tribunals, special and prevostal courts[1] and military commissions were other defects in the law. The false and iniquitous doctrine that the criminal procès is the arena where the law and the accused contend for victory, had produced, and still produces the most serious social evils. The necessary consequence of this idea is, that under the influence of resentment, one party deprives the other of his weapons and adopts them as his own, and in the case of crimes generally obnoxious to society and the government, the means of defence are diminished to the accused, and those of attack are increased for their accusers: thence proceeded exceptional tribunals. If the procès, however, can be trusted, which contains the proofs by which the crime is detected, it is unnecessary to resort to other modes of inquiry; for as there can be only one chain of reasoning to prove anything with certainty, so in the science of criminal judicature, one form of procedure alone can lead to the discovery of truth. After thus enumerating the defects in our codes of laws, I shall with more pleasure turn to their merits.

Their principal merit is the right of public discussion, more conducive to the ends of justice even than the jury itself, though this last is a means for the attainment of political rights; but justice is even of more importance to the people than political rights. The value of public discussion is tested by its necessary results—public trial, the moral conviction of the judges, and the power of public opinion in controlling unjust verdicts; for with the Neapolitans, who are as suspicious and irritable as they are wanting in courage and political virtue, the public manifestation of every act of the government is the one sure guarantee of civil liberty which they demand, and not many guarantees, as supposed by modern innovators.

Another and not less valuable part of the code is that which regulates the punishments for petty offences, such as provocations

[1] *Prevostal Courts.* Where certain cases were decided. They were presided over by a greater number of judges than the ordinary, the proceedings were different, and there was no appeal from their decisions.

by insult and fighting, which had been hitherto tolerated, because the lower orders were degraded by the harsh viceregal government, by feudal customs, and the separation of classes. But the desire for equality, which was now at its height, the abolition of the feudal system, and the elevation to the throne of kings who were men of the people, forbade the continuance of these practices. Laws, called correctional, were intended for their suppression, and established a kind of censorship which would have been too severe in enlightened times, but which in an age of corruption appeared lenient, and tended to the purification of morals.

With regard to the regulation of civil procedures, to which, for the sake of brevity, I add the law respecting the appointments of magistrates, the defects lay in too avaricious and financial a spirit, too vast an accumulation of acts relating to trials, and too great a length of time assigned for their continuance. Its merits were, that equal competition was secured, justice attended to on the spot, property ascertained by a public register of deeds and mortgages, the march of justice never interrupted, the independence of the magistrates maintained, and a supreme magistracy instituted, called the Court of Cassation, which supported and guaranteed the performance of the laws. This result of the new views of philosophy and legislation is of itself a sufficient proof of the superiority of our age over the last.

Tribunals for the administration of the public money were organized. A council, under the *Intendente* (*consiglio d'intendenza*), was appointed in every province, and a judge, called *Magistrato di prima istanza*,[1] appointed to try all such cases. The royal court of audit revised the decisions of the council of the *Intendente* in some suits, and tried others in the first instance. An appeal was allowed from the decisions of both the council of the *Intendente* and of the court of audit, to the Council of State. Though the laws of justice respecting these cases were the same as the code of common law, the proceedings were different, tending to favour persons and things belonging to the administration; hence they had all the character and defects of exceptional tribunals, which may be tolerated in a new State, where the agents of the executive

[1] *Magistrato di prima istanza*, before whom a case was first brought, but from whose decision an appeal could be made.

power may be multiplied to any extent, because it has not yet been ascertained how the systems of government work, but are unsuitable to old States, because they are provisional measures, and therefore unworthy the name and respect paid to codes or laws. In the meantime, this arbitrary system was acceptable to the ruling powers; and though the Bonapartist dynasty was strengthened by new interests and by the people becoming accustomed to their sway, the despotic ordinances relating to the administration of the public money continued unaltered.

The promised codes having been completed, published, and brought into operation, the kingdom presented a noble spectacle. A tribunal in every community, and superior tribunals in the districts and provinces; trials begun and ended on the spot; the sentence and the judges themselves always on the side of the people, despotic usages abolished, and *scrivani* dismissed, besides the deception and torture formerly employed towards the accused and witnesses, forbidden. And thus the enormous accumulation of defects and vices contained in the old system of jurisprudence, the fruit of eighteen centuries of servitude in Italy, political convulsions, domestic wars, devastating conquests, the invasions of barbarians, the pride of the great, the servitude of the people, and the government of a distant ruler indifferent to our interests, were in a short space of time demolished and swept away. The whole aspect of the law was now changed in our eyes, and what once appeared a mere exercise of power, became a right; whereas we were formerly domineered over, we were now governed; and where once obedience was exacted, the government now endeavoured to convince and gain the favour of the people. The law, therefore, which, when in its most perfect state in past times, had been only an instrument to preserve tranquillity, and to be employed for the ends of justice, became for the future an instrument of political rights.

CHAPTER V.

DEPARTURE OF THE KING—THE LAST DAYS OF HIS REIGN.

The news which had been whispered for several past days was now confirmed. The king departed, and the precautions he took before leaving, were indications that he would not return. A month later, he published an edict from Bayonne, in which he declared himself called by God to the throne of Spain and of the Indies; adding, that he left us with regret, as he appeared to have effected little, when the necessities of the State were alone considered; though much, if his zeal, his anxiety, and the fatigues of government which he had undergone, were remembered. As a proof of his attachment to Naples, he issued a constitutional statute; a politic measure, inasmuch as it contained all the good which had been conferred by him, and as he appeared there as the originator of the greatest blessings in the kingdom.

This statute was divided under eleven heads: the first related to the State religion, which was confirmed as the Roman Catholic apostolic faith; the second related to the Crown; the third to the Government; the fourth to the royal family; and in the event of the king's death, provision was made for his successor, and for the case of a minor. The fourth contained the civil list, where it appeared that between the payment received from the public treasury and the royal domains, little short of two millions of ducats, or one-eighth of the revenue had reverted annually to King Joseph and the small number of persons composing his family—a modest income, perhaps, had he belonged to the old dynasties, but exorbitant in a new monarch, and disgraceful and a public wrong when the present embarrassed state of the exchequer is considered. The fifth head related to the officers of the household, of whom the

same number were appointed as in the court of Napoleon, which was itself an imitation of the establishments of the early kings of France; under the sixth head was comprehended the Cabinet, and under the seventh the Council of State, both of which were converted into constitutional bodies.

The eighth head related to the Parliament, and decreed that it should consist of an assembly of one hundred members, divided into five benches, the clergy, the nobility, the landed gentry, savans, and merchants; eighty out of the hundred to be chosen by the king, and the twenty landholders by electoral colleges nominated by the king, who was to prescribe time and forms; the ecclesiastics, nobles, and savans, to be for life, the landed gentry and merchants to be renewed every session; the parliament to meet at least once in three years, and the king, who convoked it, to prorogue and dissolve it at his pleasure; only to be permitted to treat of matters which had been presented and examined into by the speakers on the side of Government; never to propose anything, so that what in modern language is called the initiative in the laws, belonged solely to the king; the sessions were to be held privately, and the votes and discussions in no way to be made public, the publication of them being surreptitious, and those guilty of the act liable to be punished for rebellion.

Under the ninth head, the Courts of Judicature were regulated; the tenth, the administration in the provinces, and the laws already published relating to these matters, were confirmed; the eleventh, which was the last, contained general resolutions, defining the duties of citizens, their rights, and how foreigners might obtain naturalization; the abolition of the feudal system was confirmed, the public debt guaranteed, and the sale of the State property maintained. The measures to be adopted for the other Sicily were postponed until a later period. The people, the rights of the sovereign, political liberty, and personal security, were not even mentioned, which, though little more than empty words, are the boast of modern constitutions.

This manifesto, called the Statute of Bayonne, because given out from Bayonne, on the 20th June 1808, was guaranteed to the kingdom of the Two Sicilies by the Emperor Napoleon, who at that time was ostentatious in his display of liberality towards the

people, in order better to deceive Spain. The law was little comprehended within the kingdom, and ill received; for the people reproached their rulers with talking of liberty, and of their care for the public weal, amidst existing servitude and misery. Constitutions, indeed, which might perhaps have been well adapted to the state of civilisation in the seventeenth century, were unsuitable to the nineteenth, after so much had been said and echoed about liberality, equality, and the rights of the people. But, meanwhile, it was folly rather than wisdom, and angry disappointment rather than cool deliberation, which induced the Neapolitans to be indifferent to the fulfilment of this statute, for a hundred notables might have been assembled in Parliament at a time when it was esteemed a virtue to speak on the side of the people, and under a new dynasty, reigning over a distracted kingdom. Where numbers are congregated together, of whomsoever composed, they are always impressed with the character of the times: the feudal period, the age of municipal liberty, that of the supremacy of the Papacy, and that of the Crusades, alike bear witness to this fact; so that had the Neapolitans understood their generation better, they would have found that the constitution of Bayonne might have acted as a restraint upon despotism.

In July of that year, 1808, the family of King Joseph, his wife and two sons, who three months before had entered Naples without regal pomp, and almost without a demonstration from the people, departed for France. But their departure was not as modest as their arrival, for hardly was it made known than the great officers of the crown, the ministers, councillors of state, municipal officers, generals, magistrates, learned societies, and academies, hastened to court to offer their congratulations to the Queen of Spain. The day they set out, the French and Neapolitan troops were paraded along the Strada di Toledo. The queen left the palace; Marshal Jourdain on horseback preceding the royal carriage, and followed by the ambassadors of foreign potentates, and a numerous cortege. An immense crowd of spectators increased the magnificence of the spectacle, and although this concourse of persons were only assembled out of curiosity, it had the appearance of public homage. Many noble gentlemen and ladies took leave at Aversa, and others at Capua; the ministers, councillors of

state, and other distinguished personages, were dismissed on the frontiers of the kingdom, whilst three ladies, the Duchess of Cassano, the Marchioness del Gallo, and the Princess Doria Avellino, with the Prince d'Angri, accompanied the queen on her whole journey, and returned home laden with gifts.

These pageants remind me of the varied fortunes of former queens of Naples, more frequently unhappy than the reverse. First, Constance of the Norman race, wife of the Emperor Henry, was betrayed in Salerno, and sent in chains to Sicily to her enemy, King Tancred; soon afterwards, Sibilla was likewise betrayed, besieged in a fortress, and taken prisoner. She was carried into Germany with her two unhappy daughters, and her unfortunate son William, then in tender age. Helena, the wife of Manfred, anxious to learn the fate of the king after his defeat, was still more miserable when his body was discovered buried in the mire, and mutilated by foes and subjects. She herself was besieged in Lucera, and a captive of Charles in the Castle dell' Uovo, where she died happy in not beholding the miserable end of her three sons. Sancia, the widow of Robert, was persecuted in many ways by her niece, Joanna, and was obliged to shut herself up in the Convent of Santa Croce, where she ended her days. Soon after this, Joanna, a shameless and degraded woman, openly unfaithful to her husband, was publicly sentenced to punishment: three times a widow, driven from her throne, a fugitive and a captive, she was strangled, and exposed after death to public opprobrium. Next came Margaret, the widow of King Charles of Durazzo, who was himself killed by a slave in Hungary, while she was imprisoned in Gaeta, where she was seeking a refuge for herself and her son. Shortly afterwards, the unhappy Constance of Chiaramonte was asked in marriage by Ladislaus for her great wealth, and after she had enabled him to recover his throne, he suddenly repudiated her, and reduced her to private life and poverty, in the presence of her fortunate rival and haughty mother-in-law. The second Joanna, who bestowed her hand and throne on James, was rewarded by domestic strife and imprisonment; liberated by the people, she was forced to besiege her own husband, to take him prisoner and banish him from the kingdom; without children, or the hope of having any, she adopted Alphonso,

who, eager for power, made war against her. She next adopted Louis, and (unfortunate in those on whom she conferred benefits) she had to suffer his ingratitude, and found an enemy in him also. She saw her lover, Pandolfello, beheaded, and his body dragged through the streets; her favourite Sergianni was betrayed and murdered in the palace, and she herself died of grief. Isabella, the wife of Réné, fled the kingdom with her children, and joined by her husband, who was likewise a fugitive, left their enemy, Alphonso, in tranquil possession of his throne. Another Isabella, the wife of Frederic of Arragon, escaped from a French prison, and took shelter in a small convent in Ferrara, where she was supported by the charity of a few monks. I remember to have seen in the little fortress on the rocky island of Ischia, two queens prisoners, and the last remnant of the proud race of Arragon humbled and degraded; and I have lived to see Caroline of Austria, three times a fugitive from Naples, die in exile, and cursed by her subjects.

These women were the descendants of royal and powerful houses, but Julia Clary, the wife of King Joseph, was the daughter of a respectable but obscure merchant in Marseilles; fortune decreed that her term of prosperity should also be of short duration, and that she should fall from a throne, but unlike them, her life was always humble and blameless. Such sports of fortune should be a lesson to human pride, if the proud would ever take warning from example.

On the 2d July, the edict of Joseph was published, which announced that he was transferred to the government of another kingdom, an office which he called a burden, and which eventually became such. On the 31st of the same month, a decree of Napoleon proclaimed the king who was to succeed; the interregnum lasted twenty-eight days, and the State was carried on without a head; the established laws, the authority of the magistrates, the power of the army, and the submission of the people continuing as before. As, from this time forth, King Joseph no longer belongs to the kingdom of Naples, I will here give a brief sketch of his character, and the state of the kingdom at his departure. He was a learned man, and accomplished in French, Italian, and Latin literature, but was ignorant of science; an able politician of the modern

French school, cautious in the midst of dangers, and when these increased, timid and even cruel; he was just in prosperity, and as long as his hopes and suspicions were not awakened; while always professing admiration for a life of modesty and retirement, he was eager to enjoy the pleasures and luxuries of royalty; though upright in his professions, he was ready to accommodate his actions to the necessity of the hour; he loved sumptuous living, and was likewise covetous of wealth, the natural consequence of his precarious and new position. Submissive and devoted to his imperial brother, he was more studious to please him than to serve his people. He had sufficient capacity to fulfil the office of king as kings had been, but was unequal to the burden imposed upon a new monarch.

He reformed the State, often from a desire to imitate France, and always introducing her laws, government, and customs; for that reason his government often wanted the impulse of originality, and at other times the effect did not equal the conception. For example, when the feudal system was abolished, and after the publication of the new judiciary system, new fiefs were formed; military commissions and exceptional tribunals increased, and at the very time that detestation was expressed for the spoliations committed by the Bourbonist Government, those who had possessed *arrendamenti*, and those who had purchased offices under the government, or in charitable institutions, were despoiled; the practices of the police under Vanni were held up to abhorrence, and the verdicts of Speciale were execrated—yet worse practices and more unjust verdicts were accepted. It appeared as if a new edifice, containing as many errors as the past, had been erected on its ruins.

But some of the many benefits conferred had no counterpoise in evil. Monasteries had been suppressed, property divided, the number of landholders increased, the power of the Papacy humbled, equality of rights among the subjects established, merit rewarded, science revived, the learned treated with respect, and progress had been made in political rights. The errors which have been pointed out must find their apology in the license inherent in a conquest, in the disquietudes of war and rebellion, and in the troubles incident to a new state, which are indeed serious, yet only temporary,

calamities. The institutions and the laws, however, which survive, were adapted to the wants of society, and the opinions of the age.

The reform was, however, incomplete; it was everywhere despised during the reign of Joseph, and little valued (as will be seen) under Joachim; but, such as it is, it will, in the course of years, acquire stability and favour in the eyes of the people. The new era of civilisation, although checked in its progress, may be seen advancing in Europe; but when the admirers of the past blame the legitimate governments for timidity and want of skill in the management of men, it is because they expect too much. Political liberty grows as the oak in the forest; it may lose its leaves by the severity of winter, its branches may be broken by the axe or the thunderbolt, but it is not therefore dead, for it bears within itself the germ of life and of increase.

BOOK VII.

REIGN OF JOACHIM MURAT.

1808-1815.

CHAPTER I.

ARRIVALS OF THE KING AND OF THE QUEEN IN NAPLES—MEASURES FOR THE CONDUCT OF THE WAR AND FOR THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE KINGDOM.

1808—1810.

A DECREE of the Emperor Napoleon, by him called a Statute, dated Bayonne, the 15th July 1808, ran thus:—"We concede to our well-beloved brother-in-law, Joachim Napoleon, Grand Duke of Berg and Cleves, the throne of Naples and of Sicily, vacant by the accession of Joseph Napoleon to the throne of Spain and of the Indies." The Statute proceeded under other heads to regulate the order of succession, decreeing, that should Caroline Bonaparte survive her husband Joachim Murat, she should ascend the throne before her sons; that as long as the established order of succession should continue, the King of the Two Sicilies should add to his title that of High Admiral of the French Empire, and that in default of heirs of the race of Murat, the Sicilian crown should revert to the empire of France; that the new king should assume the government on the first day of the ensuing month of August, and be guided by the terms of the Statute of Bayonne of the 20th June of that year.

A contemporary edict of Joachim (following the usual practice of kings) promised prosperity and renown to the people of the Two Sicilies; he swore to adhere to the Statute of Bayonne, informed

his subjects of his speedy arrival in Naples, and charged the ministers of the Crown and the magistrates to watch over the maintenance of the State during his absence; while by another decree he appointed Perignon, a marshal of the empire, his lieutenant.

As soon as the Neapolitans were informed who was to be their new king, they made inquiries concerning his birth, life, habits, and public acts; but his reputation for valour cast all his other qualities into the shade; so much so, that those ignorant of the virtues which characterize the true soldier, feared to find in him an inflexible ruler, a heart obdurate to pity, a constant desire for war and the gratification of his ambition, with incapacity as well as impatience, amidst the duties of peace. This alarm was increased by the accounts of recent events in Spain, and the rebellion in Madrid, which Joachim had suppressed with much slaughter. But, on the other hand, the benefits which the people had received from the reign of Joseph, were but feeble and slow in their results, while the evils they had endured were so great and manifest, that any change of government was popular with the multitude, who likewise believed that the warlike spirit of the new king would disdain the hated practices of the police; and they hoped, at least, to change the nature of their sufferings, which is a kind of respite in misery. While Joachim was yet at a distance, his name-day happened to recur, and as splendid fêtes were held in the city and in the kingdom, as are usually given from adulation or fear, in honour of kings when present.

On the 6th day of September of that year, he made his public entry into Naples on horseback, splendidly attired, but in the uniform he usually wore in battle, and without the royal mantle or any symbol of kingly power. At the gate, which was a temporary one, constructed in the Piazza di Foria, he received the homage of the magistrates, the keys of the city, and other tokens of submission. Handsome and magnificent in his person, his countenance radiant with joy, and smiling as his fortunes, powerful, successful, and with a soldier-like demeanour, he possessed all those external attractions which charm the people. In the church of the Spirito Santo, Cardinal Firrao bestowed on him the sacred benediction, which he received with reverence, but standing erect upon the steps of the throne; from thence he proceeded to the royal palace, con-

ducting himself during the ceremonies almost with as much ease as a king accustomed to greatness from his birth; the city was splendidly illuminated, and the public rejoicings consequent on this momentary appearance of felicity, were sincere, and were prolonged throughout the night.

The first acts of the new reign, such as granting pardon to deserters, convoking the Provincial Councils, and reducing some of the expenditure, even when this reduction prejudiced the interests of the French army which garrisoned the kingdom, were humane, and were beneficial to the people; besides these acts, he gave some assistance to retired soldiers and the widows and orphans of those who had served in the former Neapolitan army, and who had been neglected by his predecessor. He added the insignia of the High Admiral of France to the royal arms, and inserted his own name in place of that of Joseph. The commencement of his reign was not only rich with acts of clemency, but promoted the happiness of his people; and the police meanwhile suspended their severities, or at least concealed them. Hardly had the fêtes for the arrival of the new king terminated, before the rejoicings and opportunities for profitable speculation were renewed in the preparations for other fêtes for the reception of the queen. Many therefore were the hopes excited for the public welfare, and universal was the appearance of joy, when, on the 25th September, Caroline Murat arrived in the capital. The ceremony was less splendid than that which had greeted the arrival of the king, but was more striking from the admiration her beauty excited, from her truly royal demeanour, from the spectacle of four young and lovely children, and from the general notion which prevailed, that Joachim owed his diadem to her.

In the midst of these festivities, the king was maturing his scheme for an expedition to Capri. That island, which was held by the English, was made a focus for conspiracies and brigandage; it was confided to the charge of Colonel Lowe, a man of harsh and rapacious character.[1] The king only communicated the plan of attack to the minister of war, that he might prepare the neces-

[1] Afterwards Sir Hudson Lowe. Recent memoirs prove that the harsh opinion once entertained of Sir Hudson Lowe's character was exaggerated and unjust.

sary supply of arms and provisions, and to one officer of engineers,[1] a Neapolitan, who was ordered to circumnavigate the island in a small vessel, the crew of which should be kept in ignorance of his object, and to determine the point of disembarkation, as well as other military details required to insure the success of the enterprise. This expedition had been twice attempted during the reign of Joseph, and as often failed from want of secrecy; entailing disgrace and shame upon us, for our ships, encountering those of the enemy, were taken or dispersed.

Capri, which is twenty-six miles distant from Naples, and three from the promontory of Campanella, rises, in its whole circumference, in high rocks from the sea; a narrow roadstead, called the Port, affords an insecure shelter to small ships; in another place, a strip of sandy coast would allow the approach of light vessels, were they not kept at a distance by powerful batteries of cannon, fortifications, and entrenchments. The interior of the island is divided into two parts; that towards the east of moderate elevation, while the other facing the west is extremely lofty. In the first is situated the city, properly called Capri, besides many villas, the Port, and part of the beach called the Marina; it contains the proud remains of Tiberian luxury, and possesses a fertile soil, covered with vines: on the opposite side, named Anacapri, the land is sterile and rugged, and the sky laden with clouds and agitated by winds; a small village built there is connected with the other side of the island by a narrow road, cut into the rock in three hundred and eighty-one high steps, most of which are worn with age or eroded by water. Four thousand inhabitants cultivate the island, and were at that time friendly to the English garrison, which consisted of eighteen hundred soldiers. Whoever ventured near was stopped by the ditch, the wall, or the guard; the harbour and the Marina were fenced in by batteries of cannon; five forts, one at Anacapri, and four at Capri, all well provided with arms, commanded the whole country, and the city was surrounded by a wall. The English, who believed this post impregnable, called it the Little Gibraltar; but nothing could daunt the military ardour of Joachim, who considered it a disgrace that he should from

[1] General Pietro Colletta.

his palace behold the enemy's colours flying, and that their garrison should remain careless and secure.

His scheme having been well matured, he fitted out a considerable number of boats, laden with French and Neapolitan soldiers, and he confided the supreme command to General Lamarque; in the night of the 3d October, the principal part of the expedition started from the port of Naples, while a smaller force sailed from Salerno. At midday on the 4th, the island was invested on three sides, on that of the Port, on the Marina, and on a high part of the shore of Anacapri. Of the three attacks, the two first were feints, although by the number of vessels engaged, and by the impetuosity of the assault, they might be supposed in earnest, while Anacapri, which was invaded by so insignificant a force as almost to escape observation, was the real point of attack. Here upon a little rock covered by the waves, several officers disembarked, and leaning a wooden ladder against the cliff ascended to the top, and scrambled for a considerable distance over the crags; placing another ladder, and mounting it, they arrived at a spacious landing, crowned with great stones, disposed by nature in the form of an arch, the last impediment to be overcome before reaching the summit of what formed the back of the island.

The road was thus made; one after the other followed the first who had disembarked, until upwards of eighty, amongst whom was our general, had set foot on the island. As a sign of triumph, our pennon was planted on the top of each ladder, but the defenders of the place were so negligent, that they had not yet perceived our approach. We were at length discovered. The enemy ran up the crest of the overhanging eminence, but were kept at bay by the shots fired at them from behind the masses of rock; timid and irresolute, they waited for the succour they had sent for from Capri, and did not venture nearer; in the meantime, more of our soldiers were disembarked, and so rapidly, that five hundred of them were soon engaged in the fray.

A storm now arose, and our ships were obliged to put out to sea; it was, therefore, impossible to approach the first rock, and the few who had the courage to attempt it, were drowned; the disembarkation was therefore stopped. The number who had already landed being insufficient for the enterprise (as out of five

hundred, seven had been killed, and a hundred and thirty-five wounded), they waited for night, which was now near, hoping it might conceal our inferiority from the enemy, and add to their terror. In the meantime, the battle raged on all sides of the island. Colonel Lowe, although an adept in police strategy, was inexperienced in that of war; he became confused, and confounded all the rules of generalship. With considerable difficulty he shifted the garrisons within the island from place to place without aim or object, but following the direction of our boats which moved with facility out at sea; he meanwhile neglected to strengthen Anacapri, and to send succour to the little regiment of Maltese by which it was defended. The night arrived, and the appearance of war ceased, though not its anxieties.

The heavens favoured us: after a short period of darkness, the moon rose clear and full upon the horizon, and illuminated the crest of that eminence which was guarded by the enemy. The English were exposed to our view, while we were concealed by the rocks and the shadow of the hill; thus, killed or wounded, the remainder were forced to retreat, leaving some behind them as scouts, who soon afterwards fell, or made their escape, since they were seen and fired at by our men, and the place remained deserted. Our little army was then formed into two columns, and having surmounted the last obstacles the ground presented, without meeting with any opposition, we marched on in silence, one column moving to the right, and the other to the left of the rocks, behind which, in order to make a noise and thereby deceive the enemy, several soldiers were ensconced, who continued firing, whilst we, unobserved, reached the platform at the top of the hill, within a small distance of the enemy's troops. We attacked them with impetuosity, shouting, discharging our fire-arms and beating our drums, and put them to the rout; they all yielded themselves prisoners, except a few of the more quick and active, who escaped in the confusion of the night, and amidst the intricacies of the paths and of the country, succeeded in shutting themselves up in the fort.

That same night we, having gained the head of the long stair which leads to Capri, and occupied as much ground in Anacapri as we were able to reconnoitre, surrounded the fort. At daybreak, on the 5th, the garrison was summoned to surrender, and was

menaced with being reduced to the last extremity if they attempted any resistance, which our messenger (as is common in such cases) assured them would be useless. After a brief consultation, the fort was given up, and three hundred more soldiers yielded themselves prisoners, who, with the four hundred already taken, were sent in triumph to Naples. They arrived just when the malice of some, the fears of others, and the loquacity usual with the common people, who love to spread tales of disaster, had reported our death or capture. Already masters of Anacapri, and therefore of the island, we were proud of having subjugated so strong a place, although we, the assailants, numbered only a fourth part of the enemy's garrison, and of having taken prisoners double our own forces. The French soldiers among us, gloried in fighting under the eyes of their old and valiant captain, and the Neapolitans rejoiced still more, in having gained the admiration of their new king, in their native city having been a witness of their prowess, and in having rivalled the French troops in skill and courage. That whole day, the king had watched the assault and the defence from his palace, and sent orders and directions, which were only suspended during the night; the following day, before dawn, he resumed his labours, but soon afterwards growing impatient, he proceeded to Massa, the nearest point to Capri he could reach.

That day, having explored the promontory of Anacapri, we pitched our tents, and although at the furthest point the guns could carry, erected batteries of cannon to attack the city which lay below; after disposing of all the troops we had, we sent in haste for other squadrons, who were disembarked at the same place as the first, not being able to find, even after a deliberate survey, a less difficult landing than that selected amidst the turmoils and solicitude of war. Having waited for the night to descend into Capri, we expected at every step to meet the enemy, as from the houses, walls, and other impediments presented by the nature of the ground, it was well adapted for defence; but Colonel Lowe, with more than a thousand soldiers, kept himself shut up in the city, which we therefore surrounded by our posts during the night, and the following day commenced the siege.

The English, who were in Ponza and Sicily, having received intimation of the dangers to which Capri was exposed, now hastened

thither with a few ships of war ; and, on their arrival, corresponded by the port with the besieged city, and cut off our communications with Naples : they attempted or feigned an assault upon Anacapri, and by a well-sustained and copious fire of artillery, interrupted the siege. At that moment, we (French and Neapolitans), attacked and attacking, while obliged to carry on a double warfare, which added to our fatigue as well as to our glory, formed a new battery (called in honour of the siege, the Breach), but which was three hundred metres distant from the city, so that when the fire opened, the guns being six-pounders, the shot made holes in the walls without shaking them, and it became necessary to reduce the charge, in order to effect a breach. But Colonel Lowe, by nature timid, was still further discouraged by some Neapolitans now in Capri, who had fled in consequence of their crimes, or from having been engaged in conspiracies, and who feared to fall into the hands of the police of Naples ; the flag of peace was therefore hoisted ; the city, the fortress, the magazines, and all the *matériel* of war were given up on conditions which were fixed that day, the 18th October ; and Colonel Lowe yielded himself prisoner, along with seven hundred and eighty English and Corsican soldiers, to be transported into Sicily, upon their parole not to fight against the Neapolitans or French, or the allies of France, for a year and a day. Those unhappy or guilty persons, who had taken refuge in Capri, received an asylum on board the English ships, before the capitulation was signed. The city was surrendered, and the prisoners departed within two days ; and meanwhile, ships, soldiers, and fresh appliances of war arrived from Sicily, but too late.

Capri was garrisoned and better fortified by the French, for the late siege had discovered many errors in construction, and the island having from a hostile territory become part of the kingdom, its military relations were altered. The Government granted the islanders the profits arising from the customs during one year, but the grant was not equivalent to their previous gains resulting from English liberality, the opportunities for contraband trade, and the waste of public money amidst the solicitudes of war. This enterprise, by the rapidity with which it was carried through, by the manner in which it was conducted, and by its results, added to the glory of Joachim.

Important reforms followed. The decree of Joseph, by which Calabria had been placed in a state of siege, was revoked, and these provinces returned under the peaceful dominion of the laws; the exiles were recalled, political prisoners released, and the system of vigilance relaxed—these severities of the police had hitherto been thought necessary or prudent. But the return of the prisoners shut up in Compiegne, Fenestrelle, and other more distant prisons of France, was not yet allowed; because, as their number was great, and many of them were well known to be ill-disposed persons, their pardon would have been a public injury. Such are the effects of despotism; the guilty and the innocent suffer alike, and when the exercise of power is either repented of, or modified by circumstances, and there is a desire to revoke former condemnations, the fulfilment of the wish is restrained by the dangers to which the State would be exposed by the liberation of some few bad men: and yet the fate of the innocent under a tyranny, whether cruel or merciful, is always worse than that of the guilty. In the course of the reign of Joachim, many returned from their hard exile, but many more sank under it; the worst survived; the innocent generally dying, because they feel the injustice of their punishment.

At the same time, pains were taken to remove the obstacles which old habits opposed to new laws. The utmost pains was bestowed upon this work throughout the kingdom, the principal instrument being the king's minister, Count Ricciardi. The registry of the births, deaths, and marriages, was confided to the civil magistrates; marriages could not be celebrated as a sacrament in the church, until they had first been celebrated as a social compact in the *Casa del Comune* (town-house). The registry of mortgages was likewise opened, and proved a subject of more contention than anything in the civil government, from the number of private interests which were opposed to it; but the Government was firm in its purpose; properties were cleared, and credits secured; many noble houses which, owing to disorders and neglect in the family economy, were ignorant of the true condition of their hereditary estates, finding that, instead of the great wealth of which they believed themselves possessed, they had little or nothing, unjustly accused the Government and the new laws. By the wise provi-

sions of this book, an end was put to such fraudulent bankruptcies, as *patrimoni dedotti*,[1] *amministrazioni economiche*,[2] whether asked or granted, *cedo bonis*, &c. ; under which names frauds on property had in past times been so frequently committed.

With regard to the administrative part, the regulations for the guidance of the municipality of Naples, and of the prefecture of police, were comprehended under one decree ; additional power was conferred upon the first, while the last was rendered less arbitrary ; so that the office of prefect which had formerly been held in so much odium, became less a governmental than a civic magistracy. A corps of engineers for the construction of bridges and roads was appointed ; this branch of the public administration, though an instrument of civilisation and wealth, had been totally neglected under the dominion of the viceroys, but had partaken of the munificence of Charles of Bourbon ; his good example had not however been followed by his son, so that during his very long reign, few new roads had been constructed, and those, less for public utility than for the convenience of his own villas, or of his hunting-grounds. Under Joseph, a Board of Public Works, and two boards for the inspection of roads and bridges were instituted ; the first-mentioned board was continued under Joachim, while those for inspection were increased into a large and efficient body of engineers.

One decree, out of many issued by Joseph, promised an educational establishment in Aversa, for the training of young and noble ladies. Joachim, by other decrees, ordered that it should be founded at Naples. The building called De' Miracoli, was devoted for this object ; and as the queen undertook the chief superintendence, it was named after her, Casa Carolina. The claims of nobility among the young ladies was not sought for in titles, and a long line of ancestors, but in the respectability of the present generation, their

[1] *Patrimoni dedotti.* When patrimonies were burdened with debt, it was not unusual to surrender the whole into the hands of the magistrate, and have the affair settled by arbitration ; and such patrimonies were called *Patrimoni dedotti.*

[2] *Amministrazioni economiche.* The king could appoint whomsoever he pleased to arbitrate between a debtor and his creditors where the patrimony was burdened with debt. This kind of administration was called *economiche*, because by it the costs of judicial forms were avoided, and from the *economia* or small pension allowed to the proprietor out of the revenue of his estate.—*Cedo Bonis.* A public surrender of the whole patrimony to cancel a larger amount of debt.

being in competent circumstances, and belonging to the educated classes. Names, therefore, of the highest distinction from their ancient lineage, and those most eminent in the new era, were gathered together under the same roof. In the course of seven years, the institution so much improved and increased in the number of pupils and in reputation, that it was preserved even when, in 1815, its founders had incurred the public odium, and had fallen from their high position : it is still maintained under its original regulations. To it may be chiefly attributed the improvement of morals in domestic life, and the number of virtuous wives, as well as watchful mothers, attached to the charms of home. I have already wandered from my subject in this Book, while alluding to other times and events, and I must continue to do so, though as briefly as possible, in order to give a correct idea of the reign of Joachim, in which the theoretical and imperfect institutions of Joseph were improved and reduced to practice, and in which the king urged on the Neapolitans with himself, in the path of greatness, and towards the attainment of every ambitious scheme, even to the brink of ruin. For this end, I will in a few words give a summary of the works which he completed, but which had already been commenced by his predecessor, while I reserve the description of those which were the offspring of his own genius, to the order of time and of events.

First among these were the army and the militia. Joachim, on his arrival in Naples, raised two regiments of Vèliti,[1] and other battalions and companies under entirely new names ; a stratagem to which he was obliged to resort in order to raise troops. Joseph had not ventured to start the conscription, from the repugnance the people entertained to military service, from the fears of brigandage, and the ease with which conscripts could fly into Sicily ; all which made him fear lest the men raised for our service would aid and recruit the enemy's forces ; a serious consideration, and too real to be despised even by the rash Joachim in the commencement of

[1] *Vèliti*, a name Joachim gave to a kind of national guard, "formed of young men of a higher class, and in easy circumstances, who had been exposed in the troubled times to the persecution of the masses, and the brigands of the provinces, and who were now inclined to take service and revenge." —*Military Transactions*, 1805-10, by Lieutenant-General Sir H. E. Bunbury.

his reign. The regiments of Joseph were composed of men taken from the dungeons and galleys, or of brigands who had been pardoned, or of ruffians collected by the police, or, finally (and these formed the most respectable, although the smallest part of the army), of prisoners taken in the late wars in Calabria. They were drilled within the fortresses, which they were not permitted to quit, and as soon as they were trained, were removed to some distant region. The two regiments of Vèliti were least suspected, because they were composed of gentlemen who held brigandage in detestation, and were not likely to fly into Sicily, and leave their families exposed to the vengeance of the police.

New though imperfect laws were passed for the formation of the militia, imposing a heavy subsidy on landholders, and demanding too hard a service from the soldiers. These laws, therefore, appeared to have been prompted by avarice, and intended to extort labour and money from the people, not so much for the advantage of society as for that of the Government. Nevertheless, the strong will and perseverance of the king succeeded in inducing the militia to serve, fight, and acquire military habits, while inspiring them with a passion for glory. The last French invasion of Naples, and I may say of Italy, differed in some essential points from all previous invasions, whether by the French themselves or by other nations: the first and most remarkable point of difference was, that arms were placed in the hands of the conquered people, an unusual measure in the event of a conquest, because it proves an intention to benefit the conquered, gives an idea of stability, and implies a hope of gaining the affections of the people.

But such slender and inadequate means for carrying on a war neither satisfied the necessities nor the ambition of Joachim. At the commencement of the year 1809, therefore, exaggerated reports were circulated of the services and rewards of the Neapolitan regiments fighting in Spain. Honours and gifts were heaped on every soldier, whether of the army or militia, who, amidst the frequent opportunities presented by foreign war and brigandage, distinguished himself by deeds of valour; in the Court circles, in the king's speeches, in fashions and manners, only military things, or a military deportment, were prized. After thus holding out temptations to the profession of arms, and flattering all who embraced a

military life, a law of conscription was passed. Every Neapolitan between the ages of seventeen and twenty-six was inscribed in the militia list, from which two names out of every thousand being drawn by lot, the army could be annually recruited by ten thousand young men. Married men and only sons, as well as the sons of widows who were the supports of their families, were exempted from serving; and, as a reward and encouragement for study, all those judged to excel in any branch of art or science. The term of service was not fixed, a defect in the system and an injustice.

This law caused dissatisfaction, because, unhappily for the people, they dislike the profession of arms, as well as having to pay taxes; both which are necessary for the power and wealth of the State, and are the only means by which to attain a high position, political rights, and independence. The city of Naples, as well as particular persons and families, now lost the dishonourable privilege they had hitherto enjoyed, of exemption from the duty of furnishing men for the militia. The dislike to this measure was increased by the idea, that the soldiers thus raised, would be forced to serve the ambitious schemes of the Emperor of the French, to fight in distant regions for a cause they did not consider their own, amidst dangers and toils worse than war, and in a foreign climate among a people whom they looked upon as barbarians. This sentiment was engraven in every heart, and was so universal, that I heard it myself from the lips of the king, when he was complaining of his dependence upon France, and the harsh commands which he received from his brother-in-law; nor could he be dissuaded from this view of the subject, nor in any way reconciled to it, by my suggesting (what he perhaps thought an ingenious flattery), that the wars waged by the Emperor Bonaparte, being in support of modern civilisation as opposed to old, the cause was that of all, and imposed a common obligation on every new State.

The law was published and enforced; for another feature of the times was the revolutionary haste with which the Government conducted affairs, a defect which was often aggravated by the character of the petty officials employed for this purpose, and their indiscreet zeal. The *Intendente* in the province, the *Sotto-Intendente* in the district, and the syndic in the commune, were eager to carry out the conscription as quickly as possible, in order to

obtain favour or credit in the eyes of their employers. Thus, amidst so many incentives to haste, forms were often neglected, and acts of injustice perpetrated, which appeared even greater than they really were; and the conscripts, believing the selection did not depend on chance, but was connived at, fled or concealed themselves. The fugitives were called refractory, and were pursued, while their families were fined, and their parents punished. These iniquitous practices continued several years, until the Government being better advised, and the people submitting more patiently to the law, the conscription was carried out in a regular manner, and violence was no longer necessary.

As soon as the levy was completed, the soldiers were formed into various regiments. Manufactories of arms and ammunition were increased, and new schools and colleges founded. This expense drained the exchequer as largely as that for the army; and as it increased year by year, the financial embarrassments became so great, that the taxes were not sufficient to meet the demand, and new ones were added; the municipal revenues were usurped, and finally a great part of the treasures amassed by Joachim, the fruit of his long wars and good fortune, were expended for the army. Yet all these efforts, and the strain upon the resources of the State and of the king, did not produce the hoped-for result, because Joachim was incapable of comprehending the character of the people he governed, ignorant of the history of Naples and of Italy, and his personal experience only enabled him to comprehend the character of his own nation; he, therefore, believed the Neapolitans delighted as much as the French in a military life, and were as ready to endure hardships, as easily excited with the desire for glory, and as enterprising as himself. For this reason, and because he hoped to win the affections of the soldiers by flattery, he relaxed discipline, and relied for the strength of his army less on the excellence than on the numbers of his troops: he continued to draw them from those who had been condemned to punishment and to prison, and associated such men with the unoffending conscripts; he pardoned the faults of all, was blind to their misdemeanours, and promoted their wishes. This miscellaneous multitude, called an army, did not form a class in society, but a party in the State, and Joachim was not their king, but their chief. They were fine-look-

ing men, in handsome uniforms, bold, daring, and adventurous, and would have been obedient to their superiors had Joachim been more judicious. Discipline is a quality which does not depend on the army, but its commander; inferiors submit, because law, justice, punishment, and habit, influence men. A commander who is strict with himself, strict with others, obedient to orders, inflexible in exacting obedience, a soldier in toil, a chief in command, and who is never soft and effeminate in his habits, is secure of the obedience of his troops; but such was not Joachim.

He was anxious to exhibit the levies he had raised in so short a time, and, therefore, proclaimed that, on the 25th March, his birthday and that of the queen, banners should be distributed to the new regiments of the army and militia. The king was by nature fond of show, which he likewise considered an instrument in governing; he therefore frequently displayed his person, dress, and rich cortège, confidently believing that he was thus impressing the people with an idea of his power, and of the general security. He sent for the élite of the militia and soldiers out of the provinces, caused a magnificent throne to be erected in the widest part of the Strada di Chiaja, and prepared everything with oriental splendour. In the meantime the soldiers were marched across the kingdom in companies in the usual military order, and those of the militia were formed into civic bands, who, by order of the Government, were entertained and had their expenses paid by the communes through whose districts they passed. They reached Naples some days before the 25th March, and the militia, instead of being lodged in the hard quarters assigned the soldiers, were accommodated in the palaces of the nobles, of wealthy persons, and even of the ministers of the Crown. It was found that one day would be insufficient for the ceremonies of the Court, and for the festivals called "of the Banners;" the 26th was therefore appointed for these last. On that day, the French and Neapolitan regiments which were quartered in the city, with others summoned from Capua and Salerno, in all 12,000 men, were drawn up along the Strada di Chiaja. The king was seated upon his throne, while the queen with her family, the ministers, the chief officers of the army and of the Court, occupied galleries, fitted up for the occasion with the utmost splendour; an altar was erected to the right of the throne,

with the cross and the banners raised above it, and in a richly ornamented chair sat Cardinal Firrao, attired in the pontifical robes, and with the dignity suitable to his office. The companies which were destined to receive the banners from the hands of the king stood near.

A violent storm of rain fell, but military discipline not allowing this occurrence to interrupt the ceremony, the Cardinal, at the concerted signal of guns fired from the forts and the ships, consecrated the banners, pronouncing the blessing in a loud and sonorous voice ; and then raising them in his arms, in the midst of the rain, presented them to the king, who caused them to be disposed in order round the throne. Just as the companies were advancing in succession to receive the banners, and to take the oath of allegiance, the sky cleared ; an event which appeared to the people an omen of future prosperity. The ceremony proceeded ; banquets, games, and theatrical shows were given in honour of the militia, and a silver medal was struck in remembrance of the occasion, which had on one side the effigy of the king, on the other, fourteen banners (as many as there were provinces), arranged in the form of a trophy, with the motto, *Sicurezza Interna* (Internal Security), and around it, *Alle Legioni Provinciali, il 26 di Marzo del* 1809 (To the Legions of the Provinces, the 26th March 1809). After this the companies of militia returned into the provinces, where other festivities awaited them.

The appearances of prosperity and stability here described, and the successes of the French army in Spain roused indignation and alarm in the Court of Sicily, and in all courts hostile to France : new alliances were therefore formed ; the first warlike movements began in Germany, and in the preparation of an Anglo-Sicilian expedition against the kingdom. The dominion over Spain which had been acquired by fraud, was no peaceable possession in the hands of the Emperor of the French ; tumults and disturbances burst out in different parts of the kingdom, and as the English inflamed the pride of the Spaniards, assisted them with arms and money, and afterwards with ships and soldiers, Bonaparte required a powerful army to attempt the conquest. He placed himself at its head, and was followed by his most esteemed generals, and by 200,000 soldiers ; marching with this large force upon Madrid, he met the

Spanish army and defeated it, and as he proceeded gained possession of the country, and occupied the strong places, killing thousands of the enemy, and capturing a greater number; but the opposition to him only increased. The English, 40,000 strong, remained behind their fortifications in Portugal and Gallicia, and at the close of the year 1808, Bonaparte was at Madrid; his troops were divided and fighting the Spaniards in various parts of the country, but having Lisbon for their ultimate object.

In the beginning of the following year, a large army of English who were engaged in the war of Gallicia, were conquered by the French at Corunna, and put to flight; another body of French advanced upon Portugal; the Spaniards were routed wherever they encountered the enemy; the Emperor removed from Madrid to Valadolid, and the English, again beaten at Corunna, repaired to their ships, and the city surrendered. Everything in Spain was prosperous for France. England, seeing the necessity of a powerful diversion, engaged Austria to make a sudden declaration of hostility; Bonaparte, learning this, returned to Paris, recalled his guards from Spain, and invited his allies to join him; and, while commencing real or feigned treaties, prepared for another campaign. The war in Germany acted as a diversion for that in Spain; the wars in Holland, in the Tyrol, in Poland, and in Italy, for that in Germany; and the war in Naples for that in Italy: therefore, from Lisbon to Flushing, from Flushing to Warsaw, from Warsaw to Reggio in the southernmost part of Italy, all the nations of Europe were in arms; two millions of soldiers were engaged, and this not in a barbarous warfare, but carried on by disciplined troops, and under able generalship. At no former period of the world's history, had one impetus collected together so many armies, spreading over so vast a space, and causing so many battles and accidents of war and fortune.

The first to move, on the 10th of April, were the Austrians, led by Prince Charles, towards the confines of Bavaria, whilst other troops under the command of the Archduke John, poured into Italy, by the road of the Tagliamento; others, under the Archduke Ferdinand, marched upon the Grand Duchy of Warsaw; and a smaller body of troops under the command of Generals Jellachich and Chasteler were sent into the Tyrol, to stir up the people there,

and rouse them to arms; thus this general war was commenced by 400,000 Austrians. Bonaparte determined himself to encounter Prince Charles with 200,000 soldiers, half-confederate and half-French. He proposed that the Viceroy should confront the enemy in Italy, at the head of the Italian-French army; that the Duke of Dantzic should advance into the Tyrol with a small body of French and Bavarian troops; and in Poland, that Prince Poniatowski should place himself at the head of an army, composed of Poles and French. Holland was tranquil; the Two Sicilies appeared outwardly in repose; but in the island, the English general Stuart and Queen Caroline were preparing ships and soldiers; and Joachim in Naples was organizing the militia, and disposing the army in the field, and in positions eligible for the defence of the kingdom; disguising his expectations of an attack under an appearance of security and power.

The first steps were favourable to the arms of Austria; for Prince Charles successfully invaded part of Bavaria, and the Archduke Ferdinand, the Duchy of Warsaw; Jellachich and Chasteler drove the Bavarian and French troops towards Italy, and raised the Tyrol in arms; the Archduke John expelled the Italian and French garrisons from Carinthia and Styria, and, proceeding into Italy, occupied Verona. Although these successes were only to be attributed to the first impetus of the assailants, and to those attacked having not yet assembled their forces, they appeared to Europe decisive victories of the Austrian army over the French. The Neapolitan Government, by over-caution, concealed these successes, which the court of Sicily proclaimed with exaggerations; therefore had the Anglo-Sicilian expedition been at that time sent against us from the island, they would have found their partisans numerous and full of courage, and their opponents equally disheartened. But doubts, hesitation, and mutual suspicion between the English and Sicilian ministers retarded their movements; and, in the meantime, the Emperor Bonaparte, who perceived that the mainspring of this great war lay in Bavaria, hastened thither with the French troops, united them with his German confederates, formed them into one army, and succeeded, with his usual skill, in bringing superior numbers, in three days' time, into the field, and engaged the enemy on the field of Taun.

After this first battle, he conquered twice again at Abensberg and Eckmühl; he fought at Ratisbon, drove the enemy from the city, separated and dispersed their army, and reached Vienna in full force, which immediately, on the 12th May 1809, surrendered. He allowed his army only a brief interval of repose, and during that time new squadrons arrived, and both sides prepared for the continuation of the war.

As soon as the news of the disasters in Bavaria reached the Austrian army in Italy, the aspect of war was changed, and from the offensive finding themselves upon the defensive, they abandoned Verona, and commenced a retreat towards Germany by Klangenfurt and Gratz; met by the enemy upon the Piave, they were conquered, and the rear of the army still continuing the fight, was put to the rout and cut up; a hard fate for an army only desirous of effecting a retreat. It found more secure quarters in Hungary, where it was placed in connexion with the army of Prince Charles, at the time when the Italian and French army joined that of Bonaparte upon the mountains of Sommering.

Still more rapid and serious were the disasters of Austria in the Tyrol, for, having heard the fate of Bavaria, the armed populace, changing with every change of fortune, melted away. Jellachich and Chasteler, with a small body of troops, retreated towards Lower Hungary; pursued by the Duke of Dantzic, and defeated in every encounter, they fell in with the vanguard of the Italians, and only a few escaped in disordered flight. In Poland the hostile parties fought, made truces, and meeting with alternate success and defeat, the war was prolonged by the equal caution of Poniatowski and of the Archduke Ferdinand; although the last fought at disadvantage after the news of the events in Bavaria and Vienna had been disseminated.

The accounts of the war in Germany circulated and were exaggerated in Naples; the Government wisely encouraging the bragging tone common to armies which they expected in this instance would at any rate damp the ardour of the Bourbonists, revive the courage of their own adherents, and frustrate or stop the Anglo-Sicilian expedition which was ready to sail. Just then a decree arrived from the Emperor Napoleon, dated Vienna, by which the Pope was deprived of his temporal power, the pontifical States

were united to France, and the city of Rome was declared free and imperial; a moderate maintenance was provided for his Holiness, who continued Head of the Church. The conduct of this affair was confided to King Joachim. A Junta, assembled in Rome (of which the French general Miollis, and Saliceti, the minister at Naples, were members), commenced the work. The Pope shut himself up in the Quirinal, and fortified it; the people of Rome appeared to rejoice in what was going forward, for those who were dissatisfied concealed their displeasure. Pius next published a Bull of Excommunication against the authors and actors in this deed of spoliation; but although the papacy was still venerated by the people, the excommunication fell harmless to the ground; and the spoliation was useful to the new States, by proving that they were resolved to maintain political liberty, and despised the odium they might incur from vulgar ignorance. This moderate use of power was, however, soon followed by an act of hateful tyranny in the seizure of the Pope, an error even in policy, since useless.[1]

About the middle of the year 1809, everything appeared to favour the government of Murat and the power of the Emperor Napoleon, when, on the 11th of June, the Calabrian telegraph announced that the Anglo-Sicilian expedition, composed of innumerable ships of war and transport, had weighed anchor from the Lipari Islands, and had been preceded by vessels from the ports of Palermo and Melazzo.

The first news were vague, yet alarming; but soon afterwards when the fleet came full in sight, the same telegraph reported that sixty men-of-war of all sizes, and two hundred and six transport-ships were navigating the seas on the Calabrian coast; from the flags hoisted, it was evident that a royal person, admirals, and other personages of distinction were on board; and the deck of every

[1] General Miollis commanded the French troops in Rome when he received orders to remove Pius VII. from the city. In the middle of the night of the 6th July 1809, General Radet was sent with a body of gendarmes and patriots to force his way into the Quirinal, and in the name of the French Emperor he insisted on Pius renouncing the temporal dominions of the Church; upon his refusal, he obliged the Pope to accompany him; General Miollis met him at the Pontemolle, and urged his compliance once more, but on receiving a second refusal, ordered him to be conveyed to Florence.—*See Memoirs of the Queen of Etruria, and authentic Narrative of the Seizure and Removal of Pope Pius* VII., *by one of his Attendants.*

ship appeared crowded with English and Sicilian soldiers. From these indications, and from the information which the Neapolitan government had already obtained, it was ascertained that Don Leopold, the Prince Royal of Sicily had the nominal, and the English General Stuart, the real, command of that expedition; that the vessels already enumerated carried fourteen thousand battalions of soldiers, besides the commanders of the army and navy, and a great number of personages, who either by their action or counsel were able to assist in the war, or in exciting civil commotions; and, finally, the judges of a State tribunal, the same who had made themselves notorious in the melancholy history of 1799.

Shortly afterwards two more expeditions sailed from the port of Messina, one of which landed four hundred brigands and soldiers in the Gulf of Gioia, and the other three thousand soldiers, and not a small number of brigands on the coast between Reggio and Palme. The soldiers who had been landed at Gioia, having joined those at Palme, encamped upon the mountains of Melia (the last of the Apennines), and commenced the siege of Scilla,[1] whilst the brigands dispersed themselves among the woods, and in the unprotected country round, stirring up the credulous and low population, killing, robbing, and committing every kind of devastation. Meanwhile three Anglo-Sicilian fleets were cruising round the coasts of the three seas—the Adriatic, the Ionic, and the Tyrrhenean—which form the boundaries of the kingdom on three sides; they menaced the strong places, attacked the weak, and sent proclamations on shore inviting the people to rebel, with, at the same time, bands of brigands, to furnish them with the means. The principal motive for an attack on so large a scale, was to make a diversion for the greater wars of Italy and Germany, but there were other causes which moved the Court of Sicily and its adherents: the hope of regaining the kingdom, and the thirst to punish their opponents, besides the desire for booty and vengeance.

On our side all the means of defence were prepared, and the armed force put in motion. Joachim, of an active nature, and now

[1] This part of the expedition was commanded by Colonel Haviland Smith, and was composed of six companies of the 10th and eight of the 21st regiments, beside other troops, in all about 1300 bayonets, exclusive of artillery.—*See Military Transactions.* 1805-1810, p. 175. Lieut.-Gen. Sir Henry Bunbury.

doubly so, that he was stimulated by such important considerations, in which he had so much at stake, sent orders and suggestions, and provided all that was needed; he visited the camp, the soldiers' quarters, and the ships in person, and ordered out the civic bands, which he called *Volontari scelti* (Select Volunteers), for the protection of the city; magistrates, nobles, the government officials, and those influential by their name or wealth, inscribed themselves of their numbers for the common defence, and from a desire to please the king. The minister Saliceti was recalled from Rome, and reinstated in his former authority, not from any affection to his person, but because he was experienced in matters of police, and was required in a time of so much urgency. The troops were assembled in three camps, one consisting of four thousand soldiers, at Monteleone, another of sixteen hundred at Lago Negro, and a third of eleven thousand at Naples and in its environs; in all under seventeen thousand, because Murat had shortly before sent six thousand troops to Rome to effect the political changes there, and other regiments were engaged in the Tyrol and in Spain. The internal tranquillity of the kingdom was preserved by the provincial militias, and fortunately the *Volontari scelti* were enough to protect the city; and a few, and these the least available soldiers of the army, garrisoned the fortresses. But an appearance of calm covered all this agitation; so much so, that the king was always seen gay amidst the cheers of his people; and the queen and her children showed themselves on the promenade and at the theatres; the sale of articles of luxury increased, and the magistrates, officials, and councillors of State carried on their transactions as usual; while the acts and decrees of the Government were likewise issued as in times of peace and security.

The enemy's fleet proceeded on its course, landing a few soldiers, and large bands of brigands, on the most unguarded part of the coast; the brigands were intended to overrun the country, while the soldiers encamped for a few hours, and then returned to their ships, either voluntarily, or driven back by the inhabitants. Sailing thus slowly along for ten days, they reached the Bay of Naples, when, on approaching the city, they ostentatiously spread their sails, which from the great number of vessels, and a studied arrangement, appeared to cover the water. They remained sta-

tionary two days, and on the third attacked Procida and Ischia, to provide a place for the recovery of their sick, and the refreshment of their horses. Procida surrendered at the first menace, Ischia only offered a feeble resistance, and the few soldiers who garrisoned these islands were sent prisoners to Sicily.

During the ensuing days, the ships remained idle in the bay; the crowded populace of the city, therefore, who had been struck with panic at the first appearance of the flotilla, now stood gazing, as at a show. A small body of infantry and several of cavalry guarded the shores from Portici to Cumæ, while a few battalions occupied the hill of Posilippo, and the rest of the army lay encamped on the heights of Capodimonte. All would have ended here, had not Joachim been imprudently tempted by his passion for war, to summon his little fleet, consisting only of a single frigate, a corvette, and thirty-eight gun-boats, from Gaeta (where it lay securely anchored) to Naples. Obedient to orders, Bausan, who commanded the frigate, weighed anchor, and setting sail in the night, passed through a part of the enemy's fleet, safe from observation, which he owed less to the darkness than to his own incredible daring. The day quickly dawned; the ships were seen as they sailed along with their colours flying, when suddenly several of the enemy's vessels neared them, secure of their prey, since they were ten against one; but the victory was neither so certain nor so easy, nor a matter for rejoicing: the Neapolitans (in order to have the protection of the coast batteries, and as a last extremity to find a refuge on land) sailed close in to shore, and reached the sea of Miliscola, the sandy coast of which was protected by batteries of cannons and mortars. Here both parties fought valiantly for two hours, in which time eight of our barks were foundered, five were captured, and eighteen more were drawn up on shore, and disposed in order of battle, and though stationary, continued the fight; the remaining seven barks and two larger vessels being severely damaged, found an asylum in the port of Baia. The enemy lost two barks which sunk, and one larger ship which was burnt, and suffered not a little loss in killed and wounded.

The frigate and the Neapolitan corvette hastily repaired their injuries, whilst the enemy exchanged his damaged ships; but before this could be effected, Captain Bausan, seeing that the

king's orders continued the same, made use of the wind, which, fortunately for him, was propitious, and left the port with his two ships, turning their prows towards Naples; this movement appeared to the enemy less audacity than madness, or a fatality leading him on towards his own destruction. Many vessels of various dimensions attacked these two, which, while continuing the fight, pressed on vigorously, and as they finally turned the point of land called Posilippo, the citizens were enabled to witness the battle, which until that time they had only been made aware of, by the booming of the cannon. The king had been present in the morning at the affair of Miliscola, and had, during the day, watched the passage of the ships, and shown himself as much as he could upon the shores, in order to encourage the crews by his presence and voice; the queen and her daughters walked on the Strada di Chiaja, within gunshot of the enemy; her courageous example acted as a command to the courtiers, and instigated the government officials to do the same; the desire to imitate her suddenly became an ambition and fashion among the multitude; so that the road was crowded with people and carriages, as on a festival day. Still greater numbers were assembled in many parts of the city, from whence they could discover the sea, and with the naked eye could perceive the wounded and dead upon our two vessels, which, with their masts split and broken, their ropes torn, and sails pierced in a hundred places, were proceeding slowly along like a funeral procession, watched and lamented over by the people.

At last, as the sun set, they entered the port, whilst the enemy's ships, attacked by our batteries, put out to sea. The battle being ended, a shout of joy arose from various parts of the city; for even those most adverse to the new order of things, and most inimical to Murat, with the greatest friends of the Bourbons, felt their hearts that day beat for the honour of their country. The battle was hardly ended, when the king went on board the two ships, and pronounced a pious eulogium over the dead, congratulated the living, and promised rewards and presents, which were bestowed the following day. Both ships were disabled; many were the dead on our side, and double the number of wounded; nor was the loss suffered by the Anglo-Sicilian fleet trifling.

The enemy returned to their usual state of inaction; and the

king, who until that time had commanded General Partounneaux to remain stationary at Monteleone, now changed his mind, and ordered him to attack the enemy and drive him from Calabria. The general set out upon his march, but before he could reach Scilla and Melia, the Anglo-Sicilian army hastily raised the siege and decamped, abandoning their artillery, arms and implements, hospitals and horses. A few days later, news arrived of the battle of Wagram, of the prodigies performed in Germany, and of the armistice concluded at Znaim between France and Austria. The enemy, accordingly, dismantled the forts and batteries of Procida and Ischia, and re-embarked their men, abandoning the islands; and after making signals to recall the remaining ships which were cruising along our shores, they returned to the ports of Sicily and Malta. Thus ended an expedition which was so ostentatiously announced, which had menaced so much, and performed so little.[1]

The foreign war being ended, that in the interior commenced, and was wider spread and more terrible than ever. The brigands, who had been landed upon a hostile territory, had no safety left them but in conquest; and by their simultaneous introduction into all the provinces of the kingdom, the conflagration soon became general. While the soldiers were in camp, and the militia defending the cities, the brigands were complete masters of the country, and committed every atrocity. Having been successful for two months, and met with no check, they increased in numbers and audacity, and formed themselves into numerous bands under ferocious chiefs. One entered Crichi, a village in Calabria, and as all the inhabitants who from their age or strength might have been supposed capable of offering resistance had fled, they first collected an immense booty, and then murdered whoever they could lay hands on; the old, the infirm, and children, about thirty-eight persons, nine of whom were young infants. In the Basilicata, another band laid siege to the palace of the Baron Labriola, who at last, subdued by hunger, surrendered; and though he stipulated that his own life should be spared, with those of his family (who were seven in number, of all ages and both sexes), they were all murdered. Thirteen hundred brigands, of whom

[1] For the English account of this expedition, see *Military Transactions*, 1805-1810, pp. 166-182, by Lieutenant-General Sir Henry Bunbury.

four hundred were mounted, openly encamped on the confines of the Basilicata and Salerno, and no longer stealthily, but with the utmost effrontery, entered great and populous villages. At one time this band, lying in ambuscade in the valley of Marmo, stopped the young General de Gambs, who, however, escaped from the forest, by the swiftness of his horse ; but a woman who was travelling after him, the mother of his two sons, was left behind ; and after he had succeeded in effecting his escape, he remembered that she was still in danger ; he returned with the intention of rescuing her, but before he could find her was himself killed. In Puglia, another chief of brigands, remembering the credulity of the people of that province, and the fortunes of Corbara in 1799, pretended to be Prince Francis of Bourbon, formed a court, levied taxes as a king, robbed, and only abstained from bloodshed, in order, by an exhibition of clemency, to gain credit for his assumed royalty. Among the crimes of brigandage, and those caused by brigandage, the judicial census for the kingdom of that year 1809, numbered thirty-three thousand violations of the law.

These acts of violence were perpetrated in the names of the Duke of Ascoli, the Prince of Canosa, the Marquis of Schiava, and of other of the principal courtiers of the King of Sicily ; while many of those who instigated or assisted in these disturbances had fled the country with the Bourbons. In the plans for this war, and the variety of opinion and discussions in the Bourbonist Court, brigandage was considered a lawful means, and was called devotion and fidelity ; it did not even shock men of honour. But King Joachim who judged it by its works, theft, assassination, and devastation, saw nothing in it either noble or great ; it was not a rising such as that of 1799, which, however barbarous, was in the support of rights or of opinions which are rights in the eyes of the people, but the rising of an armed mob for robbery and murder. His indignation and desire for revenge induced him to dictate three decrees which are worthy of record.

As a punishment for the obstinacy with which the exiles continued to wage war, by such atrocious means, against their native country, and for their having introduced a foreign army, and excited others to the practice of brigandage, in which they themselves had likewise assisted, he decreed that the property of such

persons should be confiscated, and part of it given in compensation to those they had injured, part of it bestowed as a reward on the most zealous followers of the Government, and that the remainder should be sold for the benefit of the exchequer; by so immediate and liberal a distribution, the Government proved that they were not prompted by avarice, but by indignation at the conduct of their adversaries, and showed a spirit of munificence towards their adherents.

By another decree, he invited the Neapolitans in the service of the Bourbon king to desert their banners, and return to their country, where they might choose between retiring altogether, or retaining the same rank which they held in the Sicilian army, with the prospect of better fortune and honour while fighting for their native soil. Those who refused this offer, if taken prisoners, were threatened with death as rebels; but to the honour of the Bourbonist officers and of Joachim be it told, that not one amongst the former was induced to desert either by the promise of rewards, or by menaces; nor when taken prisoners, did they receive any other punishment, than the usual restraint imposed on prisoners of war.

By a third law it was decreed that the military commander in every province and the *Intendente* should make a list of the brigands, called from that time forth *Fuorgiudicati* (outlaws). This was placarded in the public places of every commune; every citizen was empowered to kill or arrest them, and when arrested, they were to be tried by military commissions, with the usual hasty forms. Those who promoted and those who supported brigandage were alike to suffer the penalty of death, although they were not included in the lists, and appeared to be residing in the cities. The families of the chief, and of the most renowned of his band were to be thrown into prison, and, finally, the property of brigands condemned to death, was confiscated. When the lists had been made out, it was found that the practice of brigandage had spread more widely than had been believed; it was fortunate that the bands of brigands did not act in concert, nor simultaneously, nor had any fixed aim, but waged war without order or rule; such being the necessary condition of adventurers, met together for evil purposes.

The police having been reinstated in power, their agents who had been suppressed took courage again, and returned to their former practices. A new law was made in compliance with their desires, which imposed upon each commune the charge of paying a fine as compensation for the thefts and injuries committed by the brigands within their territory; and as the populous and wealthy communes could provide the means by which to keep them at a distance, this enactment fell most severely upon the poorest. The power of incarcerating the families of the outlaws produced the most cruel arrests; aged fathers and mothers, innocent sisters, and young children; but in these cases, they could, at any rate, ascertain that the persons arrested were related to the guilty parties; but the power of incarcerating those who promoted or supported them in their crimes, being vague and arbitrary, was open to errors and mistakes, and therefore produced incalculable evils, and caused universal terror. The rigour thus revived became such, that if the clemency of the king had not in many cases moderated the severity of his laws, or if those who suffered had not belonged to the lowest orders of the people, whose humble condition prevented their complaints being listened to, that period of the reign of Joachim would have equalled, in atrocity and in ill repute, the worst times of Joseph.

When the camps were broken up, the soldiers were dispersed throughout the provinces, but were scarcely in sufficient force to maintain themselves against the brigands. Four French companies of 500 soldiers were routed at Campotanese, and forced to retire; another squadron, composed of forty-eight men, was hemmed in among the mountains of Laurenzana, captured, and all put to death; the commune of San Gregorio, which was guarded by 400 soldiers, partly Neapolitan and partly French, was attacked and taken; Potenza, the capital of the province, was invested, and would have been taken by storm, had it not been surrounded by walls, and had not timely succour arrived; so calamitous was the state of the country in the summer of the year 1809, owing to the Anglo-Sicilian expedition. Soon afterwards brigandage decreased, their numbers being diminished by repeated conflicts, and by the pardons granted by the king; but it was not wholly suppressed until the end of the year 1810.

These calamities spread gloom over the provinces, although the rejoicings in the metropolis at having overcome the dangers with which they had been threatened, the splendour of the court, and the preparations making to celebrate the birthday of the Emperor Napoleon, presented an appearance of felicity to strangers. This may account for the contradictory statements respecting the character and reign of Joachim, praised by all who visited the palace and the metropolis, and censured by those who travelled in the provinces. On the 15th August, and while the ceremonies were commencing, a large fleet of the enemy was perceived navigating the bay, and making sail in the direction of Naples. No change, however, took place within the city, except that our ships and batteries in the port were speedily put in a state of defence. At three in the afternoon, the enemy's vessels ranged themselves for battle, and fired their first shots against the city; and our small fleet, supported from the shore, and with their masts and sails decorated, and colours flying in honour of the festival, went out to meet the enemy, led by Joachim in person on board a richly ornamented ship, and attired (the only time during the seven years of his reign) in the uniform of a high admiral of the empire. The engagement having commenced at sea, the regiments composing the garrison were meantime drawn up in order along the beautiful shores of the Chiaja; and amidst the roar of the battle, burst forth salvos from the castle, and festive sounds from the army, until towards evening, when the enemy having neither received nor done any injury, put out to sea. I never saw the king in such entire enjoyment of his kingdom and his palace as on that day, when fortune seemed to have gratified all his desires; his military tastes, and his passion for war and glory; and when he alone stood as a spectacle before an immense assemblage of admiring people.

During the remainder of that year, he was occupied raising more regiments of infantry and cavalry, organizing the artillery and engineer corps, and regulating the administrative department of the army, in which he followed the example of France, with some slight deviations; but these deviations, however slight, were mistakes, for the Neapolitan army which constituted part of the confederation of new states, had often to fight and consort with the

armies of other nations, and ought therefore to have had one common organization, and be guided by the same rules as those with whom they might have to act, whether French, Belgians, or Poles. Italy had the folly to complain of this strict uniformity, and gave it the odious name of servitude, not perceiving that it was a means to further the success of the long cherished scheme for Italian unity, and a germ of future independence.

Urged on by his predilection for everything military, he organized a force of marines, and fulfilled the agreement he had concluded with the Emperor Napoleon, within a given time, to build four men-of-war and six frigates. The levy for the marines was conducted on the same principle as the conscription for the army; and three decrees were issued—for the regulation of naval warfare, for the administrative department, and for the construction of vessels. French models were adopted which were perhaps imperfect, and admitted improvements, but Bonaparte had forbidden any deviation, even though an improvement, from the usual build of vessels of war; as before anything, he preferred, and wisely, that which would insure uniformity in their movements, while manœuvring and in battle.

Laws were passed for the administration of the communes, but which were so far defective, that they placed them too much under the immediate control of the ministers of the crown. All rules had in fact hitherto been so relaxed, that new laws, and the strong arm of the Government were needed for their guidance; but this exercise of power caused alarm, lest it might be abused, an alarm which afterwards proved to have been only too well founded.

The measures of the commission for the reform of feudalism were continued, and the way prepared for a re-partition of the feudal land among the citizens.

The education of the people was provided for, new chairs added to the old, and lyceums and schools built, as decreed by Joseph; but so many improvements were made in the decrees themselves, that the system of national education throughout the kingdom might be considered the work of Joachim, rather than that of any of his predecessors. Bishops were forbidden to print, or in any way publish edicts and pastoral letters, without the permission of the sovereign; a hard state of dependence for men who had until then

been independent, and were in the habit of imposing fetters on the liberty of others.

All the wealthy monastic orders were suppressed (two hundred and thirty convents of monks and nuns); while the mendicant friars were excepted, which proved that a spirit of financial avarice still guided the acts of the Government.

But amidst these numerous decrees, no allusion was made to the statute of Bayonne, although it was the condition by which the sovereignty was held. Joachim detested even the form of a national representation, and the Neapolitans did not demand the fulfilment of the statute; for, although ready to find fault, they are more inclined to resort to tumults and revolutions than to advance by the slow and sure path of political reform.

The war seemed at an end, except in Spain, when it was rumoured that a very powerful expedition of ships and soldiers had sailed from the English ports, and threatened Holland and Antwerp. This was prepared as a diversion for the war in Germany, but was only started twenty-four days after the battle of Wagram, eighteen after the armistice of Znaim, and four months too late to be of any service in the war. Walcheren, however, was taken, Flushing stormed and pillaged, and many Dutch vessels destroyed; immense damage was done, followed by terrible sufferings. Only a few fell in battle on either side, but many of the English perished by disease; and after eighty days' hardships, the expedition returned, diminished in numbers, disheartened, without glory, and having cost many tears and much treasure.

These events being at a distance, and of little importance to Naples, were coldly listened to by the Neapolitans; but not so the treaty of peace between Austria and France, concluded at Vienna the 14th October 1809, and published amidst rejoicings throughout the kingdom, and with sacred ceremonies in the churches. The line of policy which had been adopted by our Government enabled them to reckon upon numerous partisans, less from conviction or hope, than from interested motives; for the people were pleased to see the Austrian monarchy weakened, the new States aggrandized, and certain principles recognised which had shortly before been called revolutionary. Tuscany being added to France (as the States of Parma and dominions of the Pope had

already been), the French Empire reached as far as Portella. These Italian French States naturally murmured at being reduced to distant provinces, far from the seat of government, and being obliged to receive laws from foreigners. But, on the other hand, it must be remembered that these changes united the army, laws, interests, and hopes of the whole of Italy in one; that things not names bind men together; and that it is vain and even hurtful to unite a people whose laws and customs differ: To have left Rome and Tuscany as they were, or to have formed them into independent kingdoms, or even to have incorporated them into any of the existing Italian States, would have presented a hindrance to the future union of Italy, or, at least in my opinion, have been disadvantageous. These reflections may afford us some solace for the mortifications endured under the Italian-French government, in the prospect they held out of a happier future. I must offer one remark, which may perhaps expose me to censure, but is not the less true; that if impatience under servitude is a source of present suffering, it contains within itself the germ of a certain and future good; for the nations of Europe, and the Italians in particular, owe all they have received in 1825 (the year in which I write) to the dominion of Bonaparte, which, though arbitrary and despotic, was fruitful in results and in hopes for the future.

In the midst of these transactions, Joachim set out for Paris, followed by the queen, to honour (as it was supposed) the return of the Emperor Napoleon from a successful campaign. The king remained a short time at Rome, to review the French and Neapolitan troops which garrisoned the city, and to visit the Castle of Sant' Angelo and Civita Vecchia. He was received as lord and master, and after giving his commands, continued on his road to France. He reached Paris at the end of November, and the queen arrived immediately after him; the other kings and princes of Bonaparte's family were already assembled, with the exception of Lucian, who had quarrelled with his brother, and Joseph, who was engaged with the war in Spain. They had all been summoned by Napoleon, to consult with them upon a weighty family matter—the dissolution of his marriage with the empress, desired by him, as he alleged, for reasons of state, consented to by Josephine as a sacrifice to France, and approved of, either from adulation to the em-

peror or on conviction, by almost all his assembled relatives, and even by the Viceroy of Italy, the son of her whom he meant to repudiate ; Joachim alone signified his disapprobation. The Senate recognised and legalized the divorce. Josephine was free, but sad and dissatisfied ; Bonaparte equally free, but anxious for the future, and mentally reviewing all the royal families of Europe.

In the same family congress, various princesses were proposed to Bonaparte : he inclined to one of the House of Austria, because the most ancient royal house of Europe ; Joachim advised a princess of Russia, because the most powerful ; but the votes of those present agreed with the wishes of the emperor, and the Archduchess Maria Louisa, daughter of Francis I., was chosen. The decision was kept secret.

The king was still in France when the islands of Ponza and Ventotene were abandoned by the Neapolitan soldiers, and their leader, the Prince of Canosa. This was not occasioned either by fear or suspicion, but proceeded from a conviction that the fortunes of France and Naples could not be altered by political intrigues, and because the expense incident to the possession of these two barren rocks was too heavy a burden on the straitened finances of Sicily. Thirty ships, which were to have conveyed men, arms, and artillery to Palermo, were overtaken by a furious tempest ; several were wrecked, many were forced by necessity to seek a miserable asylum in our ports and on our shores, and only a few reached Sicily, but among them, the vessel which had Canosa on board.

During the absence of the king, the minister of police, Cristoforo Saliceti, died of a rapid illness at the age of fifty-three. He left behind him a mixed character for good and evil : in early life he had been a powerful supporter of liberty, but afterwards, in the turns of fortune, had become a wily minister under the new kings ; he was amiable in the private relations of life, and a kind father and friend ; he persecuted his enemies, but was a powerful protector to his adherents, whether bad or good, an adept in politics, indifferent to science or scientific men, and incredulous of virtue in others, from having too closely studied the worst side of mankind. He was said to have died of poison, and the report was confirmed by the symptoms of the disease, his having accepted a banquet

at the house of an enemy, and by the dread his power inspired. But it was afterwards ascertained his death was occasioned by malignant typhus fever. He was buried in the vault belonging to the noble house of Torella, which gave rise to a melancholy incident, to be related in another book of this history.

The queen remained in France, whilst the king returned to Naples, and devoted himself to the cares of state. He founded an agricultural society in every province, assigned land for experiments, and for a nursery for the cultivation of useful plants ; opened agrarian schools, gave rewards, and held out the promise of still greater, to the inventors of instruments or improvements for the benefit of agriculture, and he united the Agrarian Society of the provinces with the Botanical Garden of Naples, on which he bestowed nearly twenty-four acres of land adjoining the Reclusorio. He ordered a large and beautiful edifice to be built for a conservatory, and for experiments and instruction in botany. He thus in various ways promoted agriculture, which is the basis of our national wealth, but which had in past times been almost totally neglected, trusting to the native fertility of the soil and the fine climate. This was, however, no longer sufficient, since human industry had made the most barren soils in Europe, under the most inclement skies, bring forth abundantly.

He granted permission to many of the communes to hold free markets and fairs open to all comers, which are beneficial to commerce where languid, but where trade is flourishing, do harm, or at any rate are useless. Primary schools were founded in every community. The payment of the taxes became more tolerable, not because they were diminished, but because they were better managed. A new law was passed, by which the manufacture of tobacco was prohibited, a measure as improvident as mercenary. Everything relating to the army, soldiers, arms, clothing, barracks, and fortresses, continued to improve, but discipline declined. Upon some slight occasion a handful of Calabrian soldiers quarrelled with some of the guards ; this brawl soon became a riot, and presently bordered on mutiny, for the soldiers of both regiments seized their arms with a determination to fight ; and having prepared for combat in the midst of the populous city of Naples, began firing off their muskets, to the danger of many and the terror of all ; several fell

on both sides. An officer of the guards, out of uniform, and with no external mark of his profession, struck a man without any provocation, who happened to be hawking goods about the streets; the officer was arrested by a commissary of police, who, in his magisterial capacity, accompanied by an escort, was endeavouring to restore public tranquillity. As soon as this act was known, all the officers of the guards rose in arms, liberated the prisoner, and arresting the commissary, dragged him with opprobrium along the Via di Toledo, and, when arrived at the spot where he had seized the guilty party, forced the magistrate to kneel down and ask pardon for his presumption. No punishment, or a very trivial one, followed these two serious offences, which sowed the seeds of future calamities.

CHAPTER II.

FACTS RELATING TO THE WAR—BRIGANDAGE—ITS SUPPRESSION—THE FEUDAL SYSTEM ABOLISHED—DISSENSIONS IN THE ROYAL FAMILY.

After settling various matters relating to the government, the king departed once more to assist at the marriage of the Emperor of the French, which was preparing with the splendour which might be anticipated from his haughty nature, no less than the respect due to the royal lady whom he was taking as his bride, as well as from the extravagant tastes in which those delight to indulge who have risen from a private station to the highest. The imperial nuptials were celebrated on the 1st April 1810, and the event, according to the superstitious vulgar, proved an ill omen to Napoleon and to his house. From that day forth he had to court the men and things by whom he had been rejected, not daring to offend them, though unable to trust those he had hitherto treated with contumely; he therefore became irresolute, feeble, and sank beneath himself. The Consulate for life was a necessary compromise between two epochs; to one of which belonged the convictions of the multitude who were still attached to monarchy, and to the other the convictions of not a few eager for liberty, and still more eager for equality; the Consulate was therefore the link which connected the interests and hopes of the old with the hopes and interests of the new. When the Consulate was merged in the empire, the greatness of the First Consul declined, because he had assumed a title which had belonged to former sovereigns; with it, however, was associated the idea of permanence in the Government, and stability in existing interests; it had its use, therefore, and was a popular step; he appeared as the sovereign of the new men and new order of things, and if the intelligence of the people disdained

the pageantry attached to royalty, their reason was convinced of its utility.

From this change in a name proceeded his divorce; from his divorce, his second marriage. The genius of the age and the nature of his government demanded that the new dynasty should spring from a Frenchwoman; but after he had allied himself and the rest of the Napoleon family in marriage with the reigning houses of Germany, their interests became involved with those of the old kings: becoming their equals in their decline, they remained their inferiors in the opinion of the world; for they wanted the prestige and conscious greatness of kings of ancient lineage, and had only raised themselves above other sovereigns by the power of their genius, which time was drawing to a close, and by the remembrance of past successes, which the first adverse fortune would destroy. By Napoleon placing himself on a level with other monarchs, he raised an expectation that the interests of the Revolution might hope for toleration under legitimate sovereigns; and if hitherto he had attached the adherents of hostile kings to the empire, he now carried himself and his followers to the opposite side. This error of Bonaparte led to the premature extinction of the new sovereigns and of the political institutions he had created, which might otherwise have formed an era in social history.

The ceremonies in Paris were hardly ended, when the king returned to Naples, and cautiously opened his design of attacking Sicily. It was reported (and the report is not incredible), that the haughty queen of that island, chafing under the dominion of the English, and her hopes for the throne of Naples reviving, now that the Emperor of the French had married one of her nieces, began and concluded a secret compact with Bonaparte; by which she agreed to drive the English out of Sicily with her own troops, and without any aid from the French, unless demanded by her; and when she had recovered the kingdom of Naples, to govern it by French laws, as a confederate and dependency of France. The scheme rather than treaty (for it was neither published nor even put in writing), was less acceptable to this proud woman from the hope it held out of regaining Naples, than that of gratifying her revenge; and it served the purposes of the crafty emperor, because

it was directed against the English, while presenting him with an opportunity of conquering Sicily. Its accomplishment was, however, difficult, as those who were to be the chief actors in the scheme, namely, the King of Sicily, the King of Naples, the two armies, and the Sicilian and Neapolitan people, had to be kept ignorant of its object; and the queen and the emperor had both inwardly resolved to throw the other off as soon as success was certain. It was a fraudulent device, and better adapted to foment civil discord than to effect political changes.

Meanwhile Joachim, always ready for war, and flattered and urged on by Bonaparte, was preparing for the enterprise, when an English line-of-battle ship of fifty guns entered the Bay of Naples; Joachim instantly ordered a flotilla, composed of a frigate, a corvette, a brig, a cutter, and six gun-boats, to attack her. As the ship did not avoid the rencounter, the numerous spectators from the city thought victory certain; but in the beginning of the fight the Neapolitan commander lost an arm, the second in command and other officers of the frigate were killed, and by the loss of their services and the want of a fair wind, all our ships were damaged and the brig sunk. The signal for retreat was given, and as they returned into port, they numbered fifty dead, and a hundred and ten wounded. This disaster gave Joachim a motive and desire to be revenged on Sicily. The preparations were therefore hastened, and assuming the name of lieutenant of the emperor, he encamped an army, composed of more French than Neapolitans, in the extreme south of Calabria, upon the shores of the Faro, between Scilla and Reggio, waiting, as the emperor had ordered, to conduct it into Sicily; but not to move, except with the consent of General Grenier, whom Bonaparte had appointed commander of the French forces, with secret orders (as was suspected) to refrain from attacking the island unless requested by the queen, or when he had been informed that the English and Sicilian soldiers were fighting one another, so as to make the success of the French certain.

The soldiers of Joachim were sixteen thousand, supported by three hundred ships of war and transport; upon the hill called Piale, at a short distance from the sea, the gorgeous tent of the king rose in the midst of the camp, and around it were pitched those of the principal officers of the army, and of the court, the

ministers, several of the councillors of state, and other personages at that time engaged in the affairs of the kingdom, and destined for future employment in Sicily. On the opposite side the English army of twelve thousand soldiers had pitched their camp upon the shores of the Faro from Messina to La Torre, while the Sicilian army, composed of ten thousand men, were encamped in second line upon the heights behind. Men-of-war, frigates, and smaller vessels lay at anchor or moved about within the harbour of Messina, whilst a considerable number of soldiers and workmen were employed in fortifying the threatened coast. In order to assemble so vast a force in this place, the English drew off their garrisons from the small islands (with the exception of Santa Maura), which lay around Corfu, and extended the range of cruise of several of their ships, so that this city and the rest of the Ionian islands which were garrisoned by the French, and until now had been reduced to extreme want, were abundantly supplied with provisions.

Day and night, from Reggio to Scilla, from Torre di Faro to Messina, by sea and by land, there was continual skirmishing; more from the animosity existing between the contending parties, than with any definite object. The English ships advanced to attack the Neapolitan, even within the roadsteads of the Calabrian coast, and as we had only a small navy there, our soldiers rowed out rapidly in little boats to meet them, and boarded their vessels, a ferocious way of fighting in that war, where it occasioned much damage and slaughter, without any object or advantage being gained. On the side of Joachim, the ships and soldiers often feigned an intention of crossing over, which caused annoyance and disquiet in the English camp; this feint would have become a reality, if the impetuosity of Murat had not been restrained by Grenier, who not being able to communicate to him the secret instructions he had received, concealed them under cover of the impracticability of the enterprise, whilst Joachim pointed out the ease with which it might be effected; thus the leaders of the army and of the fleet were at variance, and this difference of opinion soon ended in disputes.

Matters continued thus for a hundred days, and the middle of September was already passed, when, as the equinoctial gales had raised a violent storm at sea, it became necessary for Joachim to

abandon these shores and his hopes of conquest; but wishing to prove that the disembarkation in Sicily was not impossible, he prepared in the roadstead of Pentimele as many ships as could carry sixteen hundred Neapolitans, and commanded that the soldiers should be landed at La Scaletta, march along the road of Santo Stefano, to the rear of Messina, promising that the rest of the army and of the fleet should make an attack between Messina and La Torre. The movements of the French were, however, stopped by Grenier; the Neapolitans descended upon Messina at the appointed place, but being only a small number, unsupported, and confronted with forces ten times more numerous, half of them returned to Calabria whilst the rest were detained prisoners. Joachim boasted of this affair, and a few days afterwards raised the camp and departed, embarking at Pizzo, and returned to Naples, where he was received with popular rejoicings. This enterprise, besides the killed, wounded, prisoners, and havoc of war, cost the Neapolitan treasury heavy sums, and became a pretext for the Government to confiscate several American ships which had arrived at Naples, under a promise of security, and of commercial freedom. Sicily suffered an inferior loss in those killed, but almost an equal loss in wounded and treasure; it was at this time Queen Caroline ventured to show her hatred of the English more openly, and new seeds of enmity were sown, which in the following year drew disasters upon the Sicilian court, and occasioned a change of government.

Whilst the king was in Calabria with a great part of the army, these very provinces, besides all the rest of the kingdom, were more and more infested with brigands: the provisions for the army were pillaged upon the road, and the soldiers were attacked and murdered even around the camp. The king one day met a man on the plains of Palme, whom the gendarmes were leading bound; he inquired who he was, and before any other could speak, the prisoner answered, "Please your Majesty, I am a brigand; but worthy of pardon, for yesterday while your Majesty was ascending the mountains of Scilla, I lay concealed behind a rock, and could have killed you, as I intended; my arms were prepared, but your great and royal presence restrained me. Had I slain the king yesterday, I should not to-day have been before him, and near my

death." Joachim granted him his pardon, and the brigand, kissing the knee of his horse, departed free and happy, and from that day forth led an honest life in his native place.

When Joachim perceived that there was no crime of which the brigands were not capable, he passed a law conferring unlimited power on one of his generals to try every case in Calabria, whether military or civil, for the destruction of brigandage. General Manhes, who was selected for this office, passed the ensuing October in preparations, waiting until the country should be bare of fruit and leaves, which provided the brigands with food and shelter; after which interval he declared his intentions. He published lists of bandits in every commune, and issued orders to the citizens to kill or take them prisoners; and all capable of bearing arms were equipped and enlisted for the work. He punished with death every correspondence with brigands, not even excepting that between wife and husband, nor between mother and son; he armed the innocent parents against their own sons, and brothers against brothers. He had the flocks and herds removed to certain well-guarded places, and he stopped all labour in the fields, or only permitted it under a prohibition to the labourers to carry with them any food. Gendarmes and soldiers were stationed in the open country, not to pursue the guilty, but to watch strictly over the innocent inhabitants. In the vast extent of Calabria, from Rotonda to Reggio, there commenced a simultaneous and general hunt after brigands.

These decrees were so severe, that they appeared to be only dictated to strike terror; but shortly afterwards facts, either witnessed or reported, or proclaimed by order of the general himself, put an end to this incredulity. Eleven persons from the city of Stilo, women and children (as the able-bodied young men were in arms, engaged in the pursuit of the brigands), going to gather olives on a distant farm, having each of them in their pockets a little bread to eat in the middle of the day, to restore their strength after their labour, met a detachment of gendarmes, placed there on guard, and at whose head was Lieutenant Gambacorta (whose name will be remembered by this story); they were detained, their persons searched, and because they were provided with a little food, all the eleven were put to death upon the spot.

In a wood near Cosenza, a man, grey with age, was surprised while giving some victuals to another man, who appeared young, but emaciated with hunger, and in arms: he was a fugitive brigand, and the other was his father. Both having been arrested, and condemned to death, they were executed in the public place at Cosenza; and in order to punish the old man most severely, he was made to die last, and to be present at the death of his son.

In the forest of San Biase, a woman who was flying with her husband, a brigand, gave birth to an infant, and because the child hindered their flight, and by its cries betrayed the place where the parents lay concealed, the mother carried it by night into the city of Nicastro, woke up a friend, and consigning her son to her with tears, she returned to the wood. The fact was made known the following day, and General Manhes provided for the infant, but the charitable nurse was punished with death. I pause here, for I have not courage to relate other facts, which proved that the horrible menaces of General Manhes were fulfilled to the letter, and even exceeded.

The panic created in all orders of society was great, and reached such a height, that it seemed as if the most tender and the closest ties of nature were dissolved; relations and friends were denounced, pursued, and put to death by friends and relations; men became as in an earthquake, a shipwreck, or a plague, each solicitous for himself, and indifferent for the safety of the rest of mankind. By such acts and examples, the morals of the people became more deteriorated; and the subsequent rebellions, the public calamities, and tyrannical acts which followed, owed their origin to the state of the kingdom during the time of the growth and extinction of brigandage. These deeds of violence did not last long; all the Calabrians, whether pursued or pursuers, became desperate; and as the brigands were very inferior in numbers to their enemies, were in detached bands, betrayed one another, and were the supporters of an iniquitous cause, they were finally crushed. Out of three thousand whose names appeared on the lists in the beginning of November, not one was missing when it was read over at the end of the year: many had been killed fighting, others had died under torture, and others from want; while some had escaped into

Sicily, and a few, after many vicissitudes of fortune, still remained alive, but were shut up in prison.

Among so many thousands who perished, many died by unusual means, and showed extraordinary courage ; but I select only two instances, best calculated to exhibit the character of the brigands, and remarkable enough to be worthy of record.

Benincasa, a chief of brigands, betrayed by his followers, and bound while sleeping in the forest of Cassano, was conveyed to Cosenza. General Manhes commanded both his hands to be amputated, and thus maimed, that he should be taken to San Giovanni, in Fiore, his native place, and hung on the gallows ; a cruel sentence, which was heard by the unhappy man with a smile of disdain. The right hand was first struck off, and the stump bound up, not from consideration for his sufferings, or from pity, but to prevent his bleeding to death, as he was reserved for a more miserable end : he uttered no groan ; and when he had seen the first part of his sentence executed, he laid his left arm upon the block, and looked coolly on at his second torture, and at his two severed members lying bleeding upon the ground, which were then fastened together by the middle fingers, and hung upon his breast ; a horrible sight, enough to excite pity in all beholders ! This took place at Cosenza. That same day he was made to walk to San Giovanni, in Fiore ; the escort rested by the way, and one of them offered the sufferer food, which he accepted, and eat and drank heartily, not alone from the instinct of life, but with enjoyment. Arrived at his native place, he slept the following night, and the next day, when the hour of his death was approaching, refused the consolations of religion, ascended the gallows leisurely, and died admired for the animal courage he had displayed.

Parafanti, another brigand chief, was about forty years of age ; he possessed great courage, a savage disposition, and was gigantic in stature and strength. While yet a youth, he had been a homicide and bandit, and in order to obtain subsistence, as well as in self-defence, he was afterwards led to commit other thefts and assassinations. But in the disturbances of 1806, he ingratiated himself with the Bourbons, embracing their side, and carrying on the war during four years with varied fortune, but most frequently with success. In the persecutions of General Manhes, he was pursued in

every place, his retreat into Sicily cut off, and surrounded in the forest of Nicastro ; some of his band died fighting, while others from terror yielded themselves to the enemy ; only five of his followers remained, besides one woman, his wife or companion. Fallen into other snares prepared in the forest, four perished, and one was taken prisoner ; he and the woman escaped by flight. But a large body of troops pursued them ; the woman fell, killed by his side, and Parafanti, left alone, still resisted.

A ball fractured the bone of one of his legs ; it was the first time he had ever been wounded in his long experience as a bandit and brigand : he did not fall, but as he could not support himself on his feet, he leaned the weak side against a tree, and fought on. The fame of his high and desperate courage kept the assailants at bay ; but shortly one of these, not more courageous than the rest, but more cunning, under cover of the thick brushwood in the forest, approached him unobserved, and directed a shot at him, which pierced his breast. Parafanti lay extended on the ground, and his weapons fell from his hands : he who had wounded him believing him dead, and eager after booty, ran to him, bent over his body, and commenced a search. But Parafanti was dying, not dead, and his strong arms were yet uninjured ; he grasped his enemy, and drew him towards him ; encircling him with his left arm, and holding him fast, he armed his right with his dagger, which was concealed beneath his dress, and plunged it into his back, thrusting it forcibly through his body, and killing him, while piercing his own breast at the same time. Thus these two men perished by one death, and were remembered together, as they lay in a terrible embrace.

The deeds perpetrated in Calabria were reported and exaggerated by fame, and rendered the labours of General Manhes more easy in the other provinces, where he was sent to put an end to brigandage. In a short time he succeeded in its extermination, and it was, perhaps, the first time in the history of the restless Neapolitan people, ever quarrelling among themselves, when neither brigands, nor political partisans, nor robbers infested the public roads and the country. The Court of Sicily and the English, deprived of the material for their incendiary projects, ceased their practice of hurling torches of discord among us ; the police were no longer severe and

arbitrary, and justice resuming her sway, military commissions were abolished. The moveable columns were recalled, and the military commanders in the provinces were deprived of power over the civil administration. The activity of industrial enterprise was renewed, internal commerce revived, markets and fairs, once deserted, were again crowded with people, and the kingdom assumed the appearance of civilisation and public security. The effects of the beneficent institutions of the two French kings which, owing to the disorders of brigandage, or the severity of the police, had, until this time, been either disregarded or despised, were now felt and appreciated by the people.

This new and unexpected appearance of felicity elicited praises both for the General and the Government. After a time, however, the people, getting accustomed to prosperity, and, as usual, fickle and ungrateful, began to call to mind the cruelties practised in Calabria ; false stories were added to true, and the inventions of malice were all credited by the multitude, and even recorded as history. Contradictory statements, therefore, still exist regarding the character of General Manhes, but amidst conflicting opinions, I will give my own. He was cruel, violent, ambitious, and spoiled by fortune and the favour of the king ; he considered the excesses of the revolution to be principles of government ; yet he was upright, industrious, indefatigable, and tenacious of purpose ; he regarded the deaths of the brigands as acts of justice, and the cruelty with which they were put to death a form which added but little to their sufferings, and was of great use as an example : and he believed his harsh decrees necessary, and after their publication, their fulfilment justifiable. I have already stated the effect I believe his conduct may have upon the future of the country, and the evils and dangers incurred by loosening the ties of nature and of society; but at the time, it was beneficial. The brigands of 1810 had kept the kingdom in a flame, destroying men and property. They were without any political aim ; encouraged by the thirst for vengeance, by hatred, or by the baser passions of envy and rage at our prosperity. In short, brigandage was an enormity ; and General Manhes was the instrument of inflexible justice, incapable (as the scourge itself) of limiting the number, or measuring the force of his blows.

Another benefit felt by all, which, though less rapid, had wider results, was completed that same year, 1810. The feudal system, which had so often been shaken, was finally demolished, not only in its laws, but in its effects on property; the feudal lands were divided between the communes and the barons, and the communal lands were again divided among the citizens. These reforms, together with the abolition of privileges, swept away every vestige of this vast structure which remained in the kingdom.

The commencement of feudalism has been usually traced to the invasions of the barbarians into the civilized states of Europe; but older still, it derives its origin from times of war and conquest, and the retention of the conquered countries and people. As long as the motives for war were enmity between nations, or a thirst for plunder, the conquerors killed, pillaged, and destroyed all before them, and then returned to their own country; but when the object was a permanent conquest, the successful army, after the first acts of license were past (desirous of subjugating the people and drawing a profit from the conquered country), dictated forms of submission, then laws and ordinances; next followed tribunals and formulæ, with rewards and gifts to their fellow-soldiers, which, under other names, were fiefs and baronies. But the constitutions of these governments varied according to the political ideas of the conquerors and the state of civilisation of the conquered; for a conquest could not be permanent where the people were completely barbarous, therefore the introduction of the feudal system was impossible; and again, where the conquered people were in an advanced stage of civilisation and morals, the state of conquest could not last, and the feudal system could then only be temporary. It could only thrive in a semi-civilized age, among a listless and corrupt people; and as its own origin was various, so many and various were the forms in which it appeared in Europe. I shall therefore confine myself to the history of that branch of feudalism which afflicted the kingdom of Naples.

At the period of the decline of Rome, and of the two invasions of Italy by Alaric king of the Goths, and during the incursions and sacks of Attila and of Genseric, and amidst the calamities and vicissitudes of barbarous and intestine warfare, every city was subjected to a thousand varieties of chance and fortune; their modes of

self-government, administration, magistracies, armies, and the civil institutions belonging to every race inhabiting the land, were different. Such was the condition of Italy when, in the fifth century, the germs of the second era of feudalism sprung up: I have already sketched the first, and I therefore call this the second, which came in with the conquests of the Goths and Lombards. As the inhabitants of the kingdom of Naples were not all equally civilized, the feudal system assumed a different form in the various provinces, and it was not surprising if it developed itself in a tyrannical form in Puglia, and still more so in the States of Otranto.

The character of the invasion may serve to mark the policy of the invaders; war, force, pillage, every one for himself, the strongest or the most successful appropriating the larger share in the land and its inhabitants, and only a small portion assigned to the chief who led the conquering hordes; if subsequently the weaker became the stronger party, if those who had been strong became weak, their fate was reversed, and the first deprived the second of his dominions and his life. This feudal brigandage could not be carried on without soldiers, nor soldiers subsist without tribute; the people were, therefore, divided into soldiers and vassals, the institutions of society were either military or financial, and the heads of tribes were captains or magistrates; there were neither established laws nor any fixed orders of society, no security of person or property, but perpetual wars, depredations, and instability in everything. This strife between the feudal lords prevailed within the kingdom, from the fifth to the seventh century.

In the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries many events came to pass, which changed the aspect of feudalism; in the duchy of Beneventum, strong by its extent of territory, and strengthened by the laws of the wise Lombard king, Rothario, the feudal lords were vassals, and under subjection, but although the duchy was only a fief, it was so extensive as to resemble a state; the people had to bear the burden of taxation, although they did not suffer from the injuries and disturbances occasioned by civil discord; their condition, therefore, though hard, was one of repose, but it was of short duration, and was succeeded by wars, in the midst of which this duchy was partitioned, and out of its spoils arose the duchies of Salerno

and Capua, and perpetual and hereditary earldoms were granted to certain counts who had hitherto been the duke's soldiers ; thus one large fief was converted into many petty ones : but such is the nature of this plant, that the least of its shoots is more venomous than the whole trunk.

The invasions of the Saracens occurred at that time, and furnished abundant opportunity for the exercise of brigandage and of feudal tyranny. The land was then fortified, and many strongholds and castles were founded, by which the wars were prolonged, the power of the feudal lords increased, and the condition of the people made more wretched.

In the beginning of the eleventh century, a systematic and organized form of feudalism was established, and during the first Norman incursions, when French feudal laws were introduced, the system became less subject to variations, and more powerful. Matters continued thus until the year 1139, when the first Roger founded the kingdom of Sicily and Naples ; and I shall now, therefore, confine my description of the feudal system as it existed from this date, through the reigning families, or through those marvellous events which change the character and aspect of social institutions.

Roger was the first baron in his kingdom, for at that time the idea of power could not be severed from the idea of feudalism ; but the condition of the people was improved by the same causes which I have related, when speaking of the duchy of Beneventum, and also because the ministers of the Crown checked the extravagant pretensions of the feudal lords ; besides which, the force of habit and the patient endurance of the vassals, caused feudal burdens to be considered as the natural condition of civilized life, and they therefore appeared just in the eyes of the people, and easy to be borne. The great nobles of the kingdom were contented with the system of feudalism and the despotism established by Roger and the two Williams, and that form of government which modern philosophy rejects, was at the time beneficial to the people.

The first Frederic and Henry, of the race of Swabia, opposed rather than promoted these social institutions. Frederic II. used two methods to humble feudal power ; he dictated laws which provided against its abuses, and increased the political rights of the people.

By his laws, the vassal was released from service for the baron, when such service was injurious to the personal liberty of the subject; equal justice and full liberty of appeal to the sovereign against the tyranny of the barons, was conceded to every Neapolitan; the barons were prohibited from imposing new taxes; and the baronial walls and towers were demolished; while other enactments were passed for the protection of the people, which may be read in the constitutions granted by this monarch. The commons were indebted to him for the free administration of the municipal revenue, and for the permission to convoke the representatives of every commune, to discuss such affairs as concerned the public interests, and to regulate the administration of justice and of the magistracies. He deputed persons to visit the provinces, in order to learn the wants and listen to the complaints of the people; lay and ecclesiastical barons were obliged to pay tribute, whilst he abolished those privileges which had until that time been so lavishly conceded to land and persons belonging to the Church. To this king, the marvel of his age, succeeded for a short period Conrad, and after him Manfred, the last king of the House of Swabia. Manfred sustained the laws of his father with equal courage, though less success, owing to the vexations which he had to suffer from the Popes and his own subjects; but neither the people nor the age was sufficiently advanced to appreciate the benefits conferred by the Swabian dynasty, and which had sprung from the mind of the reformer. The life of Frederic was not long enough to raise the habits and intellect of the mass to the level of his own conceptions, and his schemes of reform fell with his progeny.

Charles I. of Anjou having ascended the throne of the Sicilies (by the invitation and with the assistance of Pope Clement IV.), while waging war against the army of Manfred, and seeking partisans among the barons of the kingdom, had every inducement to revive the feudal institutions. A Frenchman, he brought with him the usages of France; a vassal of the Church, he restored and increased the ecclesiastical privileges which had been revoked or limited by the House of Swabia; and, a warrior and conqueror, he bestowed a hundred and seventy cities on his fellow-soldiers, besides making them other feudal grants, conformably with the habits of conquest and of the times. To obtain adherents, he

restored to the barons their share in the judicature of which they had been deprived by the laws of Frederic and Manfred; and, a true scion of the House of Anjou, he approved and followed those maxims of government which were in direct opposition to those of his enemy, the Swabian. Feudalism was restored to its rights, and became more prosperous and arrogant than ever. History, however, records several attempts of this king, and of his successors of the House of Anjou, to restrain certain feudal excesses, but which rather prove that their indignation was roused by some of the enormities then perpetrated, than any intention to eradicate the source from whence they sprung, and confer a benefit on the people. The race of Anjou thus governed the kingdom until the accession of Joanna I., who with her successor of the same name, and King Ladislaus, sold almost all the royal domains, that they might indulge their pleasures or satisfy their necessities; they conferred the titles of prince and duke on whomsoever they pleased, though these titles had hitherto been reserved for the royal family, and were prodigal of inferior titles, lands, and privileges, converting almost the whole kingdom into fiefs. Among the concessions most degrading to the monarch, and most delcterious to the subjects, was that called the *mero e misto* (absolute and undefined),[1] namely, the power of the barons to sit in judgment in criminal and civil causes.

But it was reserved for Alphonso I. of Arragon, to disgrace his name by maturing and adding to the power of the *mero e misto* jurisdiction, thus debasing the monarchy, at the very time when its power in Germany and France was strengthened by the wisdom of other princes. Later on, the conspiracies of the barons against Ferdinand I., roused the indignation of that king, and induced him to promulgate several laws, which were, however, treated with contempt, and remained in abeyance, because they were intended rather to injure the nobles than to benefit the people. The reign of the Arragonese princes was the period in which feudalism flourished most in the kingdom of Naples.

I will not enter upon the history of the transitory reign of Charles VIII. of France, nor of the laws dictated by Charles V. in his passage from Naples to Africa, when he was touched by the unhappy condition and the complaints of the people; for these laws

[1] See Note, vol. i. p. 95.

were never put in practice; but proceed at once to describe the miseries occasioned by the viceregal government, which commenced early in the seventeenth century. This government was characterized by financial cupidity; and its principal means of gratification depended on feudalism. The Parliament of the State, which from the time of Alphonso of Arragon, was only composed of barons, fixed the amount of subsidies payable by the communes of the kingdom to the Crown; they diminished the *Adoa*,[1] a feudal tribute, while, as a compensation to the exchequer, they more than doubled the impositions upon their vassals; and, besides the usual feudal imposts and those paid to the treasury, they invented many other forms of taxation, under such names as *Alloggi Militari* (quarters for the soldiers), and *Fortificazione di Marina* (coast fortifications). In a short time the condition of the vassals became so miserable, that they asked as a favour to be permitted to redeem their services to the barons by a sum to be agreed upon between them and their lords, and that after their redemption they should belong to the royal domains and pay the common taxes into the exchequer. This was granted by Charles v., but was left in abeyance at that time, because only for the advantage of the people; but later on it was confirmed, when it was useful for purposes of avarice and fraud.

After making prodigious efforts, the communes redeemed themselves at an exorbitant price, but shortly afterwards (incredible as it may appear), the royal government sold them again with the obligation of feudal service to the same barons, and to others newly created; so that when it was found that those who had redeemed themselves were sold over again, three or four successive times, no other commune applied for redemption. But as the Government found it profitable to increase the royal domains without the risk of expense or other injury, they promised (thus confessing to their shame the frauds of which they had been guilty) that if ever they conceded another fief, either in sale or in gift, the commune which had redeemed themselves should be absolved from every obligation of obedience to the king, and of service to the barons; thus excusing and legitimatizing rebellion.

Another vein of wealth for the treasury was the sale of titles

[1] *Adoa*, see Note, vol. i. p. 133.

and privileges, and another, the commutation of the punishment of criminals on the payment of a fine ; thus it was that we read at that time of horrible crimes committed with impunity. Under the viceroyalty of the Duke of Arcos, the Baron of Mardò having a suit against the chapter from whom he held his fief, caused twenty-four canons who composed it, to be beheaded in one day, and had their heads exposed upon a holiday, as a proof of his determination to revenge himself, and of his power over the dignitaries of the Church ; he escaped punishment by redeeming his sentence with a sum of money. There is not a city nor estate, once baronial, which does not preserve the memory of some atrocious deed, nor palace nor castle that does not still bear the marks of the cruelties practised within them.

Thus the barons (while Naples was governed by the ministers of distant kings) were no longer either the supporters or the enemies of thrones, and their numbers had enormously increased, including in their order, men polluted by crimes, raised to their present position by the purchase of honours, avaricious, cruel, and unjust towards their vassals ; terror as well as ignominy was thus attached to the idea of feudal power ; and therefore at the termination of the viceregal government, in the year 1734, the Bourbon dynasty found the way of reform made easy.

The age was also a reformatory age, and every prince a reformer. Monarchy in the kingdoms of France, Spain, and Germany had recovered its power by the suppression of that of the barons ; and the people, relieved from a great part of their burdens, and from feudal service, became the advocates and supporters of one sole and supreme power. The example was imitated by Charles, our first king of the race of Bourbon. The barons in the provinces, likewise, though wealthy, were despised, because they had forgotten or were indifferent to the use of arms, and were many of them small proprietors, the majority raised from the lowest order of the people, by the favour of former kings, or by fortune, and therefore fond of show ; they therefore came voluntarily or upon invitation to the city, hoping for honours in the new court. Charles received them graciously, and retaining them by the empty allurements of vanity and luxury, converted them from rivals into dependants, and deprived them of all power to resist his will. After this he

published sundry laws prejudicial to feudal power, repressed not a few abuses, and declared, *that time gave no right to domineer over the people, and that ancient usage did not make the injustice of those in power lawful.* He thus proved his intention of breaking down feudalism. The successor of Charles, Ferdinand IV., advanced still more rapidly in his father's steps during the early part of his reign; and as soon as the tendencies of his government were perceived, and philosophy and reason ventured to express themselves openly, many authors undertook to instruct those in power, which, while it caused a panic among the feudal landholders, roused the spirit of the people, and created that unanimity of opinion which must precede all reforms. I must here cite, to their honour, the works of Filangieri, Galanti, Signorelli,[1] and Delfico. The people, taking courage, remonstrated on many of the baronial impositions, and the king ordered the magistrates to inquire into their case. The magistrates (as justice and the genius of the age demanded) gave sentence in favour of the commons, who had pleaded their rights, which afforded an example, and encouraged others to appeal to law. Among various enactments, the tolls on foot passengers were abolished; and it was decreed that those fiefs which had devolved to the exchequer, should never again be put up for sale, or given away with feudal conditions; the power of the *mero e misto* tribunal was restricted, and lands subject to feudal service were divided. But the Government had not, at that time, either the intention, the courage, or the power to level that proud edifice to the ground, and therefore, sometimes for convenience, sometimes to favour an individual, the lands were sold again, not, indeed, as fiefs, but granting the purchasers such rights, and imposing such services on the peasantry as to stamp on them the character of feudal tenure. Even the seignorial right of jurisdiction was at times conceded, or formed a part of the new contract. A few years later the revolution in France produced a feeling of insecurity; it appeared dangerous to lower the nobility or to elevate the people,

[1] *Pietro Signorelli*, born 1731, died 1815. He left the profession of advocate to devote himself to the culture of letters. When the French occupied the country, in 1798, he was made one of the Government in the Parthenopean Republic and member of the legislative council. He afterwards sought an asylum in Milan, and returned to Naples in 1806.

and philosophy which had struck a blow at feudalism, was accused of overturning thrones. The labours of the Government were therefore suspended, and the whole machinery of feudalism was on the eve of being reconstructed.

Before repeating the enactments of Joseph, and describing those of Joachim, three questions which deserve serious reflection must detain me a little longer in the consideration of the past: In what the nobility consisted during this constant change of fiefs? What was the condition of the people? and what remained of the feudal system in 1806?

The natural and earliest order of nobility consisted of the leaders in war or council; for the first claim to distinction is the sacrifice of life in the defence of one's country, or the maintenance of its greatness by wisdom and the labours of the intellect. In a corrupt state of society, other sources of nobility were added; yet after success in arms and in the exercise of the magisterial office, if additional claims of distinction be sought, real merit can only be found in scientific men and artists, who, nevertheless, however celebrated, continue in a subordinate position. The real order of nobility arose with the first fiefs, and maintained itself as long as feudal lord and warrior were synonymous terms; the investiture as well as the duties of the barons were military, and the order only declined when the privilege to abstain from military service was granted; it did not even decline when the nobles made war against the king, for they then appeared as armed enemies, and cowardice was more shunned than an enemy. In the kingdom of Naples, however (without referring to times anterior to the Normans), there were still, until the reigns of the Arragonese princes, noble houses who rested their claim to nobility on their success in arms.

The order of nobility and fiefs both owed their origin to conquest, and titles being derived from fiefs, names became confounded, until the possessors of titles and fiefs obtained without arms, were likewise considered noble; therefore during the reigns of the prodigal race of Anjou, titles and fiefs were given away, and sold for a paltry price, and the meanest, if wealthy, rose to the highest places among the titled nobility. Matters became still worse under the venal viceregal government, when the title of baron, and even more high-sounding names, were attached to the

possession of small tracts of waste land which formed part of the royal domains, and were sold to the highest bidder. By these means the Bourbon kings found a great many persons bearing titles, to whose numbers kings Charles and Ferdinand added their favourites; thus, in 1806, the Neapolitan nobility consisted of a numerous class without arms or power, and therefore bearing unmeaning, unprofitable names.

If we suppose the people ground down by their feudal superiors, we must likewise conclude that their interests were opposed to those of their tyrants, and that whatever was to the advantage of one was to the injury of the other. But this was not so in reality; for many of the vassals of powerful barons and warriors voluntarily followed the fortunes of their chief, fought for him, exposed their lives to the varied chances of war and faction, and were excited to deeds and aspirations, in whose alternate success and failure consists the excitement and pleasure of political life. But when feudalism ceased to be military, when the leaders became indifferent to party strife or war, the people only felt the tyranny and arrogance of their superiors; therefore during the viceregal period, and with the decline of feudalism, they likewise degenerated.

The people on each separate fief were such as I have described; but, as a nation, they displayed qualities peculiar to themselves. During the warlike days of feudalism, while the barons and their vassals were always at variance, the two classes possessed no common interests, laws, nor uniformity of action. There was no army, no national feeling, and all the means which assist the progress of political rights and independence, were wanting. But when feudalism had become corrupt, when the vassals were oppressed by the barons, and the barons by the king, a system of armed brigandage arose, which was a sort of compensation and exercise of freedom in a degenerate age, when the people felt the burden of the evils which surrounded them, yet from divisions among themselves, their vices, or their habits, were incapable of rising nobly to assert their rights. Such was their condition, varying according to the times, for better or for worse, until the year 1806.

Even then many vestiges of feudalism yet remained. The claims

of the feudal lords upon the persons of their vassals were openly maintained in some fiefs, and in others commuted for payment; and sundry such exactions, as the labour of the peasantry on the baronial lands, the office of messenger, and other domestic services, were continued in many communes. The claim to a right upon things was exorbitant; lands, manufactures, forests, rivers, water, even rain water, every product, every source of revenue, was burdened with duties and imposts. Between the two kinds of rights, those upon persons and those upon things, the distinguished magistrate, David Winspeare (in a work which has been deservedly praised), enumerates 1395, all in use on the arrival of Joseph in 1806.

The barons, besides, prevented or restricted the citizens in the uses on feudal lands common to both; while they exercised more than their share of rights as citizens upon the municipal lands. Habits, philosophy, and the spirit of the age, had softened the character of the feudal landholders, and all the violence practised in early feudal times had disappeared; but every source of revenue, of whatsoever kind, was still coveted and maintained by these lords, who, though willing to resign the power, were still determined to gather the fruits.

All these vestiges of feudalism were abolished by the laws of Joseph; but that sovereign, not sufficiently calculating on the importance and amount of the interests attacked by his laws, ordered, that where disputes arose, which were frequent, the case should be laid before the ordinary tribunals, and the councils of the *Intendente*, and tried by the usual modes of procedure. Thus years and even centuries might have elapsed before these lawsuits could have been settled; for by the variety of opinions in the judges, sometimes favouring the communes and sometimes the barons, the measures for the abolition of feudal privileges were distorted to suit their views, and the most essential part of the expected benefit lost; namely, the rapid transition of property upon equal terms from the hands of a few proprietors to many, applying common rules of justice to the case, as circumstances prevented the possibility of reverting to the slower and more deliberate form of codes of law on the subject. As soon as this error was perceived, a supreme court of magistracy was instituted, called the Feudal Com-

mission, from whose decision there was no appeal. But this was only nominal until the reign of King Joachim, who conferred upon it the power to investigate the principal matters relating to feudalism, and to decide every disputed point. New laws were enacted, instituted by this tribunal, to smooth difficulties and solve doubtful cases. The means by which the commission was enabled to arrive at the end proposed, were as follow : 1st, By deciding what lands were by nature feudal ; 2d, By determining the rights and uses of the communes in these lands ; 3d, By estimating the value of all rights and uses in land, so as distinctly to ascertain what belonged to the communes, and what to the baron ; 4th, In the presence of the citizens, and, if desired, of the representatives of the barons, to decide the irrevocable boundaries of that portion of the land assigned to the communes ; and, 5th, To divide the municipal lands among the citizens.

On one side, therefore, were the interests of the barons, of the king (who, by virtue of some of his personal estates, stood as a baron), of the exchequer, and of the church ; on the other, of the citizens, lately vassals, and still subjects. Nevertheless, vast estates, which until then had been under the complete control of the barons, were declared to belong to the municipality, or were assigned for public use. The decision upon these claims was in most cases given in favour of the municipality, and the division of land between the communes and the barons, the king, the exchequer, or the church, was always for the advantage of the former ; while in the partition of the land among the citizens, a preference was shown to the poorest. Land was given away to those who were destitute, sold at a low price to the indigent, and at a fair valuation to those in easy circumstances, while the rich were wholly excluded. Thus the poor profited in every way at the expense (it must be admitted) of the usual forms of procedure, and sometimes even of justice ; but feudalism (I repeat what I have elsewhere maintained of brigandage) was a long-established and deep-rooted evil, which the justice of the new era visited with the scourge and with vengeance.

Towards the close of the year 1809, the king sent commissaries into the provinces to execute the sentences of the feudal commission. Magistrates of high rank, talents, and distinction were chosen, who carried with them other decrees by which they in-

sisted on an immediate and uncompromising execution of the law. The work approached its termination, and the movement as in falling bodies, became more rapid towards the close. By the care of those royal agents, the lands were divided and subdivided, and a multitude of new landholders sprang up. The property of those who had been barons, as well as of their vassals, was disfranchised, and all servitude abolished. This year, 1810, was the first of predial and industrial freedom. The king, from the camp at Reggio, where he was engaged in the war against Sicily, declared the abolition of the feudal system complete, and dissolved the Feudal Commission after proclaiming by an edict its verdicts irrevocable. The marvellous effects of this work upon the wealth of private individuals, upon the increase of the finances, and upon agriculture and the arts, was soon perceptible. The valley of Calore, a small river which falls into the Sele, and which had hitherto been thickly wooded, while forming part of the royal chase of Persano, was now divided between the king and the commune of Postiglione. One of the two banks which had been left to the king remained waste land as before ; the other, divided among the citizens, was cultivated in fields, vineyards, and olive grounds, and new houses were scattered over it, inhabited by industrious and happy families ; thus these two sides of the valley represented and expressed the existence and destruction of feudalism. The year 1810 commenced a new era in the civilisation of the Neapolitan people.

On the first day of the ensuing year, the king, upon the usual festivals in the palace, granted several baronies with titles and pensions, but divested of feudal rights and uses, to generals and colonels of the army ; this liberality of Joachim produced a new nobility, consisting of military men, who were influential supporters of the new order of things, and thus provided what was greatly needed by the rising house of Naples, without anything objectionable but the name. King Joseph, from ostentation or prodigality, had bestowed other gifts on civil officers, and Joachim in the following years created more barons, counts, and dukes, sometimes as a reward for services, and sometimes from favouritism, granting titles without land, and land without titles, to military men, magistrates, and artists. This appeared,

and in some cases really was, a waste of the public money; but neither so extravagantly, nor so worthlessly bestowed, as malice reported; for there never was a new dynasty in the history of Naples, however penurious, who gave away less to their adherents than the two French kings; nor was there any who ever sought more diligently than they for men deserving the gratitude of the State. With Joseph and Joachim fell their adherents, and all attached to them; only a few remained who were not reduced to destitution, but not one had acquired wealth by dishonest means; and had not the officers of the army been allowed, by the Convention of Casalanza in 1815, to remain in the service, they would have been reduced to beggary, as they were a few years later, when the terms of the Convention were broken by perjury.

The standard of Naples was now hoisted on the shipping and fortresses, instead of that of France. Our colours were white and crimson on a blue ground. That same day the force required for the army was determined, and (although not openly declared in the decree) it was fixed at sixty thousand troops of the line, and forty thousand militia; the regiments were called legions; the generals of division, lieutenant-generals; and generals of brigades, field-marshals; many other names were given different from those of France, as Joachim desired (and he made his wishes apparent in the kingdom) to be independent of the French empire. The new Polytechnic school was added to the military college already in existence; new schools of artillery and engineers sprang up; the Neapolitan army was provided for in many ways, and it was proposed to dismiss the French; the conscriptions also were made rapidly, and without creating disturbance,—one result of the consolidation of the kingdom. Added to these sources of strength, by which it was intended to shake off the French yoke, were the harsh orders of Bonaparte, and the bold and liberal spirit of Joachim. The first cause of quarrel now arose between the brothers-in-law.

A son was at this time born to the Emperor of the French, whom he named King of Rome, and Joachim went (as ordered) to Paris to celebrate the event; but although he meant to have remained for the baptism, in order to increase the splendour of the show, he unexpectedly returned to Naples long before the cere-

mony had taken place. Hardly had he arrived before he dismissed the French troops, and issued a decree that no foreigner, unless declared a Neapolitan citizen, as decreed by the Statute of Bayonne, should be able to remain in the country and receive stipends for military or civil service. This bold order displeased Bonaparte, who, by another decree, declared, that it was not necessary for the comrades of Joachim Murat, born a Frenchman, and who had ascended the throne of Naples by French assistance, to be naturalized as Neapolitans in order to be eligible for civil or military offices within that kingdom. The king was furious; the queen tried to soothe his indignation, and some pusillanimous and servile Neapolitans blamed the presumption of Joachim; the liberal party, and the bold and ambitious, who formed the majority, applauded him, but he was not supported by any of the French, even among the courtiers. In contests respecting the great questions of State, in which two opposite opinions usually prevailed, the king had always placed himself at the head of one party, the queen of the other, and thus gathered around them the supporters of both views; while at variance before the public, they were united in private, and this appearance of difference had only been a stratagem used by them amidst the dangers and excitements of the early part of their reign. But this time the king and queen did not act a part, but were really divided; as she trusted her husband less, and her brother more, than either deserved. Domestic quarrels followed, and the king, from his vehement character, fell ill, while the queen, though supported by her pride, was evidently suffering and unhappy.

The decree of Bonaparte conquered: while the French army left the kingdom, those who had either military or civil employments in Naples, remained behind. Malicious tales and falsehoods circulated among the common people respecting the origin of the quarrels in the palace, and authors, who had first been the adherents, and afterwards became the enemies of the king and queen, did not disdain to confirm these calumnies, by inserting them in memoirs they called historical. In a short time this discord ceased, and the king, recovering his health, turned his attention once more to cares of state.

The rage for cultivation had caused trees to be uprooted growing

on the mountains of the Neapolitan kingdom, as well as in other parts of Italy; the land was converted into fields; the first crops were abundant, but diminished from year to year, because the plains below were clogged with earth carried down by the waters, the sides of the mountains were furrowed, the hills bare of soil, and the face of the country devastated by torrents which were left free to take their course, and were often swollen by tempests; agriculture was thus entirely destroyed. A law of Joachim revised that part of the public administration, and as commands alone were not sufficient, he appointed a supreme board of directors at Naples, and inferior boards in the provinces, besides resident officials and inspectors in the communes, and keepers in the country round. If the proprietors of the forest lands had been at first left too uncontrolled, they were, after this law, too much restrained by rules, prohibitions, and penalties; many and reasonable complaints followed, which were justified by the avaricious spirit of the Government, as it was manifest that the severe penalties enacted by this law were prompted less by zeal for the public welfare, than by cupidity. Hence a law, in other respects wise, was ill received and reluctantly obeyed by the subjects.

By other decrees, the provincial and communal administrations were theoretically improved, but practically degenerated; the chief cause of this was that the minister of the interior, Count Zurlo, though both ingenious and indefatigable, desirous of the public welfare, and friendly to liberty, was by long habits, so attached to the monarchy and such a blind admirer of the king (whoever he might be) that in order to assist the finances, which were disordered by too lavish an expenditure on the army and court, he imposed the payments of no small share of the debts of the exchequer on the municipality, besides demanding other sums from the same source, under the name of voluntary donations. The communal patrimony sensibly diminished, and the people became distrustful; they disliked the new system of economy, and would have rather seen the fruits of their industry wasted and defrauded, when at least some of the community would have benefited, than converted into pretended gifts.

Another source of evil lay in the nature of the office of *intendente*. The *intendente*, a government commissioner, as well as

guardian of the people and their rights, was invested with certain great powers, but, his duties being undefined, and sometimes discordant, he could not long preserve his office and his popularity. And since this office brought with it ease and fortune, and popularity brought annoyances, and attacks even from those for whose advantage they laboured, most of the *intendenti* were on the side of the government and against the people; that is, they were firm in their support of the Police, inflexible when the object aimed at was to assist the exigencies of the finances, and eager and ready to perform anything to please the king, though at the expense of the province. Some of them, however, whose names and acts I could cite (were this a commentary and not a history), even at this time, boldly vindicated the rights of the people.

The judiciary system was reformed by new enactments. The hatred against Joachim, though abated, still continued, and a conspiracy was hatched to assassinate him, when hunting in the forest of Mondragone; the forest lying close to the sea facilitated the escape of the regicides. The chief conspirator was one Fra Giusto, who had once been a friar, but was now administrator of vast estates near the spot chosen for the perpetration of the crime. He had twenty-eight associates, who had arrived from Sicily or been enlisted in Naples. The place of ambush had been fixed on, when one of the conspirators revealed the plot to the government, on condition of pardon for himself. His companions were arrested, their arms and papers seized, and the trial ordered, but to be conducted with the ordinary forms, as if it had not been a case of treason. Their guilt was publicly proved by witnesses, documents, and confessions, and the solicitor for the crown demanded the punishment of death for seven of those implicated, and the galleys for life for the remaining twenty-one. The advocate was pleading in defence of the accused, with little hope of success, when the presiding judge interrupted his speech, to read a paper aloud which he had just received from the king. It ran thus: "I hoped that those accused of conspiring against my person, might have been proved innocent; but I have heard with regret that the solicitor-general has demanded a heavy punishment for all. Their guilt may perhaps be real, but I am desirous of still preserving a ray of hope that they may be innocent, and I hasten to stop the decision

of the tribunal, and to pardon the accused ; I order that upon the receipt of this paper the trial shall be closed, and these unhappy men set at liberty. As the trial concerns a foolish attempt on my life, and the sentence is not yet pronounced, I do not offend against the law of the State, if, without having received a recommendation for mercy, I thus use the highest and best prerogative of the crown."

The termination of this trial was as happy, as that which follows was tragical. In Acerenza, a city of the Basilicata, lived a man of the name of Rocco Sileo : his tall and handsome person was bent with age ; he was the father of a numerous family of sons and daughters ; and possessed a small fortune. His eldest son was by nature wicked and treacherous, and while yet a boy began his crimes. The *Udienze* and *Scrivani* were still in force, and the fond father paid the ransom of his son, who, however, persevered in his course of guilt, and repeated his crimes, while his father eagerly and unremittingly continued to protect him, wasting the family inheritance for his sake. He was at length, in the year 1809, after the laws and magistrates had been changed, committed for trial for a serious misdemeanour. The tribunal of the province condemned him to die, and ordered his sentence to be executed in his native place, and before his own home. An appeal was however made to the Court of Cassation, and the deed of condemnation was suspended ; his father spared neither trouble nor expense, and left a younger son in Naples, charged to give him the earliest possible notice when the final sentence was pronounced. It was adverse, and the son hastened to carry the fatal intelligence to his father, who ordered him to keep it secret, even in his own family.

The following day, the old man bribed the keeper of the jail to allow him to dine with the prisoner ; during the meal he was perfectly composed, while his son from being long accustomed to a prison appeared equally indifferent. When they had finished eating, the father addressed him to this effect: "My son, the Court of Cassation has rejected our appeal, your condemnation is confirmed, in a few hours the final sentence will be published, and tomorrow you will cease to live. You are to die a shameful death by the hands of the hangman, in your native place, and before our house. The family possessions are all wasted for you, the little

vineyard which I planted was sold a month ago, and should you add infamy to our poverty, you will have brought a still greater calamity on your aged parents, your brothers, sisters, and all our descendants. There is but one means of escape left, which is to die first, to die this very day. If you have any pity on your family and on me, take this poison and swallow it. If your courage fail you, I will leave you my curse; if you consent, my blessings will accompany your spirit." As he concluded, the tears started to his eyes, after which he appeared like one petrified. His son, who had listened to him in horror, took the poison, and without uttering a word, gave his hand to his father, kissed that of the venerable old man, and, looking steadfastly in his face, drank it off. His father standing erect, and by a great effort raising his body from its usual bent posture, signed the cross three times over his child, and blessed him. He then immediately departed, and his son expired in less than an hour afterwards.

The condemnation, the poison, and death of the prisoner were all announced at the same time. The old father, who did not deny any of the facts, was arrested, and accused of the murder of his son. He was condemned to death, but the Court of Cassation hesitated between the law and humanity: to excuse the crime was to endanger justice; but to condemn the offender to suffer punishment, was an offence against virtue, honour, and the general sympathy excited by this marvellous act of courage on the part of a father. In this dilemma, an appeal was made to the Government, and the reply was a recommendation to pass the deed over in silence. The authority of law was not needed for so singular a case, the first of the kind, and not likely to recur. Rocco Sileo having regained his liberty, passed the rest of his days in affliction and poverty, but honoured by all.

CHAPTER III.

THE KING DEPARTS FOR THE RUSSIAN CAMPAIGN—ATTEMPTS THE UNION OF ITALY—CAMPAIGN IN GERMANY—AFFAIRS OF THE KINGDOM.

1812—1813.

It was the first day of the year 1812, and the courtiers were paying the compliments of the season to the king and queen seated on the throne. The first persons to be introduced were the representatives of foreign powers, and that of France should have had the precedence, had he borne the title of ambassador, a mark of respect which was due to a sovereign of the same family; but Bonaparte, displeased with Joachim, and wishing to show the world he did not regard him as a relation, had sent Monsieur Durant to Naples with the title of minister-plenipotentiary, and therefore the Russian ambassador Dolgoroucki prepared to take precedence of him in the ceremony. The Russian was tall, and had a fierce countenance; the Frenchman little and spare, both of them old men. They met in the apartment adjoining the throne-room, and when even with one another, each hastened on; but Dolgoroucki taking wider steps, was already in advance, when Durant seizing him by the arm stopped him, and the Russian, with a savage look and intention, laid his hand upon the hilt of his sword.

The nobles looked on in silence at this indecorous proceeding; but the king rose to meet them, commended the zeal of both in thus vying to offer him their homage, and so worded his address that neither could infer a preference. Other ambassadors and courtiers succeeded, and these first taking their departure, the dispute ended for that day. On the morrow, Dolgoroucki and

Durant having challenged one another, fought a duel in the temple of Serapis at Pozzuoli ; the marshal of the palace, Excelmans, with the secretary of the Russian embassy, Benkendorff, were waiting at a short distance, when the combat, which had just commenced, was interrupted by the arrival of the vigilant authorities of the police, who, in the name of the laws, requested the duellists to retire. Dolgoroucki had, however, been slightly wounded in the ear. The Emperors of Russia and France, although both at that time secretly cherishing antipathies against one another, pretended modestly to withdraw their claims of precedence, and declaring that the contest was of a private nature, recalled their respective ministers.

That same year 1812, the power of Bonaparte began to totter, and Joachim changed the policy of his government. I therefore propose to give a brief sketch of the internal state of the kingdom, before concluding my narrative of affairs abroad, which influenced future events in Naples. The king founded new colleges and lyceums, composed new statutes in reference to national education, and inaugurated the University schools in a solemn ceremony. He passed a decree, introducing the system of weights and measures which had been so long desired and so highly commended by philosophers, but for which the people showed so great a dislike, that the law itself only lasted a short time, and was never enforced, while the old and barbarous scale of weights and measures continued as before ; uncertain in their meaning, and too numerous. One reason of the popular aversion to this law, was the Greek nomenclature, which was not understood, and was almost unpronounceable by the mass. But had the new measures been allowed to retain old names, the people would have accepted them, and would have obtained the full benefit expected from this system. Perfection indeed may require that one nomenclature should be used throughout the world, but theoretical excellence often throws impediments in practice. Many public works were set on foot and nearly completed that year ; theatres in the provincial towns, roads, bridges, and other edifices ; marshes were drained and aqueducts constructed. But none were more worthy of mention than the Strada di Posilippo, the Campo di Marte, the road leading to it from the city, the Lunatic Asylum, and the Observatory.

The Strada di Posilippo was intended to prolong the beautiful road of Mergellina, and while avoiding the dark and dangerous passage of the Grotta, to lead to that land sacred to memory around Pozzuoli and Cumæ. Though only two and a half short miles, this road cost two hundred thousand ducats, so great was the labour and skill required to make the cuttings through the hills, and to carry it over precipitous places, and across ditches. It was not paid for by the State, but by the king, who presented it to the city. The work advanced rapidly, and it now adds to the charms of the surrounding country, and excites the admiration of the traveller.

An extensive tract of land, nearly 900 acres, or 316,759 square metres, upon the height of Capodichino, where Lautrech posted a great part of his army when besieging the city in 1528, was destined by Joachim for a field for military manœuvres, to be called the Campo di Marte ; and by uprooting vines and trees, and demolishing the houses which covered the ground, the space was made level. Eighteen thousand infantry, and two thousand horse, with a corresponding park of artillery, when ranged in double lines, were able to exercise upon the ground.

A magnificent and beautiful road led from the city to the Campo di Marte, which, winding gently along the eastern declivity of the hill, and skirting one side of the field, joined the high road to Capua ; visitors approached the city by this road, as the old road of Capodichino, with its hills and valleys, was no longer used.

A new Lunatic Asylum was built at Aversa, and increased so rapidly in success and reputation, that a year had hardly elapsed before it excited the admiration of every beholder. We were surprised to see these unhappy beings, usually treated with harshness in Naples, actively and quietly employed while engaged in the ordinary pursuits of life, working, singing, and amused by dramatic performances. By such gentle methods, and by opposing the continual exercise of reason to the temporary aberrations of a disturbed intellect, they recovered their health and minds.

The Observatory was built upon the height of Miradois, after a design by Baron Zach, and was supplied with instruments by Reichenbach. When the work was in progress, these gentlemen

came to Naples to examine it, and were received by the *savans* and by the king with honours due to their merits and rank. The building was nearly finished at the time of Murat's fall, but as it was completed by Ferdinand, the greater share of glory fell to him.

Nothing else worthy of remembrance was executed this year, as the king left Naples in April, after appointing the queen regent. He had been requested by the Emperor Napoleon to take the command of the heavy cavalry in his army during the Russian campaign; for, however vehement the resentment between the brothers-in-law, Bonaparte could not afford to overlook the military talents of Murat, nor could Murat's fiery instincts for war be repressed.

War was inevitable. Although the intention of Bonaparte was engaged by the troubles in Spain, and though he had attained the highest pinnacle of his power, and was a husband and father, he found it necessary to establish his claim to the dominions he had acquired, and in his new ambition for power and glory did not hesitate to break the terms of the recent treaty of Tilsit. The Emperor Alexander, who felt himself already aggrieved by these terms, and still more so by the infringement of them, spurred on by England, trusting to the discontent of Prussia, and to the ease with which Austria broke her engagements, powerful himself and ambitious of glory, prepared for the struggle. That Bonaparte aimed at universal monarchy (which had long been suspected and was confirmed by this war), was an invention of his enemies, and only believed by the credulous vulgar; for had he conceived such an idea, he would not have abandoned Prussia, which he had conquered once, and Austria, which he had conquered three times; nor would he have formed a connexion and alliance, which prevented him from extending the confines of his empire. If after a successful enterprise he aggrandized himself and his family, it was the reward of his exertions, the fruit of his good fortune, and proceeded from a desire, or, I should rather say, a craving or insatiable thirst for an extension of power, but he never was guilty of the folly of aiming at universal empire.

As war was inevitable, the Emperor Bonaparte was the first to move, in order to secure the advantage of being the attacking

party, of restraining the perfidy of Austria, and keeping down disturbances in Prussia: and so it proved; for these two potentates, though tempted by England and hostile to France from old motives of hatred, alarmed at the presence of the French troops and their generals, concluded with them a treaty of alliance. The army of Bonaparte was immense; it was composed of Poles, Prussians, and Germans from all parts of Germany; Hanoverians, Italians, and Spaniards, hastened to join his standard; opposed to them were Russia, winter, and barbarism. The two armies prepared for war; the Muscovite was encamped upon the extreme western frontier of the empire. The French advanced to meet them, the King of Naples leading the van. They approached one another so nearly, that they were only separated by a river; hatred, pride, and conscious strength urged both parties to the encounter; nothing was wanting but the signal, and it was given by Bonaparte, upon the shores of the Niemen on the 22d June 1812; when Joachim with his powerful squadron, forded the river, and was the first to set foot upon Russian ground.

The city of Wilna was shortly afterwards taken without a struggle; for the Russians after burning the abundant supplies of provisions which had been collected there with great expense, had abandoned the place. The French continued to advance, while the enemy slowly retired before them, leaving regions which were deserts by nature, or had become so by the hand of man. As it was obviously the design of the Russians to avoid battle, and at the same time it became more and more the interest as well as the wish of Bonaparte to fight, he ordered Joachim to advance by forced marches; and, regardless of prudence, or the usual calculations of time and fatigue, he came up with the enemy, and forced him to an engagement. Thus, after two days' fighting, in which the King of Naples distinguished himself by his courage and skill, the French army were enabled to enter Witepsk.

Soon afterwards, Smolensk was taken by storm. The Russians continued to hold out before the city, in order to gain time to carry off their sick, and as much of the artillery as was possible, besides ammunition and other *matériel;* and to burn the magazines, barracks, and houses of the city. Therefore, whilst the French army was preparing in the night, to renew the battle, the enemy

abandoned their camp; at the first dawn of day, the French entered Smolensk, which was thus deserted, and they could hardly save the little which remained of the conquered city, from the flames. The middle of August was now past, and another month upon the road, with another month of French successes, was needed to reach Moscow or St. Petersburg. It was manifest that the Russians would continue their defence in the same manner, destroying everything, while retiring before the enemy. Joachim, therefore (he has himself told me so repeatedly in 1813, when Bonaparte was still emperor of the French and in full power), proposed to terminate the campaign of 1812 at Smolensk, to establish a settled government in Poland, advance the base of operations, and prepare for fresh enterprises, to be commenced in April 1813. As the French had been victorious in every encounter, and the Russians had been conquered in retreat, they could easily have selected the quarters most convenient for their future plans. The means of defence which Russia could bring into the field in seven months, must have been inferior to the numbers furnished by France, including the whole contingent from Germany and Poland, which had risen on the side of France. "Russia," added Joachim, "does not yet know the extent of her losses; allow time for fame to report and exaggerate them; discouragement, discontent, and perhaps, as is usual amidst the disasters of a barbarian court, rebellion will follow." Bonaparte hesitated, or appeared to hesitate for some days; but at last, eager for battle, in the hope that this would eventually lead to a final peace, he commanded the army to advance, contrary to the opinion of Joachim and of his ablest generals.

As they advanced, the fighting recommenced. St. Cyr conquered at Polotsk, the Duke of Elchingen at Valontina, and the King of Naples at Viazma. This last, always engaged with the rear of the Russians, and driving them back, arrived on the banks of the Moskwa, where the whole army was assembled. On perceiving the movements and preparations of the Russians on the other bank, Bonaparte hoped the battle he so much desired, was near. On the 7th September he gave the signal, and though his troops were drawn up in parallel lines, aimed at breaking the left wing of the enemy's forces, which were protected by works and

powerful batteries of cannon. The King of Naples was engaged on this side, and here the victory was first won; on that spot the greatest number of the Russians fell, and there they first sounded their retreat. After the battle, the vanquished army, always closely pursued, passed through Moscow, and first took the road of Kolomna, then that of Kalouga; while the king, who could neither be detained by the necessity of repose, nor by the sight of the vast, new, and wonderful city which lay before him, burning with warlike ardour, and indifferent and careless of every other consideration, followed the enemy as far as the Nura, twenty leagues beyond Moscow. A hope and rumour of peace arose, and a truce was concluded, after which the vanguards of both armies encamped facing one another, ready prepared, and resting on their arms; the only condition being, that warning was to be given of the cessation of the truce, three hours before commencing an assault. The suspension of arms, however, lasted thirteen days; the Emperor of the French waiting in expectation of peace, and the Emperor of the Russias for winter.

The first was purposely deferred, while the latter was fast approaching, and Moscow in ashes afforded no shelter for the conquering army; Bonaparte, therefore, determined to retreat towards Smolensk. In this degenerate age the barbarous resolution of the governor Rostpochin, who contrived the burning of the city, has been blamed; but it is to that resolution, however, that the rejection of peace with France, the retreat of the French, the ruin of the enemy's army, and the preservation of Russian independence was owing. The retreat from Moscow had already commenced, when the Russian army, which was encamped in front of Joachim's position, treacherously and regardless of the conditions of the truce, attacked the French. After the first advantage of the surprise was past, the whole line became engaged in a great battle. The Russians aimed at gaining possession of the defile of Voronoswo, which the French still retained; among those killed, was General Dery, the field-adjutant and beloved friend of the king, and married to a young and noble Neapolitan lady. Bonaparte, although sparing in his praise, and not partial to Joachim, wrote as follows when reporting this action in the bulletins of the army: "The King of Naples has proved in this battle what can be effected

by prudence, valour, and military experience. During the whole of the Russian campaign, this prince has shown himself worthy of being a king."

The retreat of the French continued; the regular troops of the Russians, and hordes of Cossacks hung upon the rear of the French lines, whose course they could not arrest, as they were victorious in every encounter. But soon afterwards, the winter set in so severely, that the thermometer fell to eighteen degrees of Réaumur, and the cold was so great as to kill many of the horses and men, while many more sickened. Thus while it became daily more necessary to act on the defensive, the means of defence diminished. Nor did the cold stop here, but always increased, until in two nights' time (hunger and want of clothing being more fatal in their effects even than the cold) thirty thousand horses, and a great number of men perished. The cavalry had disappeared, those who had belonged to it, were now obliged to go on foot, and the carriages, artillery, and treasure were abandoned. All order being at an end, and the cavalry destroyed, Joachim had no troops to command, and only fought where absolutely necessary. Amidst so many disasters, he, as well as the rest of the generals, with the imperial guard, and many of the officers and soldiers, maintained their cheerfulness and courage; and beyond any (whatever malice may assert), the Emperor Napoleon provided for all, and was far more energetic and indefatigable than even in the days of his success.

The army having reached the Niemen in its flight, Bonaparte started for Paris, leaving the King of Naples as his representative. He continued the retreat and the war until the decline of winter, when the army, having crossed the Oder, halted to recruit its wasted strength, by the abundant supply of provisions collected there. At that moment General Yorck, with the Prussian troops, deserted the French camp, and it required all the skill of the Duke of Reggio, and new feats of arms, to repair this unexpected disaster. The French army at length reached commodious and safe quarters, the Russians stopped the pursuit, and the war ended in 1813. Joachim, after delivering the chief command into the hands of the viceroy of Italy, hastened to Naples, followed by the Neapolitan contingent, which, although it had not been engaged

where the Russian climate was most severe, had had many killed by the frost, while others were maimed by the loss of fingers and toes. The desertion of the French army by Joachim was a reproach and disgrace to him; his kingdom was at peace, as civil discords had been extinguished, Sicily occupied with her own affairs, and England intent on the wars of Germany and Spain; while the regent, with masculine sense and courage, provided all that was necessary for the State. Upon the Oder, Joachim was not a king but a general; not a Neapolitan citizen but a Frenchman; his country was in adversity, and the troops to whom he owed his fame and his throne, were in danger.

As soon as Bonaparte learned that Murat had abandoned the camp, he published the fact in the *Moniteur* (the Gazette of France), adding censures on his conduct, and what was most galling to Joachim, praises of the Viceroy; for these two princes, the first, the favourite of fortune, the second, of the emperor, had long been enemies and jealous of one another. The anger of Bonaparte was not satisfied by this public retribution, and he wrote to his sister, the Queen of Naples, in insulting terms of Joachim, calling him perjured and ungrateful, a weak politician, unworthy of being related to him, and deserving public and severe castigation for his conduct. The king answered this letter immediately, writing as follows:—

"It is not in the power of your Majesty to heal the wound you have inflicted on my honour; you have insulted an old comrade in arms, who has been faithful to you in danger, who has assisted you in no small degree in your victories, who has supported you in your greatness, and who revived your courage when you were disheartened on the eighteenth of Brumaire.

"Those, you say, who have the honour of belonging to your illustrious family, should never do anything to endanger its interests or to cast a shade on its splendour. And I, sire, say in reply, that your family has received as great an honour as you bestowed on me, when I united myself in marriage with Caroline Bonaparte.

"A thousand times, though a king, I have sighed for the days when as a simple officer I had superiors, but not a master. Created a king, even in this high position, I am tyrannized over by your Majesty, and governed in my own family; and I have felt more

than ever the desire for independence, the thirst for liberty. Thus you persecute, and thus you sacrifice to your suspicions those who have been most faithful to you, and who have served you best in the stupendous path of your fortunes. Fouché was sacrificed to Savary, Talleyrand to Champagny, Champagny himself to Bassano, and Murat to Beauharnois; to Beauharnois, who has in your eyes the merit of blind obedience, and besides (still more to his shame, because more base), of having been willing to announce to the senate of France, the repudiation of his own mother.

"I cannot any longer refuse my people some commercial advantages in amends for the serious losses occasioned them by the maritime war.

"What I have said here of your Majesty and of myself, must account for an alteration in our old and reciprocal confidence. You may act as you please, but whatever may be the injuries you inflict on me, I am still your brother in arms and your faithful brother by marriage. JOACHIM."

Joachim despatched this letter in the heat of passion, and his words being now irrevocable, he concluded that Bonaparte's anger would be great and violent, and therefore prepared for defence; but the queen, on the other hand, guessing from her knowledge of his character, and from words which escaped his lips, the sense of his writing, interfered and softened this enmity. I must here mention an affair which may perhaps be unknown to some of my readers, but in order to give the story from its commencement, I must go back to 1810.

By that time the Neapolitans understood the character of Joachim; bold, ambitious, yet easily led, and with a passion for every kind of glory; they were likewise aware that the French empire, the head and support of the new States, had not yet acquired the stability which time alone can confer, and that the obedience of the army, the respect of the people, and the fears of foreign nations, even the power of France, depended on the life of Bonaparte, which, besides being liable to the common fate of all, was exposed to dangers by continual war, and by the chance of failure in his enterprises. A few Neapolitans, and an Italian from another part of the peninsula (who, though not themselves in power,

were closely connected with those who were), seeing so vast an edifice built on so weak a foundation, conceived the idea, that our only hope of safety lay in a united Italy. The greatest obstacles to this scheme were the various characters of the population of the Italian States, and their dissensions among themselves; but this had been removed, since one common code of laws, and one financial system had been introduced throughout the whole of Italy, and since the wants of the people, and the composition, discipline, and organization of the army, therefore the wealth, arms, and all the elements of life and strength of the nation, were equalized from the Alps to the Faro.

The object might therefore be supposed effected, since all that belonged to public matters had been made one throughout Italy, and the only thing wanting was an opportunity and head, to establish a legal union: the first was thought certain, amidst so many movements in war and policy, and it was hoped that the last might be found in Joachim; not indeed from attachment to Italy, but from personal ambition. The design having been laid before him, he gladly acceded to it; but fearing the suspicious temper of Bonaparte, he made it a great State secret, and even his ministers and his wife were kept in ignorance of the project. Great as was his military fame, his reputation for politics and skill in government was weak; and it was necessary, in order to win the confidence of the Italians, that he should govern Naples with sense and prudence, construct useful works, do honour to men of science throughout Italy, and give his people a political constitution on a par with the times and habits of the age; but it was equally necessary that in his foreign policy he should continue faithful in his relations to the French Emperor, though not subject to him, and while by the alliance between the two States, he acted as the adversary of the enemies of France, not to enter upon a separate war. Such means for the conquest of Italy would have been justifiable, could they have been employed openly, but the affair was conducted clandestinely, and with the secrecy and almost duplicity of crime.

Those who instigated Joachim to this enterprise, were the same who had supported him in his first disputes with the Emperor of the French, and had kindled in him a desire for independence, flattering him with the assurance that he could accomplish any-

thing in the kingdom and in Italy. Hardly had he quitted Russia, and returned to Naples, insulted by his brother-in-law, and eager for revenge, when the projectors of this scheme came to him, and pointed out how, since Italy was now delivered from French and German soldiers, all Europe assembled in arms but detained on the banks of the Elbe, Bonaparte defeated, and unable again to become master of the world, yet not the less menacing and to be feared, to act against him, far from entailing any risk, would bring rewards and assistance from the kings, his enemies. After thus earnestly representing the matter, and drawing his attention to the advantages the circumstances of the times presented, they urged him to propose a treaty of peace with England, and that when he had taken possession of Italy, he should organize her into one independent nation. The enterprise was the more tempting, since it flattered all the passions of Joachim, his inveterate thirst for dominion, his anger which had been so lately roused, and his love of fame and glory.

He accordingly sent a message to Lord William Bentinck in Sicily, asking a passport for an envoy from Naples, to confer with him upon urgent matters of State, but requesting secrecy. Bentinck feeling the importance of the case, appointed the island of Ponza for the conference, and immediately went there himself, pretending he had gone another voyage ; the chief reason for this mystery on both sides, being the desire to keep the affair from the knowledge of two women of the same name, who both called themselves Queens of the Two Sicilies, Caroline of Bourbon, and Caroline Murat ; as opposite in character as in interest, but to whom, for different reasons, this scheme would have been equally unwelcome. Robert Jones, an Englishman by birth, but who from his long residence in Naples was looked upon as a Neapolitan, who spoke the language with fluency, and was a man of frank and straightforward character, met Lord William Bentinck in the island of Ponza, and there laid before him Joachim's proposal to occupy Italy as the enemy of Bonaparte ; on condition of being acknowledged king by the allied sovereigns, and receiving assistance in money from England. Bentinck, who was only eager to weaken the power of the great enemy, consented to this scheme, provided that Sicily were excluded from the proposed union, as by recent

treaties he had promised to maintain the rights of Ferdinand of Bourbon in the island. He likewise proposed that 25,000 English soldiers should be joined with the Neapolitans, under the command of Joachim to act in Italy; and that, as a pledge of the king's sincerity, the fortress of Gaeta should be consigned to the English, until the termination of the enterprise.

Joachim was dissatisfied with the proposed exclusion of Sicily, as well as with the too generous offer of assistance from the English army, and the stipulation (as a guarantee for his good faith), that the fortress which formed the chief protection of the kingdom should be given up to them, thus implying a doubt insulting to his honour. After consulting with those who had urged him to the undertaking, he was, however, persuaded to send his envoy again, charged to use arguments, and even entreaties, to persuade Bentinck to renounce the conditions relating to Gaeta and Sicily, while prudently passing over in silence the offer of so large a force of English ; but if unsuccessful, to conclude an alliance on the terms proposed by Bentinck.

In this second conference, Bentinck remained firm to his first proposals, and it was agreed that he was to send a cruiser to England to demand the confirmation of the treaty by his Government ; certain of obtaining it, he offered (if the king wished to commence operations so soon) to draw the number of English troops agreed on, from Sicily, Malta, and Gibraltar, and send them at once into Italy.

Between the time lost in the conferences and accidental storms at sea, the return of the Neapolitan envoy from Ponza was delayed ; and Joachim vacillated between contending feelings, now accusing himself as a traitor, and now believing himself betrayed, tempted on by the allurements of the crown of Italy, yet held back by the fear of Bonaparte's anger. Meantime the watchful and suspicious queen, accustomed to soothe the impetuosity of her husband, and the resentments of her brother, spoke with the first, and wrote to the other in the most affectionate terms. Bonaparte, either yielding for her sake, or aware of the dangers threatening him, answered by letters, filled with expressions of family affection, which were to Joachim a pledge of reconciliation. At the same time letters arrived for the king from Marshal Ney and the Minis-

ter Fouché, in which the first described the impatience of the army at not seeing the King of Naples among them, that the cavalry loudly demanded his presence, that perhaps the destiny of France lay in his hands, and urging him to hasten to the Elbe. Entreaties and praises such as these were the more acceptable, because they came from the brave, and were addressed to the brave. Fouché wrote that he was induced by friendship and respect to inform Joachim, that his being in security, and far from the perils of the war and of France, disheartened the army, and set a bad example; that a Peace Congress was on the eve of assembling, and if the King of Naples were present in the field, he would be admitted to assist at the congress, but if absent, would be omitted, and therefore that duty, honour, and interest invited him to Dresden.

Joachim, though assailed from so many quarters, still held out; but the night after the arrival of these despatches, the minister Agar and the queen spent many hours beseeching him to consent; till, yielding at length to their arguments and entreaties, he discovered the real motive of his refusal to be the easy conquest of Italy, the conferences at Ponza, and the expected return of his envoy. The queen (however she might secretly blame his conduct) feigned approbation, and proceeded to remark, that since as a native of France, duty called him to the camp of Dresden, and yet as a king, his duty towards his kingdom and Italy made it imperative that he should carry on the treaty with England, she, as regent, could, in his name, conclude the agreement with Bentinck; and while the united armies of Naples and England were pouring into Italy, he, as a prince of the family of France, could fight her battles on the Elbe.

A proposal so strange, however, satisfied Joachim, who was persuaded of the ease with which it might be effected, while his mind, which had been so long harassed, needed repose. His affections and early associations inclined him for France; and weak as a politician and king, he fixed his departure for the morrow, after communicating the names of the conspirators to his wife. After a month's interval, the cruiser returned with despatches from England, and bringing the consent of the Government to the conditions of the treaty at Ponza. But the vessel was stopped on her way, for Bentinck had meanwhile learned the departure of Joachim,

and had therefore returned as his enemy to Sicily. Joachim in Germany gained new but vain laurels, while the servitude of Italy, as decreed by fate, approached its fulness.

He arrived in Dresden almost in the middle of August, after many events important to the war had already taken place. The French army, led by the Viceroy of Italy, had retreated from the Oder upon the Elbe, but the Elbe had been disputed and won by the Russians. Prussia, from an ally, had declared herself the open enemy of France; the Prince of Sweden, though a native Frenchman, who owed his crown to the fortunes of France, had obtained the alliance of Russia, and showed himself zealous on her side, as is usual with renegades; the German people, excited by the Prussians and Russians, rose in arms; Austria, after delays and perfidy, the ally of France, the arbitress of peace, and now suddenly her foe, led forth powerful armies in Bohemia; France, on the other side, and the man of boundless ambition who ruled her, raised many more troops, repaired her artillery, and advanced to meet the enemy in as threatening an attitude as ever. Terrible battles had been fought at Lützen, Bautzen, and Würtzen, and numbers had perished there who carried arms for the first time —youths hardly full grown, Prussians as well as French, who had left their schools and universities for the war; the world looked on in wonder as Prussian schoolmasters led their pupils to battle, enrolled in companies of volunteers; the French were inspired by a noble sentiment of the greatness of their country, and showed themselves superior to misfortune, while the Prussians were inspired by the ardour for vengeance and freedom. The French conquered, but it was a disastrous victory, bought at the expense of many lives; and, meantime, Dresden was taken, and the victors, well provided with arms and ammunition, advanced as far as the Oder.

An armistice was concluded at Plesswitz on the 5th June; the preliminaries of peace were interrupted as soon as commenced, and war began anew on the 16th August; both sides had taken advantage of the truce to mature their plans. The French base was fixed upon the Rhine, and their scale of operations consisted in the fortresses lying between that river and the Elbe; their area was Saxony, and their field of action, Prussia, Silesia, and

Bohemia. The elements of war and strategic aid were to be drawn from the fortresses, yet occupied by French garrisons upon the Oder and Vistula; their intention was to carry on the war in the field, and their aim to obtain peace upon the conditions of the Peace of Tilsit. The allies fixed their base of operations in Bohemia, Silesia, and Prussia; their point of attack was Saxony; and they proposed to harass the enemy, force him back, and confine him within his own position; while their ultimate aim was to limit the boundaries of the French empire to the Ocean, the Pyrenees, the Alps, and the Rhine. The French had the advantage of interior lines of operations, the allies had superiority of numbers, as they led 500,000 to the encounter of 300,000 French; but the French were united in one army, all under one head, and were subordinate to one will; while the armies, leaders, and interests of the enemy, were many.

King Joachim, at the approach of war, offered himself respectfully and modestly to the emperor, who welcomed him with open arms; their old friendship and common danger stifling their enmity and the recollection of recent quarrels. The king had no particular post assigned him in the distribution of the army, but remained beside Bonaparte, following him through the battles in Silesia and Bohemia, and waiting (impatient for action) the commands of the emperor. If metaphors are compatible with the gravity of history, I might compare him to thunder in the hand of Jove.

The allied armies, bursting into Bohemia, marched to attack the camp at Dresden, which was the pivot of the French strategical movements. The two Emperors of Russia and Austria, the King of Prussia, the most veteran troops, and the most valiant and ablest generals were in their lines; they were accompanied by Generals Moreau and Jomini, brought there for advice rather than action. The life of the first is well known through French histories; the second was a native of Switzerland, and served under the French; in this campaign he was chief upon the staff of Marshal Ney, but a few days previously had deserted his standard, and accepted pay from the Russian enemy. These two delinquents met in the tent of the Emperor Alexander, and looking mistrustfully at each other, Moreau asked, "What injury does Jomini revenge by treachery?" to which Jomini replied: "If I had been

born in France, I would not have been in the tent of the Russians." Moreau was the following day hit by a French ball, and died miserably; and neither could Jomini's work on military science, nor his well-merited fame as a distinguished author, nor the favour of Alexander, nor the victory of his cause, efface the stain of that guilty deed.

The largest force of the allied armies attacked Dresden, which was defended by fifteen thousand young Frenchmen, who had hardly passed their boyhood, and confederates, on whom Bonaparte could but ill rely; but Bonaparte and Murat hastened with fresh troops from Silesia, and the besieged having managed to hold out during the first days, 105,000 French were at length collected within the walls of the city, which was invested by 200,000 of the enemy. The French army was ranged in order of battle, Bonaparte occupying the central position, and commanding the whole; Ney leading the left wing, and Murat the right. On the 26th August the city was attacked; the defenders within were drawn up in close columns behind the barred gates; but at a signal from the emperor, the barriers were opened, and the columns rushed out like a torrent. Joachim was first, leading on 30,000 horse, and attacking the enemy's army on the flank, broke their lines, and forced the fugitives back upon the troops drawn up in order behind, who thus pressed upon, were thrown into confusion, and the whole were either put *hors de combat*, or fought at disadvantage. The centre and left wing of the French were nearly as successful, for the Russians, Germans, and Prussians retreated in haste and disorder towards Bohemia. The battle lasted three days; 20,000 of the vanquished lay dead or wounded, and the conqueror took 30,000 prisoners, besides standards, artillery, and *matériel*. The fault of Joachim on the Oder was atoned for on the Elbe, and he was restored to the affections of Bonaparte and the French.

Three corps pursued the fugitives into Bohemia; a fourth was sent to Breslau, and a fifth to Berlin. Bonaparte in Dresden drew up the plans of new battles, whilst his adversaries feared more disasters. But fortune all at once changed. The Duke of Reggio was first stopped, and then forced to retreat by the Prussians and Swedes under Bernadotte; he fought a battle in Gross-Beeren, and having been defeated, retired to Insterburg. The Duke of

Taranto in Silesia gave battle at Kalzbach, and, conquered by the Prussian Blucher, retreated with his legions behind the Bober. General Vandamme, eager for glory, penetrated into Bohemia, and hoped to gather the fruits of the victory of Dresden; but surrounded by the overwhelming numbers of the flying enemy, he, with the larger part of his force, was taken prisoner. Marshal St. Cyr could with difficulty defend himself, and the King of Naples met with small success. These disasters were increased by heavy rain in August, by which the streams were swollen, the roads cut up, and the bridges broken to the inconvenience of both armies, but only dangerous to the losing party. The Prince de la Moskwa who succeeded to the command of the Duke of Reggio, fought and lost a battle at Dennewitz. Blucher was upon the Spree, Schwartzenberg again at Pyrna, and though Bonaparte now forced one back, and now the other, the enemy's troops thronged around Dresden in such numbers, that the French, not having space to manœuvre, abandoned the city.

All believed that this army, more conquering than conquered, must fall back upon Leipzig towards its base of operations; but it was fast losing the appearance of the offensive, and Bonaparte had it no longer in his power to give or to avoid battle. The hopes of that campaign were vanishing. While planning new bases and new lines of operation, he marched his army into Thuringia and Magdeburg. His enemies, and even his own generals, were surprised by this unforeseen movement. The former were doubtful as to his intention, and paused or turned back; the latter, disheartened and secretly blaming the emperor, openly entreated him to change his mind, and showed their want of confidence, while thus opposing the will of their chief—the greatest calamity which can befall an army. Bonaparte bore that as an emperor, which he would in his early career have scorned as a captain; time and fortune had so changed the stern genius of Arcoli and St. Jean d'Acre to others, as well as to himself. But the King of Naples was not among his detractors; left alone with a small corps of 40,000 men, to encounter the immense armies of Schwartzenberg and Wittgenstein, he fought valiantly, retreated with skill, and gave time for Bonaparte to form new plans, and meantime those delays took place which occasioned the unhappy discords among his generals. If

Leipzig was saved, and the army enabled to retreat by the shortest route upon the Rhine, it was all owing to Joachim.

The army assembled at Leipzig, assumed the defensive, and the hopes of France were converted into fears. Leipzig was the following day the scene of a great battle, glorious yet disastrous for the French army, but which, however, does not belong to this history any more than the feats of arms which followed, and in which Bonaparte, whether conquering or conquered, was only solicitous to withdraw his troops behind the Rhine. Amidst the general calamity and despair, the King of Naples was brave, indefatigable, and as eager for glory as in the days of his youth. At Erfurt, after the dangers and obstacles of the retreat had been surmounted, he bade farewell to the emperor, with mutual and fraternal embraces; the last farewell and the last pledges of friendship and affection which passed between them. He reached Naples towards the end of the year 1813, at a time when the reformatory genius of the past century, the tumultuous cravings of France for a liberty she ill understood, and the doctrines of political equality which had been rather enjoyed for a time than had taken root, had begun to yield before a new turn in the governments and people of the states of Europe; the first commencement of a fresh cycle of revolutions and misery. As this change disturbed the remainder of the reign of Joachim, still continues, and will yet long continue, I shall give a particular account of its character, origin, and growth.

During the year 1813, Generals Yorck and Massenbach had deserted with their men from the camp of the French allies, and joined the Russians. The King of Prussia, still afraid of France, expressed his disapprobation of their conduct, degraded the two generals as deserters, and threatened them with punishment; but soon afterwards their pay was restored to them with rewards in addition, and the truce concluded by treachery, was assented to by the king, and extended into an alliance.[1] Two Westphalian

[1] Before deserting the French allies of his sovereign in their misfortunes, Yorck communicated his intention to the King of Prussia, on the 27th December 1812, and on the 30th the king sent to him, appointing him military governor of Prussia, stating that he himself was resolved to break off the alliance with Napoleon as soon as political circumstances rendered it possible; the news of the total defeat of the French had not yet reached Berlin. —See *Das Leben des Ministers Freiherrn von Stein von G. H. Pertz*, vol. iii. pp. 254-255.

regiments which were with the French at the defence of Dresden, seeing the Austrian flag, and the opportunity of escape, went over to the enemy, attacked the camp it was their duty to defend, and were welcomed and honoured by the name of true Germans. The example spread, and the whole Westphalian contingent deserted by battalions. Upon the shores of the Inn, Bavarians and Austrians, nominally foes, were united, and as much at their ease as if they belonged to one army. Soon afterwards, General Wrede, commanding the Bavarian troops, formed a close alliance with Austria, openly disobeyed the orders of his king, and was nevertheless praised for his conduct, and obtained as a reward for treachery and ingratitude, the confirmation of rich gifts in lands made to him some years before by the emperor Napoleon. He collected still larger bodies of troops, and in a few days he hoped to be able to stop the retreat of the French at Hanau, and this eagerness and resolute hatred were admired, and called heroism by the allied sovereigns. The battalions of Baden and Würtemberg next deserted and joined the enemy. But amidst so many acts of desertion, the greatest of all was still to come, and that occurred at Leipzig. Those which I have mentioned generally took place in the night, whilst the armies were reposing, the war suspended, and whilst darkness covered the first infamy of their deed. But at Leipzig, the Saxon army was stationed in the centre of the French line, and only a few battalions in the second line, or in reserve; the old King of Saxony, true to his oath, and friendly to Bonaparte, was with his family in the quarters of the French general. Both sides were engaged, and success still doubtful, when, in the broad light of day, the Saxons were seen following General Normann in order of battle, and advancing with extraordinary rapidity towards the enemy, not to attack them, but to increase their numbers; arrived, they faced about, and finding themselves in the van of the Russian and Swedish armies, they advanced again as enemies, to occupy the ground they had left vacant by their desertion; but Murat, with the utmost precipitation, occupied it before they could come up. These traitors boldly continued to fight throughout the rest of the battle, not even checked by the recollection that every ball they fired, might be the death of a Saxon in those battalions which had remained true to their colours, or

even of the King of Saxony himself. The captain of the artillery corps, when presenting himself as a deserter to Bernadotte, said, "I have spent half my ammunition firing against you; do you so order me now, that I may spend the remainder against the French." Bernadotte applauded the conduct and smart speech of this shameless traitor; and the following year the sovereigns assembled at Vienna, passed an encomium in like manner on the rebellion of the Saxon army, and punished only one man in Saxony, and that, he who had alone been faithful to his oath—the king.

While the armies acted thus, the rest of the German governments, though allied with France by treaties, were openly or secretly enemies of the French. The kings of the old dynasties, by their personal inferiority, or by the decline of the royal power, were incapable of collecting means sufficient to make war against France; they therefore dissimulated their inborn pride, and appealed to the people with flattering promises of political freedom. In their edicts they gave formal assurances of constitutions, a national representation, and the vote of the citizen for the supplies of the State; all which were promised as rewards for the people's efforts in their cause, thus establishing a new social compact between kings and their subjects. They did even more. In Germany, where the people are by nature contemplative and silent, every kind of secret societies existed, who practising every variety of rite, bound by all manner of vows, and bearing different denominations, but all in the name of freedom, were, when called into action, fierce and energetic. Kings now joined these societies, which had until then been held by them in abhorrence, induced by the greater interests they had at stake, and in the hope of crushing military monarchies, modern theories of government, and all the innovations of the age, in the single person of Bonaparte; inwardly resolved, however, to cheat both the people and the societies when secure of success.

The German people, like the masses everywhere, were incapable of looking forward to the future effects of social institutions. They had been under the yoke of war and tribute for twenty years: if friendly to Bonaparte, they had suffered from the dangers and fatigues of conquests, not their own; if adverse to him, they had been conquered, oppressed, and frequently pillaged. They were

now proud of being sought after by kings; and believing themselves the instruments of their country's future prosperity, they were naturally the enemies of France. The members of societies gloried in counting monarchs in their ranks; the political *doctrinaires* (who disturb every act for the public good) saw the fall of that man, which they so much desired, because the fall of the oppressor of freedom; and the lower orders hoped for a change of government. Such was the fury and violence of the German people that year against France, that arms could not be supplied fast enough to satisfy the demands of all who were eager to join in the war; and the infantry were seen strangely attired with the decorations and colours of the secret societies, fighting with pikes or sticks, and many of the cavalry using bows and arrows, like savages.

In less than a year, alliances, which had been agreed to with the utmost formality, were broken, compacts and oaths dissolved, friendship and faith betrayed, rebellion rewarded, and in some few instances, even virtue punished; and nothing that was before held holy or sacred was left unchanged. All these were the acts of the first and greatest assemblage of sovereigns the world had ever beheld, whose only motive was the desire for dominion and vengeance; this dishonesty in high places was crowned with success, and was applauded by mankind. The example of the great becomes the leading principle and genius of the age, and obtains the name of virtue as soon as attended with success. The world admires; it becomes the creed of the vulgar; and, until it falls by fashion or by the public mind being undeceived, it is made a reason and pretext for innovations in the State. The series of disgraceful acts I have enumerated, were attributed to a spirit of independence, and every abandonment of public or private virtue, was said to proceed from patriotic zeal. We shall see in the course of this history, how that spirit of independence was leagued with legitimacy, how a desire on the part of the people for modern constitutions necessarily sprang from that union, and how the tyrannical suppression of both constitutions and independence is an imaginary triumph, alike injurious to kings and people; for force when employed on the side of true justice, or what is believed to be such by the people, preserves governments, but when

used for what is believed, or is in reality injustice, is their destruction.

In 1813 a new national existence began to spring up in Germany; it has since come feebly to light in 1820 in Cadiz, Naples, and Piedmont. Whether it will ripen and flourish, or whether it will prematurely die a natural death, as has been the case with recent republics, or perish by the chances of war like the new dynasties, are questions which agitate the present, and which the future alone can solve.

The disasters of the French Empire were sympathized with by all the governments in Italy, and the movements in Germany by all the Italian people; but a still greater danger to the former, and example to the latter, was given in Naples, by the near and successful revolution in Sicily. I have already alluded to the hostility of Queen Caroline of Bourbon against the English, and the suspicion of her dealings with Bonaparte, as well as the attempted expedition of Murat. Her plots were discovered by Lord William Bentinck, who had the command of the English garrisons at that time, and who punished those most deeply implicated in the conspiracy with death, even the followers of the queen; whilst the English Government proposed to change the whole policy of Sicily. Bentinck had been already prepared for these changes in 1811, and the queen for opposition and vengeance; but the former conquered. The despotic government was overthrown, and a new constitution given to the State; benefits were conferred on the people, the sovereign power restrained, and the safety of the English garrisons secured. All this served as an example and incitement to the rest of Italy. The act was composed in 1812, and was brought into operation in 1813. The statute, which took the name of the Sicilian Constitution, was, in fact, that of England, improved in the manner of the elections, and in the number and relative proportions of the deputies to the Commons. One defect (which may have been intentional) lay in the pretended abolition of feudalism, which, while ceasing in feudal rights and usages, was maintained in the land. All the other bases of the political liberty of our era, namely, all that relates to magistrates, taxation, and the press, were contained in these statutes.

Exaggerated reports of the good fortune which had befallen

Sicily, circulated in Naples towards the end of the year 1813; and the Society of the Carbonari, who three years before had first appeared in the kingdom, spread themselves everywhere, mingled with every class, entered into the schemes of the most daring, and flattered the credulity of the vulgar; they aimed at a constitution like the English, the only one which the multitude at that time associated with the idea of liberty. The Government of Sicily, following the example of the German governments, and Lord William Bentinck, on his own responsibility, started a secret correspondence with members of the society in Naples, sending them the volumes containing the new Sicilian laws, extolling the change of policy in the king, and promising a similar constitution to the kingdom upon the restoration of the Bourbons; thus leading to a comparison unfavourable to Joachim, who had even hindered the execution of the imperfect statute of Bayonne. The intrigues carrying on between the Carbonari and the enemy were, however, discovered, and the Neapolitan Government doubled its vigilance and rigour, proscribed the society, and issued decrees, threatening the members with the severest punishments.

Calabria contained the greatest number of the Carbonari, and the correspondence with Sicily was most easily carried on in that part of the country; the severities were therefore greatest there, and their execution was again confided to General Manhes. By the activity of the police, many plots were revealed, trials instituted, tribunals formed, and the Carbonari punished with death by the sentence of military commissions. The leader of the society was one Capobianco, a young man of fortune, a bold captain of militia in his own town, which was perched like a fortress upon the top of a very steep mountain. As he was difficult to capture, those in quest of him pretended not to believe in his guilt; but he being suspicious and on his guard, fled from their secret snares. One day, however, General Janelli, under pretence of friendship, sent him a letter inviting him to a banquet, which he was giving on the occasion of a public festival at Cosenza, the chief place of the province; he at the same time informed him he would meet other officers of the militia, and the highest civil and ecclesiastical authorities. Capobianco at first hesitated; but thinking he need not fear any ambush if he went there by unfrequented paths, and

protected by a sufficient guard, and that he had nothing to fear in Cosenza, as he proposed to arrive there at the hour appointed for the banquet, and leave before it was finished, nor in the house of the general, where he would be in the presence of all the authorities of the province, the depositaries and guarantees of the power, as well as of the conduct of the Government, he returned thanks to the general, and accepted his invitation.

He accordingly went to the banquet, was welcomed, dined cheerfully and took his leave; but on leaving the room he was detained by gendarmes, conducted to prison, and was the following day tried by a military commission, condemned to death, and beheaded in the public square of Cosenza before the eyes of a horrified people. The policy of the Government had so altered the aspect of affairs, that after this event some fled from the dangers and tyranny of the rule of Murat, to breathe a free atmosphere in Sicily under the Bourbons. The people began to believe that many of the vices recorded and remembered of Ferdinand, had been now corrected, while many of the excellent qualities of Joachim, and among others his good-nature and clemency, were forgotten in his recent errors. The violence and severity so lately used against brigandage, could not be again successfully employed, when the object was the Carbonari; because the brigands had committed crimes, whereas the Carbonari only demanded new laws; and while the brigands had sprung from the dregs of society, the Carbonari were men belonging to the most respectable classes. They afterwards became depraved as their numbers increased, but at that time they were unimpeachable. They had come into the country invited, and with the approbation of the Government, their vows and rites had a philanthropic and peaceable aim, and the best friends of Joachim, those most bound to him by fortune, and neither members of the society, nor themselves turbulent spirits, entreated him rather to disarm the members by rendering the whole public, and by temptations such as had already proved successful in the case of the Free Masons both in France and Naples. But resentment was strong in Murat, and kept him steadfast to his unwise resolution.

CHAPTER IV.

THE KING OF NAPLES CONCLUDES AN ALLIANCE WITH AUSTRIA AND A TRUCE WITH ENGLAND—DECLARES WAR AGAINST FRANCE—AFTER THE FALL OF THE FRENCH EMPIRE ENDEAVOURS TO SECURE HIS OWN KINGDOM.

1813—1815.

At a time when the Neapolitans were beginning to be shaken in their attachment to Joachim, and the fortunes of France were declining, the Emperor of Austria, in the name of the sovereigns of Europe, offered Murat the hand of friendship. In the camp at Ollendorf, upon the shores of the Ilm, where so many examples of inconstancy had been displayed, the Austrian commissioner, Count von Mier, had already opened proposals of alliance to Joachim, and had been listened to without disdain. The king was by nature or education prone to craft, which he called policy, and believing it a necessary qualification in those who govern, he boasted himself a master in the art; but, as often happens to the rulers of petty states, he was eventually defeated by his own weapons. Uncertain of the future, he asked the advice separately of such of his ministers and generals, on whose attachment he could rely, or whose judgment he esteemed. Their opinions were divided, and their opposite views were expressed in two addresses to the king, which have reached me through a channel on which I can depend; the reader, therefore, may trust my authority, although I conceal the names of the speakers.

The first ran as follows:—"Sire, what is expected from you as King of Naples, as a French citizen, and as a relation of the Emperor Bonaparte, what you owe your fame while living, and the fame you hope for when dead, are subjects involving such contradictory

and diverse duties, and bearing upon a question so difficult in examination, yet so important in its result, that I ought to doubt my own capacity to offer an opinion, and wait in silence your Majesty's decision, and the arbitrament of fate. But all these considerations are included in one, and the king and his people, the French citizen, the brother-in-law of the emperor, and the man destined for honour and history, are alike interested in the question, and demand an answer.

" The French Revolution ended happily in the empire of Bonaparte: the empire founded other kingdoms like itself in Europe, and from this union of states sprang the constitutions of modern governments; therefore the French Revolution, the empire of Bonaparte, the new kings and new constitutions, are all looked upon in the same light by the sovereigns of the old dynasties. Treaties, the recognition of the new states, alliances, pledges of amity, and even the ties of relationship appear to them only as acts of necessity, without implying any obligations of faith or conscience. The old and the new era are at war with one another, and the victory cannot for the present be assigned to any particular state or people. Should the new triumph, all the social institutions of Europe will in twenty years' time be established on the basis of the civil polity introduced by the French; but if the old, all progress will be arrested, and the new States be thrown back towards the hated condition of the past.

" Other facts may be deduced from these. Let no new king hope to maintain himself upon his throne, should the French empire be subverted, nor let the people hope to preserve modern institutions under old dynasties; for if kings promise to-day, they will break their word to-morrow, when secure of victory; and everything from the first act of the French Revolution to the last decree of your Majesty, will be alike held in abhorrence by them, and condemned to destruction. Therefore, I am of opinion that France, the Emperor Napoleon, King Joachim, and the Neapolitan people, must incur the same risks, and have an equal interest in success or failure.

" I will only briefly allude to the duties you owe your own fame and glory. You are indebted for your crown to your military talents; but Bonaparte and France have been the instruments of

God's justice. How do you stand if you turn the gift against the givers? Moreau may cover his infamy by alleging the injuries he received; Bernadotte by pretence of zeal for the interests of his kingdom; but what apology will Joachim offer to the world? I pause here, since your own sense and your own honour will be your best advisers.

"Everything urges your Majesty to continue faithful to France; your kingdom is defended by an army of thirty thousand Neapolitans, and they are sufficient, if led by your Majesty, to cope with the Sicilian and English invaders, whose strongest force is on the Rhine and in Spain; thirty thousand more are with the Italian-French troops, which thus combined, form a powerful army to carry war and vengeance into Germany, and to the gates of Vienna. Italy, which lies in the midst between two allied armies, will remain submissive, and give liberal supplies of arms and money. Were the enemy ever so powerful, he could only attack Italy in her two extremities; namely, in the states of Naples, by making Sicily his base, or in the states of the Italian kingdom, starting from Germany. The armies of your Majesty and of the Viceroy could communicate by interior lines, and in case of defeat, one would fall back on the other, and both be stronger than before. To prevent the war of Italy ever being fought on the Rhine, it must be of such magnitude both in its aim and structure, as to require no support, and afford a motive and opportunity for its leader to engage in political transactions. To oppose Naples to France, as matters now stand, would be to arm her against herself, and to place her at the disposal of hostile and powerful kings; but if Naples continues the ally of France, she will rise to the position of a nation that has earned her own freedom and progress.

"I therefore advise that we remain faithful to former compacts, that we assure the Emperor of the French of our fidelity, and that we concert the plan of a common war with the Viceroy of Italy; I believe the issue will be favourable, but if I doubted it, I should be consoled in defeat with the reflection that I could say to the world and to myself, that amidst circumstances so embarrassing as to perplex the judgment of man, I followed the path of honour."

The other speaker addressed the king with more freedom, and in less studied language.

" If our affairs had been left to the decision of your Majesty, the result would certainly have been, that Naples, ere this, would have found herself on the side which has hitherto been the most successful and powerful in Europe; but in this decision personal feelings would have outweighed the consideration of your real interests; and gratitude, fidelity in misfortune, the love of your country and of your family, would have made you act contrary to your duty as a king. The nature of things must decide which is to conquer. You owe everything to France and Bonaparte; should France require the arm and valour of Joachim, he ought to go forth and fight or die for her; or if the life of the emperor is menaced, he should shield it with his own. But to involve the people he governs in war and ruin, in order to serve his benefactors, is to pay his own debt at the expense of others.

" Our wounds are yet fresh. A few months ago, the happiness of Italy was placed by fortune in the hands of the King of Naples, but was sacrificed to your Majesty's desire to render personal services to the Emperor of the French; services which, however worthy of admiration, were vain. If you had not left Naples for Dresden, and if you had fulfilled the terms of the agreement with Lord William Bentinck, our present and future condition would have been very different. The Italian nation must cease to sacrifice themselves for France; for if they are indebted to her for wise laws and institutions, they have repaid it by tribute and arms; and if the Neapolitans have received greatness and fame from your Majesty, they have deserved it by their labours and obedience. Our obligations, therefore, have been reciprocal, our debt of gratitude is mutual. Therefore, sire, let us now divest ourselves of those feelings which influence us in the present moment, and anticipating the future, imagine posterity reading in one book of history that Joachim sacrificed the people over whom he reigned, to his affection for his relation, to his gratitude for past benefits, and to the interests of his native country; and in another, that Joachim sacrificed all the tenderest affections of his heart to his people; and suppose that it were in the power of your Majesty to determine that one should perish, and that the other be preserved to all eternity,—which would you choose?

" But I do not even estimate the assistance which Naples could

afford France as of any importance ; for out of the forty-five thousand troops which compose our army (and I state the highest number), twenty-five thousand at least must remain behind for the defence of the kingdom, and if only twenty thousand join the Italian and French troops, an army of sixty thousand men would then be collected in Lombardy, who would have to encounter a German army equal to themselves in skill, and superior in courage, since we have as much to fear as they to hope. Sixty thousand Germans therefore sufficing to keep the army of Lombardy in check, Germany and the allied sovereigns could, without diminishing the troops intended to invade France, send sixty thousand men to Italy. How could the army of Italy then effect a diversion for the war upon the Rhine? and what good would result from the exertions of the king and of the kingdom of Naples?

" While the native country of your Majesty would thus be in no way benefited, much injury would accrue to your subjects ; for we should have to provide for a foreign war, as well as defend ourselves at home. Your Majesty is aware that King Ferdinand and the English have already paved the way for themselves ; the king by presenting himself to the lively imaginations of the Neapolitans, holding in his hand the constitution he has granted Sicily, and which is already in use there, and Lord William Bentinck by assuring them of its permanence, supported by English troops, and by the name of England, powerful and free. So much from abroad. At home (permit me to use plain language in our extremity), the causes of popular discontent are many and serious ; the severity of the police under King Joseph, the violence of Manhes against brigandage, the present persecutions of the Carbonari, every error in the government, all the sufferings, all the deaths which have occurred during eight years of revolution, rise to their memory, and excite the spirit of revenge in the mass of the people. This has already been manifested in the Abruzzi and in Calabria ; the Tree of Liberty, which had been forgotten, is again raised at Polisthena, and an armed force and great discretion in the authorities are needed for its suppression. The discipline of the army is imperfect ; the dread once entertained of King Ferdinand, and which was a great source of internal strength to King Joachim, has ceased with many, has been diminished with all, and after the late acts in

Sicily, has even been with some converted into hope. You, sire, may triumph over your enemies by your skill and valour, but at the cost of how much suffering, and of how many lives, by war, by punishment and revenge. And should we ever be vanquished by the overwhelming numbers of our foreign enemies, and by rebellion at home, I shrink with horror from the thought of the kingdom in the power of our former King Ferdinand, and of the English, by the right of conquest.

"And what is to be the end of all this danger and misery? The Emperor of the French has now opposed to him the desperate valour of kings, and their armies, and of the nations by whom he has been betrayed; it is a dream or fable to suppose it possible for him to conquer all, and become again master of the world; his empire will be bounded by the ocean and the Rhine, and he will have to resign Spain, Germany, and Italy; *he* will indeed decline, but your Majesty will fall from your throne, and we, a conquered people, must yield to an enemy, and bend beneath the scourge of our former king, who will return more insolent than ever, because animated by the right of conquest, and by his long cherished resentment. All the good which the French kings have effected in the kingdom will disappear in a day, and not a vestige of the period of the Revolution will remain, except a list of victims reserved for vengeance. The interests of the Neapolitan people, therefore, require that your Majesty, as well as the institutions of your Government, should be preserved.

"The surest means, and most conducive to the interests of Italy would be, if your Majesty could agree with the Viceroy upon the terms of a treaty with the allied sovereigns, stipulating (and if you acted in concert this would be easily obtained), for the independence of Italy. But Prince Eugene will never consent to a league for peace or for war with King Murat; for he prefers the merit of blind obedience to a wise policy, and stage effect to historical fame. Let him have it. But how deeply must every Italian heart lament, sire, at this moment to behold the brave soldiers of Italy dispersed, some with the French army, others with the army of the viceroy, others with your Majesty, and others again with the English and the King of Sicily. Two hundred thousand at least from the Alps to Cape Noto, speaking the same language,

yet fighting for different causes, and not one cause their own ; thus uselessly squandering their valour and their lives. And meantime the safety of Italy depends on the arms and wisdom of her sons, which we are entreating them to turn to her defence. But our prayers are unheeded ; for the true cause of her misery is not that she is without arms or wants energy, but that her people and their rulers are divided among themselves.

" Yet if such is the decree of fate, let your Majesty, abandoning the hopes of the Italian nation, provide for the safety of this southern, and not the least important part, of the peninsula ; and give it the certainty of political freedom and of future existence. This you may effect by concluding peace and an alliance with the sovereigns of Europe, by keeping the army in Italy united, by opening to your people a free commerce with England, by reforming the institutions of the country, by putting a stop to the severities of the police, by uniting the separate parts of the State, and by not suffering a king of the old dynasty, born a king, and brought up amidst the errors of absolutism, to give greater political freedom than a new king raised to his position by a revolution for freedom, and by military prowess.

" In conclusion, passing from arguments to entreaties, I beg that you will always remember the danger of yielding to the counsels of those who, enamoured with the old Italian policy, call the mere gaining time a victory, and think that to dissimulate and deceive friends and foes is the art of government. Above all, I beseech you not to be caught by false glory, but to believe there is only one way to preserve your reputation, which is to preserve your throne."

Whilst listening to this address, Joachim, who was generally in the habit of interrupting, appeared attentive ; though he sometimes looked scornful, he checked himself, knowing that the words fell from the lips of a devoted friend ; and as he dismissed him, he even expressed his thanks. The rest of the generals seconded the views of the last speaker. The affairs of France were daily becoming worse; the neutrality of Switzerland was threatened with violation ; the German armies were on the Adige, and Venice blockaded. Discontent was increasing within the kingdom, as well as insubordination in the army ; the Emperor Napoleon, either from offended

pride or suspicion, did not reply to Murat's letters, nor to those of the queen, in which they represented the dangers to which the kingdom was exposed. Events were thus hurrying the king along, and he was on the eve of joining Austria, when Fouché, Duke of Otranto, the ex-minister of France, arrived in Naples, sent by Bonaparte secretly to spy out the intentions of Joachim, and retain him for France; for this end he assumed a modest demeanour, and expressed all the indignation of a disgraced minister, telling every one he was visiting Naples for his own pleasure, while privately assuring Joachim that he had come for his sake, and in the hope of being able to serve him.

He only remained a few days, and returned to Rome. His intrigues were kept secret; but when some time later the duplicity and artifices of Joachim attracted observation, it was believed that they were only in part his own, and that the rest were in consequence of advice from the Duke of Otranto, a man who was generally reported to despise even success, unless the fruit of evasions and perfidy. As soon as he had departed, in the middle of December 1813, Count von Neipperg arrived, sent by Austria to arrange the terms of a treaty, in which the Duke del Gallo was to act for Naples. An alliance between the two States was thus concluded on the 11th January 1814. The object of this treaty was the continuation of the war against France for the restoration of the balance of power in Europe; for which end Austria was to furnish 150,000 men, of which 60,000 were destined for Italy; Naples to furnish 30,000, and both nations were to add fresh soldiers when needed. The King of Naples was to command the allied troops, and in his absence, the officer highest in rank in the German army.

The Emperor of Austria acknowledged the dominion and sovereignty of the King of Naples over the states he ruled, and the King of Naples acknowledged the ancient rights of Austria over her states in Italy.

It was agreed that neither party should conclude a peace or truce without the consent of the other; and the emperor promised his good offices to bring about a reconciliation between Naples and England, as well as with the European Powers, allied with Austria.

The treaty was so far made public: but secret articles were added,

by which the Emperor of Austria pledged himself to obtain from King Ferdinand of Bourbon the cession of the throne of Naples in favour of Joachim Murat; who, on his side, promised to renounce all claims upon Sicily, to co-operate with the sovereigns of Europe in the general peace, and to indemnify King Ferdinand for the surrender of his claims upon Naples.

Joachim was still further a gainer by this alliance, as he was promised an increase of territory by a district in the Papal States containing 400,000 inhabitants.

The ratification of the treaty, both publicly and privately, was solemnly promised on both sides.

Another treaty (called an armistice between Naples and England) was concluded on the 26th January of that same year, by the Duke del Gallo and Lord William Bentinck; by which an immediate cessation of hostilities was agreed upon, with free trade, and assistance to Austria during the coming war. This armistice was only to cease by notice being given three months before, by the party desirous of breaking it. The intention of peace with England had been hitherto kept secret, but when the terms agreed on were published, they caused sincere rejoicings in Naples, because, dissipating the fear of war, by the commercial advantages they presented, by the supposed security for the future, by the hopes Joachim held out of a more liberal government, and, above all, by gratifying the feeling of hatred against France, which at that moment broke forth throughout Europe; a hatred natural in the Russians, Austrians, and Prussians, and excusable in the rest of Germany, but ungrateful and impolitic in the people of Italy.

Joachim, meantime, urged on by his military ardour, and the desire to show himself in arms to friends and foes, had sent two legions to Rome and Ancona, in the preceding November, had prepared more troops, and announced his approaching arrival in Bologna. Bonaparte, though suspecting his motives, was resolved not to give him any pretext for desertion, nor precipitate the war; he therefore sent orders to his lieutenants to treat these legions as allies; and in the congresses for peace, his ambassadors always set down a balance of 50,000 Neapolitans on the side of France. But General Miollis, the governor of Rome, and General Barbou, governor of Ancona, mistrusted the Neapolitans, and continued ready

armed, and on their guard. At the same time, several Italians either acting by instructions received from Joachim, or zealous for the cause, spread the news, that the King of Naples, crafty, liberal, and strongly armed, intended, while the foreign enemies of Italy were fighting among themselves, to proclaim and support the cause of Italian freedom. These reports had already roused the least cautious to hope and action, at the very time when the treaties with Austria and England came to justify the suspicions of the French, and extinguished the last expectation of the independence of Italy.

Joachim wrote to Miollis, Barbou, and Fouché in friendly terms, assuring them that he had only been induced to enter upon this alliance from political necessity, but that, devoted and attached as he was to France, he could contrive to reconcile the interests of the State with his private feelings. These protestations obtained no belief. General Miollis, with a strong garrison, withdrew into the castle of Sant' Angelo, and General Lasalcette was quartered in Civita Vecchia with the rest of the French soldiers. General Barbou desired to hold both the castles in Ancona, but the Neapolitans dexterously surprised that of the Cappuccini, and forced the French, consisting of 1500 soldiers and officials, to shut themselves up in the citadel. The whole of the States of Rome, with the March of Ancona, was abandoned to the Neapolitans; but, from want of leaders, or from contradictory orders, they were uncertain in their movements, while their king was equally irresolute how to act, torn by conflicting feelings, and therefore neither continued the war nor assumed the administration of the country he had gained possession of, and which had therefore to endure the anxieties of war, the inconvenience of garrisons, and all the vexations and dangers of suspense. The generals wrote to the king, stating their perplexity, and received contradictory answers or none; a suspicion, therefore, arose that he was playing them false, and they began to fear for their own fate and for that of Naples.

In the month of January, Joachim went to Rome, but failed in his attempt on the castle of Sant' Angelo, and upon Civita Vecchia; he therefore proceeded to Ancona, where, however, Barbou refused him admittance into the citadel. He found the country in a state of

anarchy, and had to listen to protestations from the generals, remonstrances from the magistrates, and complaints from the people; while the Austrian ministers blamed his tardiness, and declared he had failed in the fulfilment of his part of the treaty. The longer he dissimulated, the more he injured himself, and the greater risks he incurred. Before leaving Bologna he therefore commanded the Neapolitan troops to advance, and join the German legion under General Nugent; he laid siege to Ancona, the castle of Sant' Angelo, and Civita Vecchia; settled the civil administration in that part of the country occupied by his troops; and engaged the advice and assistance of the most able men in Naples; but as he still inwardly desired to continue friendly with France, he allowed the German legion to form the van of his army, and attack the viceroy, while he commanded that in the siege operations ordered by himself, the Neapolitans should not lead the assault.

He placed himself at the head of the army, consisting of three legions of infantry, and one of cavalry, making in all twenty-two thousand soldiers, furnished with sixty cannons, and abundant *matériel*, but without either provisions or treasure, trusting to the resources of Italy. Several French soldiers, and many officers, colonels, and generals, continued in the pay of Naples. Joachim wished to retain their services, partly because he valued their courage and skill, and partly because he hoped to extenuate his own fault towards France, by bringing a great number of his countrymen under the same imputation; he therefore held out to them various temptations, assuring them the alliance with Austria was only a feint; but by thus adding falsehood to falsehood, he continued to intrigue, until he threw discredit on his own words. The Neapolitan generals, on the other hand, wished the French away, because they saw in them, the supporters of the king in his vacillating policy, and obstacles to the full attainment of their own ambitious designs. They urged Joachim to remove them, and their secret murmurs were followed by contempt of authority, setting a bad example to the army. The French hesitated long between conflicting interests; but finally, those most attached to honour and their country, departed, while those who remained, felt ashamed of themselves, and repented their decision. Colonel Chevalier, to whom Murat was personally attached, was the last to quit him, and,

escaping in the night, he left a paper behind him, explanatory of his conduct. His arrival so long after the others, occasioned some bantering from the officers in the opposite camp; and anxious to clear himself from any imputation arising from his having lingered so long with Murat, he demanded to be sent into battle the following day, and, while leading the first attack against the Germans, was killed.

The sieges commenced by that of Ancona. The garrison was too numerous for the citadel, which was a small fort composed of only a few buildings, and none of them bomb-proof; vertical fires, therefore, sent into them by an enemy, would have been sufficient to force the garrison to surrender, and spare the assailants the trouble of making trenches and breaches. A few batteries of cannon, and a considerable number of mortars and howitzers were placed at various distances, the nearest being one thousand metres. The works were commenced during the night, and continued throughout the day, when the redoubts were all ready, and we were prepared to open fire; and as no attempt was made from the citadel to hinder our movements, we appeared to be at school exercises. We had an abundant store of ordnance and ammunition, taken from the forts and magazines, which had fallen into the hands of the Neapolitans, and nothing was wanting but the signal to commence the attack; while it had been ascertained by calculation that the citadel could not hold out above forty hours against an enemy's fire.

Our labours in the siege of Ancona were, however, suspended, and we were sent first to the Castle of Sant' Angelo, and then to Civita Vecchia. We began by using the usual precaution when reconnoitring the ground, but when we perceived the enemy had no intention of molesting us, the engineers went to work by covered ways around the castle, marking the ground for trenches and approaches. The plan for the siege having been laid, and appurtenances of war and arms in the course of preparation, several battalions were marched to Civita Vecchia; but, although we were encamped on the heights close to the city, the French garrison looked on without offering any opposition. No sooner, however, did they discover among us General Lavauguion, the governor of Rome, and General Colletta, the chief engineer, both

of whom were disliked, the first because he was a Frenchman and yet an enemy, and the last because he was known to have urged Joachim to this war, than their rage could neither be restrained by discipline nor prudence, and the batteries from the fortress kept up an unceasing fire upon the Neapolitans; the guns being pointed with greater accuracy, wherever the generals appeared. Notwithstanding this, we continued to reconnoitre the ground, and, having determined the plan of the siege, we withdrew the following night, with the loss of only a few men.

Both parties were now occupied in preparing arms, and all that was necessary, when General Barbou in Ancona, having exhausted his stock of provisions, and the garrison suffering from sickness, resolved to surrender the citadel; he was, however, ashamed to yield without the honours of war, and therefore commanded the guns to be fired as a challenge to the Neapolitans, and thus risked with his own life, that of a beloved wife and three young children. The Neapolitans, who were under the command of General Macdonald, replied by shots in return, and the combat lasted the whole of that day and night. At sunrise, on the following morning, the flag of peace was seen waving from the walls of the fortress, which that same day was surrendered upon condition that the French garrison should be allowed the honours of war, and a safe-conduct to France. The firing lasted twenty-four hours, rather less than the time fixed, because the explosion of a powder manufactory added to the destruction caused by the shells. Part of the city of Ancona lay betwixt the Cappuccini, where the Neapolitans lay encamped, and the citadel, but suffered no injury, remaining secure under an arch, formed by the projectiles and fire. Thus were several Neapolitans and many French killed to gratify the vain glory of General Barbou, who might have been satisfied with having stood out until the citadel had been reduced to the last extremity by famine, for it is such false ideas of honour which give mistaken notions of the profession of arms.

The remaining fortresses were spared, because in a treaty between the Duke of Otranto for France, and General Lecchi for Naples, it was agreed that they should be surrendered on condition of the garrisons being permitted to return to France. After this the Neapolitans threw garrisons into Civita Vecchia, the Castle of

Sant' Angelo, and the forts of Florence, Leghorn, and Ferrara, besides Ancona. Leghorn had been menaced a few days before by an Anglo-Sicilian fleet, under the command of Lord William Bentinck, and as the garrison (at that time French) was prepared for defence, the fleet remained stationary, waiting a favourable opportunity to land the men. After the surrender of the city to Joachim, the English still continued their threatening attitude to the annoyance of Murat, who accordingly ordered Leghorn to be put in a state of defence, confiding his suspicions of England to the chief engineer.

Shortly afterwards, Lord William Bentinck landed his English and Sicilian troops from the ships, carrying a banner, on which was inscribed "*Libertà e Indipendenza Italica*" (Italian liberty and independence), and marched them to Genoa. He conferred by letters with Joachim and General Bellegarde, but both parties regarded the other with suspicion. The troops engaged in the war of Italy were at this time disposed as follows: Bellegarde, with forty-five thousand Austrians, was encamped on the left bank of the Mincio; the King of Naples, with twenty-two thousand Neapolitans, extended his lines to the Po, and occupied the territory round Ferrara and Bologna, the States of Rome and Tuscany; his van was stationed at Reggio and Modena, while Nugent, with eight thousand Germans, was encamped there under him; Bentinck, with fourteen thousand Anglo-Sicilian troops, was upon the mountains of Sarzana. Bellegarde and Joachim communicated with Ferrara by Ravenna, while Joachim and Bentinck were separated by the Apennines. On the other side, the viceroy, with fifty thousand Italians and French, occupied the field on the right bank of the Mincio, and guarded a bridge across the Po at Borgoforte while holding Piacenza, which was strongly fortified and well garrisoned. A small French garrison also defended Genoa.

The forces were thus disposed, but their leaders differed in their respective plans of campaign. General Bellegarde proposed that Joachim should advance upon Piacenza and dislodge the viceroy from the right bank of the Mincio, he himself promising to make a diversion in his support. The king contended, that if he were to separate his movements from those of Bentinck, who was acting

on the other side of the mountains, and was only connected with Bellegarde by the long and difficult roads of Ravenna and Ferrara, the enemy could at his pleasure pour down upon him from Borgoforte, attack the Neapolitans upon the ground of Modena and Reggio, and re-enter his lines, before the allied English or Germans could even receive notice of the fact; that he was therefore resolved to strengthen Modena by a camp, and had so placed his troops, that at the first appearance of the enemy, they should all front the Po; that a nearer approach to Piacenza would be as much as to invite the viceroy to attack the rear of the Neapolitan army, and driving them from their base of operations, break their lines, while the enemy could return to his camp by the way of Piacenza and Borgoforte. Of these two opposite schemes, Bentinck, who was only intent on gaining possession of Genoa, expressed himself in favour of that of Bellegarde, not so much because this was really his opinion, as because he suspected and disliked Joachim.

Murat's was the true military view, but outward appearances and suspicion were arrayed against him, and therefore it was disputed, and the army meanwhile remained inactive. All the errors and vices incident to a war carried on by allied armies were exhibited in that camp. Bellegarde could have communicated by a shorter road with Joachim than either Ravenna or Ferrara, had he constructed more bridges over the Po; but he was afraid lest new roads should afford facilities to Murat to obtain succour, and might be used for treacherous purposes. Joachim could have attacked Piacenza had he been sure of the co-operation of Bellegarde and of Bentinck, but he suspected that they were urging him on to this enterprise, in order to injure his troops and his reputation. Bentinck also, the ally of the King of Naples, permitted the Sicilians, who had landed with him, to distribute copies of an edict of King Ferdinand in the Neapolitan army, reminding the soldiers of the rights of their former king, and exciting the subjects of Joachim to rebel; and from a still higher quarter, the Emperor of Austria, who had promised the immediate ratification of the treaty with Naples, allowed months to elapse without fulfilling his word; and King Murat, on the other side, the ally of Austria and England, desired the triumph of France, and

waited, or hoped for, an opportunity of reconciliation. Italy at that time was not in a state of war, but was filled with armed politicians and diplomatists; in every action or scheme, whether emanating from the rulers of kingdoms, or the commanders of armies, some perfidy transpired or lay concealed. All were alike guilty, but it was yet uncertain whom fortune would favour.

The people cautiously obeyed without taking any part; for while Joachim was proclaiming the moment had come when the Italians were to be united under one common banner, and bestowed one common form and organization on the government of the States occupied by his troops, Bellegarde was warning the Italians, that it was the intention of the allied sovereigns to restore the King of Sardinia,[1] the House of Este,[2] the Grand Duke of Tuscany,[3] and the Pope, to their former possessions. The Viceroy, meantime, on the other bank of the Mincio, proclaimed the victories of the Emperor Napoleon at Nangis and Montereau, and assured the people that the fate of Italy rested in the hands of France. Italy was thus beset with snares, dissatisfied with her present condition, certain of future servitude, and therefore though uneasy, remained passive. The people of Naples alone rejoiced at this change of policy, and hoped to profit by so many wonderful events, and to rise to wealth and greatness now that they beheld their ports and markets plentifully supplied with English merchandise, which during eight years had been so scarce, though so much desired, and exchanged with the products of their soil, which had been rotting in the ground for want of purchasers; and that they found themselves able to pass to and from Sicily without danger or penalty, and that they heard their king and soldiers spoken of as powerful, and the conquerors of kingdoms.

Three reports, which placed Joachim in a serious dilemma, reached him from opposite sides almost on the same day. He learnt that the generals in his camp were resolutely demanding to be informed of his intentions in the war; that the Pope had been

[1] Victor Emanuel, who had married in 1789, Maria Theresa, daughter of the Austrian Archduke Ferdinand, Governor of Milan.

[2] Maria Beatrice, daughter and heiress of the last Duke of Modena of the House of Este, married Ferdinand Archduke of Austria.

[3] Ferdinand III., son of the Emperor Leopold of Austria.

set free by Bonaparte, and had already reached the confines of Parma on his way to Rome; and that the Carbonari in the Abruzzi, excited to rebellion, were rousing the population of several districts by raising the standard of the Bourbons.

The generals of Joachim constituted the best part of his army, both from long service, military ardour, and talent; they were young men, champions of the new ideas, yet attached to the traditions of their birthplace, and of Italy; bound to Joachim by the ties of gratitude and ambition, while knowing and condemning his principal errors, such as bestowing rewards too lavishly, and never punishing, in consequence of which, though his aim was to inspire the army to deeds of valour, and to the endurance of war, fatigue, and hardships, there was wanting a wholesome dread of insubordination and crime. The very men who had supported the king in his late disputes with Bonaparte, who some among them had been participators and advisers in the conferences at Ponza, and had most of them instigated him to the league with Austria, and who were all anxious for the honour of the army and its leader, perceiving how a false and vacillating policy was conducting the king and his kingdom to inevitable ruin, consulted together, and, alarmed for the probable consequences of his conduct, hoped to induce Murat to adopt some better resolution. They drew up a petition, signed by two who held the highest position from their long service, in which they requested the king, in circumstances of so much difficulty, to summon a council of war, and hear the opinions of his generals.

This petition was published and was approved of by the whole army, thus casting an imputation on the judgment of their leader, a new kind of insubordination, and an offence well deserving punishment. Had Joachim been disposed to visit it severely, the majority would not have ventured to proceed further, but the king, who pardoned the lowest criminal in his army, was not inclined to punish those to whom he was personally attached, and who were only guilty of excess of zeal. Discipline (I have remarked elsewhere, and at every fresh example I repeat it) is not a merit belonging to subordinates, but a virtue of their chief; and I may well call it a virtue, since it demands great magnanimity to enforce severe morals, unfailing and inexorable justice, and, whilst the

natural sentiment of men who share one common life of anxiety and danger is mutual friendship, to repress this feeling in the heart, and not expect it from those placed under him ; but rather aim at fear, admiration, and respect, sentiments which he can only command by his own labours and bitter experience. The king, hoping to repress the audacity of his generals, at first adopted a menacing tone, and then tried cajolery : they were, however, neither to be frightened nor caught by these artifices. But affection conquered ; for, in the midst of the dispute, the news of the arrival of Lord William Bentinck was announced, who haughtily, and though an ally, came to demand of the king, in a menacing tone, the cession of Leghorn, and of some other places of inferior note. Upon which Joachim exclaimed : " He comes in an evil hour for me ! What can I answer ? Where shall I find strength sufficient to uphold my dignity as a king, and as the commander of an army, now that my army and my generals are in rebellion against me ?" Two of the generals who happened to be present, were touched with shame and remorse, and communicated their own feelings to the rest ; who met together that same day, and agreed to go to the king with offers of submission and entire obedience. Thus ended this commotion in the camp, but the recollection and example were not effaced. Discipline declined, and the catastrophe which took place the following year was already approaching maturity.

The Pope meantime reached Taro, and Joachim in Bologna had only learnt the fact by public report. He at first determined to refuse to receive him, but with what arms could he oppose, with what means keep back a man who was advancing securely, carried irresistibly along by public opinion and the people ? General Nugent, without waiting the orders of the king, although his chief, had received him upon the frontiers, and had escorted him with reverence and military honours to the banks of the Enza, which were lined by Neapolitan troops. There was no time left for hesitation and counsel. The king wrote to General Carrascosa, who commanded the vanguard, to meet the Pope, and to use every persuasion and every exertion to detain him on the road or in Reggio. The general had hardly reached the river, when Pius VII. arrived on the opposite bank, accompanied by an immense crowd

of the devout, and by a splendid cortège of German cavalry, which returned to Parma, after receiving the benediction and thanks of his Holiness; the people, increased by others who joined them on the way, accompanied the Pope to Reggio. As the carriages proceeded without stopping, Carrascosa could not converse with him, but followed in the crowd. The Neapolitans formed no regular escort, but privates and officers mingled with the multitude, adding to the spectacle, and to the number who hastened to do homage to the Pope. Many of the populace volunteered to draw the carriage in which Pius sat, not because their services were required, but as a mark of their willingness to perform the lowest office for him; and Neapolitan officers in full uniform were among the most zealous and devout.

In Reggio, General Carrascosa was immediately admitted into the presence of Pius, and after acts of reverence tendered in the most obsequious manner, and which the Pope graciously accepted (presenting his hand to him to kiss, to prevent the suspicion that he required a greater act of homage), the general asked his Holiness what were his plans; to which he replied: "To continue on the way to Bologna." "But his Majesty the King of Naples is ignorant of the arrival of your Holiness, and nothing is prepared for your reception." "I desire nothing from his Majesty," he replied; "upon whom I invoke the Divine blessing." "The post-horses are engaged for military service, and unless they are ordered in advance, your Holiness would not find sufficient for your journey." "I will ask them in charity of those pious Christians by whom I am surrounded." "But the horses belonging to private individuals have been long ago seized for the army." "Then I will pursue my way on foot, and God will give me strength." After a short silence, the general asked to what rank in the army, and at what time he would grant the honour of a presentation; he answered, that his wish was to see all; but as time was pressing, he would receive the generals only, at nine on the following morning. Carrascosa again kissed hands, and took leave; he repeated all that had passed, word for word, to the king, and entreated him to yield to the force of public opinion. The next day, at the appointed hour, the generals were presented to the Pope, who received them with courtesy, and offered his hand

to each to kiss. He detained them in conversation about the army, praised the fine appearance of the troops; and did not dismiss them, until he had replied to the questions and heard the answers of each.

He immediately afterwards departed. The king at Bologna, hesitated between various suggestions, and rejecting the good advice of two of his ministers, to enter into the people's enthusiasm for the Pope, resolved on a middle course; to do him honour by sending him an escort, but not proffer him any assistance. Arrived at Bologna, the Pope took some refreshment after the fatigues of his journey, and then went in person to visit the king, remaining with him talking a considerable time. They conversed on the restitution of the States of the Church, and as one claimed the whole, which the other unwillingly yielded, it was agreed between them (but without any written document, as each was in his heart determined to maintain his claim) that the patrimony of St. Peter should be returned to the Pope of Rome, and that the King of Naples was to keep the remainder. Another subject of dispute was the road by which the Pope was to continue his journey; he, selecting the Strada Emilia, while Joachim, in order to restrain the excited feelings of those who were still the subjects of Pius, desired that he should pass through Tuscany. But the Pope, a man of more resolute character than Joachim, conquered by his determination in his choice of the road he meant to travel; although knowing himself to be the weaker party, because alone and unarmed, he had suffered Joachim, when discussing the division of territory, to claim the greater part of his former dominions. The day after the morrow, he proceeded by the Strada Emilia, and arrived by slow journeys at Cesena, his native place, and where he remained for a considerable period, until the wars of France and Italy were ended; after which, he entered Rome in triumph on the 24th May of that year 1814. The following day, the Neapolitan troops departed, but the Pope's ministers would not consent to receive the government of the city, and of the provinces he had recovered, from the hands of officers appointed by the king, preferring to be deprived of their offices, and even anarchy itself, to the mortification of being obliged to recognise the late government. Their pride already began to appear.

The Carbonari in Calabria were excited to rebel from Sicily; those in the Abruzzi from Lissa, an island of the Adriatic, which had been made an emporium of commerce and contraband trade, and was strongly garrisoned by English. The Calabrians, who had suffered from the severities of General Manhes, plotted in secret, but others who were more inexperienced, were eager to commence operations, so that on the day fixed, the revolution broke out simultaneously and universally throughout the province of Tèramo, on the frontiers of the kingdom. The Carbonari proposed to assemble in arms in the open country, to enter the cities, to deprive the magistrates of their offices, to change others, and to proclaim the Government of Murat fallen, and that of Ferdinand of Bourbon, the constitutional king, restored; to scour the neighbouring provinces, and by the assistance of their associates, to advance into the kingdom. Most of their hopes were realized; the whole of this distant province, with the exception of the capital, rose in rebellion; and the revolution would have spread into the adjoining district of Chieti, had not the measures of the *Intendente*, Montejasi, and the rapid advance of several bands of gendarmes, hindered the rebels of Tèramo from crossing the river Pescara. This wide-spread sedition was unstained by crime, and was effected without a struggle. The magistrates of Joachim quietly retired from their posts in the rebellious provinces; the new ones exercised their functions without any assumption on their part or attempts at vengeance. The laws were maintained, and the change of Government and of officials, was the work of a day; all which indications of unanimity in the people, were greater perils to the existing Government. Such was the state of matters in the Abruzzi, when Baron Tulli, driven into exile, arrived with the news to King Joachim.

As there were in the army a considerable number of soldiers from the Abruzzi, who had been formed into one regiment, the first care of the king was to conceal the state of affairs from them; he then held a council to consider the remedy; some of his ministers inclined to severity, others to leniency; but the king, who was exasperated against the rebels, supported the views of the former. The danger, when examined into, proved so imminent, that they at once resolved to adopt both methods, and to employ

pardon and punishment, rewards and menace. A decree was issued, making the meetings of the Carbonari equal to conspiracies against the State, and ordering the punishment of death to any of the former Carbonari who should attend such meetings, as well as to any new ones, who should inscribe themselves members of the society. The regent despatched thither her most faithful troops, with two Abruzzi noblemen, on whom she knew she could rely, the Chevalier Dèlfico and Baron Nolli, whilst the king sent General Florestano Pepe from the camp, a man of benevolent character, and authoritative from his rank in the army.

But this sedition, which had neither external force nor strength within itself, was exhausted by the violence of its first ill-concerted efforts, and therefore soon fell to pieces. The former magistrates of Murat resumed their seats, which they had surrendered without a contest, the intruders surrendering them again with still greater readiness; when the troops arrived from Naples, all was again calm. Dèlfico, who was advanced in life, proceeded no farther; and General Pepe was supplanted by the French general, Montigny, a violent-tempered bad man. For Joachim having been informed of the sudden turn of affairs, and no longer afraid of the rebels, determined, as an example, to punish them with severity. He revoked his acts of clemency, enforced rigorous measures, and this puerile attempt at revolution ended in many deaths, punishment, tears, and misery.

The affairs of France were conducted very differently from those of Italy. Here diplomacy was everything, and there was little fighting; there politics scarcely engaged the attention of any one, where all were occupied with a great war; the European congresses were now dissolved, and the destinies of the world hung on the fortune of arms. At one time when these appeared to favour Bonaparte, the Emperor of Austria wrote with his own hand to Joachim, assuring him of the ratification of their alliance; and the Emperor of Russia sent Count Balachef as his ambassador to propose the terms of a treaty of peace with the King of Naples. Meanwhile, Lord William Bentinck arrived to demand the cession of Leghorn and Pisa, which he proposed should form the base of operations in a war against Genoa; but he was persuaded by Count Mier, and other ministers of the allied sovereigns, to abandon these

pretensions, and to moderate his haughty tone, in addressing an ally and king, to whom they owed respect. This conduct assured Joachim of the reality of Bonaparte's victories, which had been reported in the bulletins, and exaggerated by the French around him, but which were confirmed by his intimate acquaintance with the genius of the greatest captain of the age, and by his own hopes. He made a last attempt at reconciliation with the Viceroy, but the successes of Bonaparte, which prompted Murat to this step, were only fresh inducements to hostility on the part of Eugene, who rejected his offers, dismissed his messenger, and, to gratify his personal revenge, as well as to assist the cause by sowing distrust and hatred in the enemy's camp, found a way to betray these intrigues of Joachim to the commissioners sent him by the allied sovereigns.

General Grenier, meantime, with 14,000 Italian and French troops, having crossed the Po at Piacenza, attacked the Austrian legions under General Nugent, in the camps of Nura and Parma, while other squadrons assaulted Guastalla, by the bridge of Borgoforte. The Germans having been conquered and driven back, left four hundred dead and wounded upon the field, and more than two thousand prisoners, besides two cannon and *matériel;* and Grenier, having thrown a garrison into Parma and Reggio, returning to his lines near Borgoforte, abandoned Guastalla. Nugent re-formed his troops in the rear of the Neapolitan camp, and found himself in the reserve, the legion of General Carrascosa in the van, that of General Ambrosio in the centre. By the movement of Grenier, a Neapolitan company was surrounded by French battalions and taken prisoners; but they were that same day released with demonstrations of friendship, and their arms were restored to them—a cunning device intended to injure Joachim.

These appearances, and the German legion not having received timely succour when attacked by superior forces, together with the procrastination, intrigues, and indiscreet speeches of the king, raised such a strong suspicion of treachery, that the allies from that time forth were on their guard against him as against an enemy. The Commissioners came to an open breach with Murat; Balachef suspended the peace conferences, and Joachim then (like all men of vacillating temper, who call their own fickleness pru-

dence or necessity) rushed into the greater danger, and resolved to attack Reggio, and re-conduct the German legion to their camps at Parma and Nura. The next day, the troops which were prepared, and several Austrian battalions which General Nugent, eager for revenge and to restore his honour, insisted on leading in the van, encountered the enemy upon the bridge of San Maurizio, near Reggio, and a battle ensued. The passage of the bridge was choked up by trunks of trees thrown across, and was defended by soldiers and cannon ; while the left bank of the river was guarded by infantry, cavalry, and artillery. The battle having begun, the river was forded some way above the bridge by the Neapolitans, led by General William Pepe ; the barricades were discomposed, the defenders and the artillery driven back, and the bridge with the camp taken, while the enemy retreated in haste, but good order, and took refuge in Reggio. Both sides displayed equal force, courage, and skill ; General Severoli, an Italian, commanding the Italian and French troops, was struck to the ground by a cannon-ball, which carried off one of his legs ; five hundred of his men were killed or wounded, and six hundred taken prisoners ; while four hundred of the Austrian and Neapolitan troops lay among the wounded and dead. The king reached the camp when the victory was already ours, and therefore the honour belonged to Generals Carrascosa and Nugent. The enemy being shut up in Reggio, the Neapolitans forded the canal of Naviglio ; and we having already possession of the road to Parma, while the walls of Reggio were in a weak condition, it cost us little trouble to gain the city, and take the garrison prisoners. But the king granted them their freedom, leaving the conditions to be decided by Generals Livron and Rambourg, both of whom were French. Thus the advantage gained on the side of the allies in the morning was lost in the evening, and suspicion and dissensions continued as frequent as ever, and even increased.

The affairs of France became daily worse ; the Commissioners assumed a more insolent tone towards the king, and Balachef, less eager for peace, brought forward proposals repugnant to the feelings and interests of Joachim ; while Joachim abandoning his hesitating policy, though now too late, proposed a conference with Bellegarde, in which they concerted the plan of military opera-

tions, and agreed that the Neapolitans now on the Taro should co-operate with the Germans upon the Mincio, the object of the first being Piacenza, and the second Milan. On the 13th April, accordingly, the movements agreed upon were effected; the king with nine thousand men crossed the Taro, defended by six or seven thousand Italian and French; another Neapolitan legion reconnoitred the passage at Borgoforte, and other squadrons of the same army, and the Austrians were held in reserve. They made a feint to throw a bridge across the Po at Sacca, as if menacing the right wing of the enemy, and thus assisted Bellegarde, who was acting against the centre and left. They next engaged the enemy without success upon the Mincio, and met with no opposition at Borgoforte; but while the bridge at Sacca was disputed and defended by forces six times their number, the reserve did not advance to their assistance. The Taro was forded, though contested by the enemy; four hundred of our men were killed or wounded, and as many fell on the opposite side, besides the loss of five hundred prisoners. The Austrian general, Gobert, who commanded the Germans, advanced so deliberately to the attack of the right wing of the enemy, that these were able to retire, and the king, as a proof of his zeal, publicly expressed his regret at the failure. General Mancune, the leader of the enemy's forces, collected his troops in good order that day at Sandonnino, and in the night retreated to Firenzuola. The Neapolitans bivouacked for the night upon the field, and by the first light of dawn passed through Sandonnino, which was now abandoned, and proceeded to Firenzuola, where they encountered the enemy, and, after some fighting, drove them beyond the Nura; not discouraged by the hindrance which the fortified monastery of San Lazzaro presented, they were only stopped in their victorious career by night. On the day after the morrow, after a sharp but a brief contest, this post and the camp were taken, and the enemy sought shelter in Piacenza, while the Neapolitans, who were left outside the walls, prepared for the attack of the city.

About midday, on the 15th April 1814, a letter from General Bellegarde brought the news that the war in Italy was suspended, and that peace conferences had been opened with the Viceroy. At the same time a French officer arrived as a messenger by the

road of Piacenza, which was now open ; both told the same story of the unhappy fate of the empire, of the disasters which had befallen the French arms, the treason of some of the chiefs, the perfidy of one minister, the intrigues of some of the most eminent and ambitious of the liberals, the acts and decrees of the Senate, the flight of Joseph Bonaparte, the capitulation of Paris, the abdication of the emperor, the restoration of the Bourbons to the throne, and the tumult of joy and adulation by which in France, more than anywhere else, power and success are immediately greeted, disgraceful to the people, and a sure obstacle to the attainment of true greatness. Joachim was walking in a meadow adjoining a small country-house close to the walls of the city, and I was conversing with him upon the fortifications of Piacenza, and the best way to storm the place, when both messages reached him. As he read the despatches he turned pale, and was some time silent, walking about in an agitated and nervous manner ; but after a while, he briefly, and in a melancholy tone of voice, told the few who were standing near him what had occurred in France ; then gave orders for a suspension of hostilities, and immediately returned to Firenzuola, and thence to Bologna. His depression of spirits continued several days, and was increased by his reflections on the greatness of the fallen empire, on his own past labours to build it up, on the dangers of his present position, and on Bonaparte, who no longer appeared in his eyes as a haughty despot, but as his relation and his benefactor in misfortune.

A few days later the Viceroy agreed to terms with Bellegarde and Joachim ; it was resolved that the French serving in the Italian and French army should return home ; that the Italians should remain on the territory they now occupied, namely, all the country contained within the Alps, the Po, and the Mincio ; that the Neapolitans should be stationed in the quarters assigned them by the treaty of the confederation, and that the fortresses beyond the Mincio, which were yet garrisoned by French, should be surrendered to the Germans under Bellegarde. Meanwhile, Genoa, which was invested by the Anglo-Sicilian forces, having learned the events in France, capitulated to Lord William Bentinck, and he, with his usual impetuosity (a levity, which might be mistaken for an intention to mislead the people), established a

republican government, and reinstated the laws and magistrates as they were in 1797. The war was at an end throughout Italy.

But at that very time a war of a more deplorable nature, because a civil war, was raging in Milan. In this city, favoured more than any other in Italy by the French, the spirit of ingratitude and hostility towards France, found numerous and powerful supporters. Hardly had the troops been dispersed, when the inhabitants of the city, their numbers increased by the surrounding peasantry, assembled in arms, and rising in a tumult, tore down and defaced every sign of the past government, ignored the authority of the magistrates, cruelly murdered the minister Prina, and refused to acknowledge the Viceroy. They then appointed a regency of citizens, who, in their ignorance and presumption, hoped to obtain liberty from the sovereigns of the north, and sent ambassadors to demand a free constitution, the terms of which they themselves dictated. Prince Beauharnois, attacked in his government, and threatened in his person, did not return to Milan, but took refuge with his relation, the King of Bavaria. The city was governed for the kingdom of Italy by the president of the new regency—a man who had been raised to this position by the tumultuary vote of the people—and nothing remained of those ancient forms, which, partly from their innate reverence for past grandeur, and partly from prudence, had always been respected by the allied sovereigns. Accordingly, when Bellegarde, breaking the conditions of the peace, conducted his troops to Milan, the name of the Italian kingdom, and the last hopes of Italy vanished. The want of sobriety in the schemes of the French liberals had injured France, and similar schemes, plotted by men of the same stamp, now ruined Italy. These imprudent acts were the result of those hopes of independence, which the year before had been excited in the hearts of the people.

But as soon as the allied powers of Europe had established their triumph over Bonaparte, the old endeavoured to occupy the place left vacant by the new, and, while affecting moderation, to maintain their most arrogant claims. Pope Pius VII., now in possession of Rome, and of the provinces called the Patrimony of the Church, revoked all the laws of the French empire, and restored the old system, including even the use of torture. Victor Emanuel was

hardly reseated on the throne of Piedmont before he proclaimed that the laws and constitution of the State were to be those of 1770. Ferdinand III., restored to the throne of Tuscany by the arms of King Joachim, re-established the laws of Leopold, which, though a marvel in the past century, were not fitted for the new; and his lieutenant who preceded him in the government, while detesting everything French, closed the new schools, and abolished institutions for the promotion of the arts and for charities. The late kingdom of Italy, Parma, Modena, Lucca, the three Legations, and the Presidii della Toscana, were occupied by Germans, and, being without any fixed code, were for the present governed by martial law. The Presidii, which had been of service to the kings of Naples in times of peace, and of no small avail in the wars of Italy, a possession of three centuries, were lost during the French Revolution, and overlooked in the treaties between Fouché and Lecchi, as well as in the settlement of Tuscany between Roccaromana and Rospigliosi; thus did we forfeit the advantages gained by three wars under Alphonso I. and Philip IV., and which had been preserved by the unremitting care of the kings, their successors. Genoa, while boasting of her liberty, obeyed her old laws. The Marches were garrisoned and commanded by Neapolitan troops, and submitted to an oppressive and frequently despotic government; and the new era of political freedom, which had lately reigned throughout almost the whole of Europe, preserved its semblance in the kingdom of Naples alone.

Joachim, after settling his affairs in Italy as well as he was able, left two legions in the Marches, under the command of General Carrascosa, the governor of that province, and returned to Naples. Great festivities awaited his arrival, some of them ordered, others prompted, but none genuine; for the fall of Bonaparte, and the sudden elevation of the old above the new order of things, left Joachim isolated, and a stranger to the reigning politics of the day, while it raised a suspicion in the people that a change was about to take place within the kingdom. These surmises were soon afterwards confirmed by reading the edicts of General Bellegarde, by which ancient Lombardy was restored to the Austrian empire, and by the treaties of peace signed at Paris on the 30th May, in which, without any allusion to the King of Naples, a congress was sum-

moned to meet at Vienna, to determine doubtful claims of dominion. Legitimacy, a word of various interpretation in early times, was set forth in the speeches and edicts of the kings who had now recovered their power; but as the sovereigns explained its meaning to be the destruction of all the evils of the last twenty-five years, and the preservation of all the good, with a happy restoration of the things and persons belonging to the past upon the vast ruins of the revolution, the word and its meaning became dangerous to Joachim, and adverse to his interests. He sent the Duke di Campochiaro and the Prince di Cariati as his ambassadors to the Congress; besides generals and other persons of distinction and talent as the occasion demanded.

But his principal attention was occupied by the internal affairs of his kingdom, where he believed persuasion and argument would be the most efficient means to secure him the votes of his subjects and the support of his army, now that all parties boasted their love of peace and their desire to win the attachment of the people. He summoned the most able men in Naples in four separate meetings, and informed them that as recent events had obtained for us complete political independence, it was his duty to reorganize his kingdom without accepting suggestions, or being forced to imitate, or acknowledge a debt of gratitude, to any other State: in this he alluded to the fetters he had worn during nine past years. He asked for the advice of the most learned men and the most ardent patriots in reforming the codes of law, the finances, the administration, and the army. He entreated them not to follow the latest fashion, and run backwards blindfold, but to remember that the political institutions established during the French Revolution were in great part the fruit of the wisdom of centuries.

Before the council which had been called for the consideration of the finances had had time to change any one tax, Joachim lightened the burden of some of the heaviest. He passed new measures advantageous to foreign commerce, by which he propitiated his own subjects as well as the English, the only nation who traded in our ports; he removed the shackles of our internal trade, by the abolition of Cabotage[1] (such was the name given to a sys-

[1] *Cabotage.* A small duty paid by Neapolitan vessels, which had the exclusive privilege of trading in corn.

tem most injurious to the maritime customs), and permitted the free export of grain: he likewise abolished several duties on imported goods, and diminished others; he did not, however, venture to proclaim entire free trade, partly hindered by his own ignorance of the science of political economy, and partly by the bad example given by France and England.

To see the French, residing in the kingdom, enjoy the first honours and advantages, had been a source of envy and discontent to the Neapolitans during nine years; and as the king was now anxious to gratify his subjects, he passed a decree that the offices of state should be given only to Neapolitans, or to foreigners who had received the rights of naturalization, according to the forms of law; that no one could be naturalized except under the conditions of the statute of Bayonne; and where this had not been demanded, or had been refused, the foreigner must resign his office. All the foreigners within the kingdom immediately demanded the right of Neapolitan citizenship; and when the examination into their claims was first laid before the council of state, though some of its members showed themselves punctilious, the majority made the terms of admission easy. In time, however, the views of the stricter party prevailed; and the French, emboldened by despair, sent up an address to the king in these words: "Invited and tempted by you" (reminding him of the time, place, and the words he had used), "we have continued with you, though the enemy of France, and now that you are secure upon your throne, you drive us from you into misfortune, without a country, destitute, and only guilty of your guilt." Reproaches not the less galling, because true.

The king was touched with compassion, but he had daily to pay a heavy penalty of grief and remorse for the foolish part he had played, for his dissimulation and fraud. He went to the council of state prepared to protect the foreigners, and to make the right of citizenship easy to obtain; and addressed his audience as follows: "I speak to you now as a king and as a father; for, in the question I am about to submit to you, interests and feelings are confounded, and the heart and the reason struggle for ascendency. Since the change which has taken place in the fortunes of France, the interests of this kingdom oblige me to act with hostility

towards the empire ; and I, although a Frenchman, and allied by blood with the Emperor Napoleon, as well as indebted to him for my throne, have sought your interest, and followed your advice in allying myself, in a time of war, with the enemies of my country, and of my family. My heart (I will not conceal the truth) was assailed by contending emotions. I struggled with myself secretly for many months, and still struggle, but my duty as a king has always conquered, and will ever conquer. Therefore, though I maintain my private opinion on the question I submit to you this day, if your judgment should be opposed to mine, I will not make use of my sovereign power, but bear this new mortification, and support you in your decision.

"Among the many French who have served with us in war or in peace, and who are unwillingly preparing to depart, I promised a few (only twenty-six of those whose names are registered), that you would grant them the right of citizenship, which they demand. They are the same men who, some months ago, wished to leave, but whom I, when harassed on the Po, detained by my entreaties and promises. They cannot now find a home in France, which they forsook as enemies ; they have forfeited public esteem there, and could not even find repose in obscurity ; for they are already too well known by their deeds and reputation. I now ask you to grant them the right of citizenship, which would be a reward for their past services to our country, would show your sympathy for their situation, and would be an act of courtesy towards me." Having spoken thus far in a persuasive tone, he added, haughtily : "All are at liberty to reply."

This speech would have been fully and eagerly responded to, had not the king's habit of dissimulation weakened confidence in his words, and had not the question of the right of naturalization been connected with one of still higher importance to the constitution, which had many supporters in the members of council, but was opposed by the French friends of the king, whose names none could doubt were included in the list of twenty-six. Two of the boldest, therefore, humbly answered, that as the council had no power to alter the statute of Bayonne, the right of naturalization claimed by the twenty-six would be determined by the laws ; that meantime, with all filial respect and affection, they entreated

the king to remember he had not only promised, but sworn to five millions of his subjects to maintain the statute; that in this time of great political difficulty, to revoke oaths and promises was to trust too much to the submission of the people; and that after all he had undergone, he surely could not desire to lose the fruit of his sufferings, and lessen the advantages to his kingdom, for so slight a cause. One of the ministers, holding an opposite opinion, spoke long in support of the king, and several warm replies followed; the discussion was still proceeding when Joachim interrupted it, saying, "You have now stated your several views on the subject; let the votes be counted." Twenty-three out of the twenty-eight members of council were for the king, the remaining five in opposition, but these last, though losing favour with their sovereign, rose in public estimation.

The king, now victorious, proposed to grant the right of citizenship to all foreigners who had served in our army; upon which one of his ministers remarked, that every State should offer a country to the brave soldier; a sentiment which was opposed by two of the members who had been defeated in the first debate, and who maintained that the time was past for the employment of free companies, and that the military profession itself had become subordinate to the civil; that while to fight for one's country was the most honourable office of a citizen, it was disgraceful to sell one's life to others for gold or false glory. Yet in this assembly of citizens, and persons of high consideration, the king was again supported by the twenty-three who had first voted for him, and that not from conviction, but out of servility. When the names of those who were to be admitted to the right of citizenship were read over, the twenty-six were found to have increased to twenty-eight, and from that time, more were added at pleasure. The other list, which related solely to the army, was very long; none left the kingdom but those who departed voluntarily, or low persons. The king, who had entered the council with diffidence, left it, proud of his success; but when these facts were made known, the desire to place some restraint on his despotic power only increased.

The reforms proposed for the army were not continued; for it was neither consonant with the ideas nor wishes of Joachim to diminish its strength. On the contrary, he wisely added new con-

scripts, forming new regiments of infantry and cavalry, and putting the whole army on a better footing. He was anxious to have a regiment composed of those native Neapolitans now in the service of Sicily, and therefore invited them to return home, since the peace of Europe (the decree was thus worded) had restored to every one the rights and obligations of citizens. But neither this invitation, nor the threat of exile, could overcome their fidelity to Ferdinand, and therefore the regiment was never formed. The militia had, during the past year, been better organized, and a guard of safety had been established in the city of Naples, a proof that many obstacles had been surmounted by the resolution of the king. This force was composed of at least twelve thousand men, divided into six battalions of infantry, and one squadron of cavalry, wearing uniforms, and with arms and military accoutrements. Landed proprietors, merchants, professors, and magistrates of every grade and all ages, skilled or unskilled in military matters, served in the militia; they were therefore less available as an armed force, than useful as an example. To preserve the memory of its services, and as a mark of approbation, a medal was struck to be presented to the most deserving. It was in gold, with white enamel, encircled with a garland of oak, and crossed by two branches supporting the national standard and the royal crown; on one side it bore the effigy of the king, on the other the motto, *Onore e Fedeltà* (honour and fidelity), and was suspended by a purple ribbon; it was to be worn on the breast as a decoration.

The king, to make a display of another source of power, better suited to the times, because democratic, put in practice the customary method of receiving addresses. The subjects for these addresses were secretly demanded from the highest officials, and those most dependent on the crown, and the sentiments and expressions of them were settled by the king's ministers. This example spread to men holding lower offices; and thus officers in the army, magistrates, and others administering the laws, the communes, clergy, academies, and, in short, every corporate body in the State, by articles which were purposely inserted in the newspapers, attributed every virtue to the king and his Government, expressed hopes of its permanence, and made offers of their lives and property in his support. The sentiments expressed were

partly true, partly adulatory, but chiefly (and those were the most able articles) were intended to contrast the Government of Murat, with its mixture of good and evil, with that of the Bourbons, where evil had hitherto been alone experienced. The expression of the wishes of so many private individuals, appeared like the wish of the people; and although these addresses provoked the usual amount of opposition, yet, in the Congress of Vienna, they were accepted as proofs in favour of Joachim, either because numbers always influence the opinions of men, or because none could suppose the whole society of Naples false and corrupt.

Among all these addresses, two were worthy of special note: the first, that of the army quartered in the Marches; the other, that of the aristocracy; for these two influential bodies, the first subject to the will of the sovereign, and the other immediately about his person, both concluded the expression of their several wishes by demanding that the king, either openly or covertly, should grant a free constitution.[1] Other orders of the people hinted the same wish; and amidst the countless addresses published, and the number and variety of adulatory expressions contained in them, one desire, and that the only sincere one, was found in all, to maintain the dynasty and government of Joachim, but that his power should be restrained by law; for though the king promised by his words and actions to satisfy the public in this respect, the people were firmly persuaded of the necessity of a more liberal form of government.

It was supposed that luxury in the palace would be considered another evidence of a firm Government; the king and queen were alike inclined to this indulgence, from their natural tastes, from an acquiescence in the habits of the period, and because the vulgar everywhere have the folly to consider luxury a sign of power. There was, therefore, a constant succession of banquets, royal chases, tourneys, and reviews in the Campo di Marte, where the increased numbers and fine appearance of the troops were exhibited.

[1] The address of the army likewise demanded the immediate dismissal of the French, and was signed by Generals Carrascosa, Filangieri, D'Ambrosio, Florestano Pepe, Guglielmo Pepe, Pignatelli-Strongoli, Pignatelli-Cerchiara, L'Arcovito, Medici, Petrinelli, D'Aquino, and Colletta.—*Narrazioni Storiche di Piersilvestra Leopardi*, p. 6.

The most magnificent ceremony of all was reserved for the reception of the Neapolitan troops returning from Germany, when the army quartered in the city gave a banquet to that just arrived, among whom were General Ambrosio, who had been wounded in the battle of Bautzen, General Macdonald, wounded at Lützen, and Generals Gennaro and Florestano Pepe, wounded at Dantzig.

Meanwhile, Italy, after an interval of ten years, was again open to travellers, and was crowded with English and distinguished visitors from other countries, who either came there from curiosity, or were sent to examine the state of the people and their governments, especially of Naples, the possession of which was disputed by two kings. Every foreigner of distinction or rank was admitted to the palace ; and by the attractions of the place itself, the courteous manners of the nobles, and the studied flatteries of the ministers of the Crown (which were lavished on every one who came there, whether persons to whom they were indifferent, or even enemies), all were attached to Joachim and his cause. When partaking of the amusements of the chase and of a country life, the courtiers were ordered to wear a uniform with the colours of the House of Murat, thereby implying domestic servitude ; yet I have seen free and haughty Englishmen and noble Germans among them, the very men who were in the habit of using the most contemptuous epithets when speaking of the new kings, and who, though neither asked nor obliged to adopt this costume, were yet proud of wearing it. The Queen of England (at that time Princess of Wales) arrived in Naples, and was welcomed in the palace with all the honours to be expected by one of her high rank, and because Joachim rested his hopes in the policy of the English Government ; while she, when thanking him for his gracious reception, expressed her respect for the reigning sovereign.

During one of these fêtes, held in the apartments of the queen of Murat at Portici, news arrived from Vienna that the Queen of Sicily, Caroline of Austria, had died in the Castle of Hetzendorf, on the evening of the 7th September of that year (1814). Her death was so unexpected, that she had neither medical assistance nor the consolations of religion ; for she was found dead, quite alone, half reclining on a chair, and in a forced attitude, her mouth open as if trying to speak, and her hand stretched out towards a

bell, which she could not reach, because strength and voice to call for aid appear to have failed her. She was believed to have died of mortification that the cause of Joachim was at that time more favoured in the Congress than hers ; and because, on the previous day, when her ministers were stating the claims of the House of Bourbon to the throne of Naples, they had been reminded in reply of the cruelties practised there in 1799 ; besides which an indiscreet courtier, a few hours before her death, repeated an observation of the Emperor of Russia, which, whether true or false, was circulated in Vienna : " It is impossible to restore the butcher king (Ferdinand) to the throne of Naples, now that the interests of the people are to be considered." Caroline had survived to the age of sixty-two, forty-six years of which had been passed upon a throne. History records of her, deeds of greatness as well as cruelty ; for though tyrannical in her disposition, she had a lofty spirit. Honoured in foreign palaces, magnificent in her own, brilliant and full of talents, she won the admiration of her subjects in the early part of her reign ; but on the breaking out of the French Revolution, a spirit of revenge and fear awoke within her, and she became unjust and cruel ; she persecuted men of virtue, and both prompted and countenanced actions of the utmost turpitude, as long as they were committed in the support of despotism. She first excited the suspicions of her husband against his own subjects, organized a system of espionage, police, and tribunals of state ; her advice caused unjust wars to arise, followed by hollow treaties, false oaths, and perjury ; she ordered a great part of the cruelties of 1799 ; and the civil discords which afflicted the kingdom for eight years, were begun and fomented by her ; while Fra Diavolo, Canosa, Guariglia, and other low wretches, rested their hopes in her, for the accomplishment of their ambitious designs. The end of her guilty life was wept by none ; she died in the midst of a congress of kings ; and the Emperor of Austria,[1] unwilling to dim the lustre of the gaiety within the city, forbade mourning. Thus fate denied her memory even the semblance of grief. But in the palace of Murat the two sovereigns went into retirement, and the festivities were broken up, as it would not have accorded with Joachim's dignity to allow the joy he felt at the death of his enemy to transpire.

[1] Francis I., nephew of Caroline, and son of her brother Leopold.

Other and more prosperous news reached Joachim. By certain new conditions of alliance concluded at Troyes, before the fall of Bonaparte, Austria, Russia, Prussia, and England had pledged themselves to compensate to King Ferdinand of Sicily for the loss of dominion in Naples, by bestowing on him territory in Italy. By another deed concluded later, at Chaumont, these potentates confirmed the conditions of alliance between Austria and Joachim. Afterwards, in the Congress of Vienna, when the sovereigns were discussing the question of Poland, Russia and Prussia were on one side, Austria, France, and England on the other; while both parties endeavoured by flattery to obtain the suffrage of absent princes; Russia, through her ambassador, proposed to enter into a league with the King of Naples, and Francis I. wrote to Joachim, thus temporizing with one party while siding with another, according to the usual policy of Austria.

But fortune soon changed. The various disputes of the Congress were reconciled. King Joachim was accused of having failed in his engagements during the war of Italy, was suspected of new plots and schemes of ambition, and was attacked by the minister of France, Talleyrand, who, besides being influenced by his duty as an ambassador, was eager to show his hatred, and thus expiate the services he had performed for Napoleon and his family; and gain the million of francs promised him by King Ferdinand, in reward for the throne of Naples. Joachim, thus harassed on all sides, had ceased to trust to the Austrian alliance, when he received information that his representatives at Vienna had been slighted, while the representatives of the king his enemy had been admitted to the conferences. Prince Metternich signified what were the compensations to be offered to Joachim, instead of to his rival. The King of France was prepared to take up arms in support of the claims of the lawful King of the Sicilies; and the Italian Princes exaggerated their fears of a neighbour so powerful and ambitious, and so accustomed to wars and revolutions as Murat. Reduced therefore to rely on his own strength, he determined to increase it, and thus gave rise to new suspicions, and new subjects of dispute. France and Italy meanwhile were daily more discontented with their new rulers, and alarmed the Congress by menaces, and attempts at insurrection. The Emperor of Austria requested Joachim to restore the

Marches to the Pope, and Joachim, in reply, reminded the emperor of the secret conditions of their league, and at the same time strengthened his authority in these provinces, by adding more garrisons, and proposed to increase the fortifications of Ancona. While the Emperor of Austria punished conspirators, and those who refused to submit to his rule in the States of Milan and Venice, the king welcomed the fugitives and deserters into his kingdom, and organized them into a regiment. When the Pope complained of the secret intrigues of the Neapolitan consul, Cavaliere Zuccheri, the king apologized for him ; and when the plot was discovered, and the Pope threatened the consul with punishment, he himself in his turn was threatened by the king, who advanced more troops upon the Roman frontier, and sent Maghella, one of his ministers, into the Marches, to excite the people against Pius by underhand practices of the police and Carbonari. Bonaparte from the Island of Elba, now communicated in friendly terms with his brother-in-law and sister ; and the Princess Pauline Borghese visited Naples, and returned to Elba ; while other personages of less distinction but more dangerous, arrived from Longone and Paris, in disguise, at Murat's palace ; they were, however, suspected by the ambassadors of the allied sovereigns, as they placed no confidence in the ministers of the Court of Naples, who vainly endeavoured, by various dishonest means, to conceal what was going forward. The Congress of Vienna was, however, informed of everything, and continued as distrustful of Joachim, as Joachim was of the Congress.

The king thus passed several months in the palace, but though outwardly gay, he was inwardly agitated ; he continued, however, active and indefatigable in his labours. During this time, news arrived of the marriage of Ferdinand of Sicily with one of his subjects, Lucia Migliaccio, the widow of the Prince of Partanna, and the mother of a large family. She was of noble descent, but a woman of vulgar mind and immoral character. Both Ferdinand and the lady having become free about the same time, they were privately married in the chapel of the palace, fifty days after the death of Caroline of Austria had been made public, and while the funeral obsequies of the deceased queen were yet performing in the churches of the island, and in several of the cities.

News likewise arrived of other events in Sicily. King Ferdinand had resumed the government, and had sworn to the constitution of the year 1812. He had opened, dissolved, and re-opened the Parliament, and in his speech assumed the language of a sovereign desirous of the good of his people, and resolved to observe and maintain the new form of government. Sicily rejoiced, and the good news reported and exaggerated by fame, increased in us the desire and hope of a better government. The Carbonari broke out in insurrections, and Joachim, alarmed lest the feeling of so many against him should destroy the appearance of unanimity produced by the addresses, mollified or pretended to mollify his resentment, and proposed an accommodation with the Carbonari, which only served to encourage and embolden them. The moral condition of the Two Sicilies was doubly prejudicial to Murat; his power and credit were declining in Naples, while the power and credit of his enemy were increasing in Sicily. He who, a month before, had proclaimed free trade with the island, now perceiving the snares he had meant for his rival, turned against himself, issued new decrees, putting a stop to this commerce. King Ferdinand followed his example, and a state of hostility was renewed between Naples and Sicily.

CHAPTER V.

THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON ESCAPES FROM ELBA—JOACHIM DECLARES WAR IN ITALY—THE GERMANS CONQUER AND HE ABANDONS THE KINGDOM—FERDINAND OF BOURBON ASCENDS THE THRONE OF NAPLES.

THE Court festivities at the commencement of 1815 were more splendid, though less joyous than any preceding year; because under an appearance of security, Joachim vainly attempted to conceal the agitated state of his mind; nor could the outward respect paid him by the foreign ambassadors at his court, veil their secret dislike; doubt and uneasiness about the future, were therefore apparent amidst the gaieties of the palace. All wondered at the increasing preparations for war; there was greater and more stirring activity in the household, couriers were continually despatched, and the arrival and departure of strangers was more frequent than usual. And now, after some days of extraordinary excitement, news arrived that the Emperor Napoleon had embarked on the 26th of February at Porto Ferrajo, and accompanied by a thousand soldiers, was sailing in the direction of France. The messenger who brought Joachim the information of Napoleon's departure (the king being already acquainted with his design) reached Naples on the evening of the 4th March, when he was amusing himself with a few of his courtiers, ministers, and foreign ambassadors in the private apartments of the Queen. Joachim and Caroline were requested to pass into an adjoining room, but returning in a few minutes, joyfully communicated the tidings they had received, and broke up the company.[1]

[1] Le Comte Colonna portait à Murat des dépêches dans lesquelles Napoléon annonçait à son beau-frère son depart, ainsi que sa résolution de chasser les Bourbons, et lui proposait une traité d'alliance. L'empereur priait en outre Murat de mettre à la disposition de sa mère et de sa sœur Pauline, restées à l'île d'Elbe un vaisseau ou une frégate, qui pût les transporter à France.—*Vaulabelle, Histoire des Deux Restaurations*, vol. ii., Note, p. 184.

The next day, the king despatched special messengers with letters to the Courts of Austria and England, by which he declared, that whatever might be the future destinies of the Emperor Napoleon, whether fortunate or unfortunate, he, true to his line of policy, would continue faithful to the alliance he had formed: these declarations were intended to mislead, as in his secret heart he entertained very opposite intentions. He mistrusted Austria and the Congress, and remembering her menaces, and how she had failed in her promises towards him, he confided in the success of Bonaparte, and already fancied he saw him upon his throne, in power, and once more taking the lead in Europe. His heart smote him, as he recollected the recent injuries to France, caused by the war of Italy, and he hoped to atone for his share, by aiding his brother-in law in his bold enterprise. But in the midst of these thoughts arose his own ambitious schemes on Italy, and he desired to seize this opportunity of making himself powerful, so that he should be able, after the event, to stipulate for terms with Austria or France, whichever should prove the conqueror. Should he succeed in taking the Germans by surprise, he had nothing to fear from the English, with whom the armistice still continued, or from the allies, who would be wholly engaged with the war of France. He trusted fortune would supply any deficiency in his schemes, and found an answer for all objections suggested by prudence, in the recollections of his past life.

But his ministers, his councillors, his friends, and his queen demurred; and their doubts induced him to summon a council, not with the intention of being guided by the opinion of others, but in the hope of gaining them over to his own, persuading all to consent to the war, and by putting an end to opposition carry the resolution by a unanimous vote. He then explained for the first time, and perhaps exaggerated, his apprehensions of the Congress, and the hopes and intrigues carrying on in Italy; he stated the army to consist of eighty thousand soldiers, besides fourteen battalions of militia in the provinces, four thousand custom-house officers, two thousand *gardes-forestales*, or keepers of the forest, and a very numerous band of urban militia; in short, that the whole kingdom was in arms. He affirmed that Italy on either side of

the Po was prepared to rise in his favour, and he cited the names of his adherents, and the number of their forces; he assured his audience that one of his friends had enlisted twelve regiments, and had twelve thousand muskets in readiness; that another, residing at some distance from the first, would supply provisions for four regiments; and that a third, whose name he could not mention, but who was a person of high rank and wealth, was bringing along with him the greater part of what once formed the army of Italy, with the intention of uniting them with the Neapolitan, for the common cause of independence. This promised aid had been exaggerated by the partisans of Joachim, and was only half believed in by himself, but his council either rejected the whole statement or accepted it with allowance.

The king next observed that in the present excited state of Europe, the army ought not to be diminished, and yet could not be maintained upon the revenue of Naples; it would therefore be necessary either to impose fresh taxes, or to allow the army to draw its sustenance from other lands and people. Alluding next to the present condition of Europe, he described the dangers to which political liberty was exposed, a danger not alone feared but already proved by experience, and pointed to the condition of all the states of Italy as an example. The retrograde movement in Piedmont; the Republic of Genoa, the dupe and victim of tyranny; the kingdom of Italy dissolved; the Lombards reduced to an abject condition; the whole of the ancient states of Rome threatened with Papal barbarism, and even torture restored in Rome itself. "We might," he added with a sigh, "have allied ourselves with the enemies of Bonaparte, had they guaranteed to us that their only desire was to curb the power of France, not to subdue her, and to ameliorate the condition of her people; and if the kings of the old dynasties had been more accessible to reason, and had not rejected the fruit of thirty years' labour, and the wisdom of two centuries. But now that the policy of the Congress had become apparent, it would be a crime against injured liberty to fight on their side.

All these arguments and hopes could not, however, seduce the council, which was composed of Neapolitans and French, and who considered war dangerous to France, and still more dangerous

to Naples, and believed Joachim to be influenced by his wishes rather than by his reason, and by ambition rather than the policy which should guide a king of Italy; they therefore resolved to await answers from Vienna and London to the letters of the 5th instant, in order to discover the real intentions of Austria respecting the throne of Naples, now that time and events were pressing; and the end of Bonaparte's enterprise, with the decision of the European Congress on the affairs of France. After passing this resolution the council broke up; but the warlike intentions of the king were unaltered, the preparations were urged forwards, the new laws for the reform of the kingdom were suffered to fall into neglect, while the hope of a constitution faded away, and all the expected measures for the public welfare were at an end or laid aside: a great danger was impending over the State. When the king declared his purpose, the opposition increased and was openly expressed, but all in vain; the destiny of Murat was hastening to its completion, and on the 15th March 1815, war was declared.

The plan of campaign was kept secret by Joachim, and only communicated to us in the course of time. The army destined for this enterprise, although reported at fifty thousand soldiers, was in reality only thirty-five thousand, with five thousand horse, and sixty cannon. This exaggeration of their numbers proceeded from Murat's habit of duplicity, and from his desire to encourage the Italian people, among whom he hoped for partisans. The army could not well have been larger, because a considerable number of troops were required at home for the defence of the kingdom against the expected attacks and intrigues of the King of Sicily, and because the Neapolitan militia was not in reality so strong as Joachim affirmed, nor were all its soldiers available for war. The army destined for active service was divided into two corps; the guards, and the troops of the line. The first was formed in two legions, one of infantry and one of cavalry; six thousand men: the second into four legions, one of cavalry and three of infantry; twenty-nine thousand. Generals Pignatelli-Strongoli, and Livron commanded the legions of the guards; Generals Carrascosa, D'Ambrosio, Lecchi, and Rossetti, those of the line; General Millet was head of the staff, General Colletta of the engineers, and General Pedrinelli of the artillery; the king held the chief command.

The artillery, sappers, and cavalry, all of whom require to be men of scientific education, and with long experience in war, were not as efficient as the infantry. Of the infantry, three regiments were composed of men taken from the dungeons and galleys; ten out of the twenty-five generals, and thirteen out of the twenty-seven colonels, were French, and the recent dissensions between foreigners and natives had left the germs of reciprocal hatred and suspicion. Discipline was weak and variable, there was a scarcity of weapons, the administrative departments were filled by officers who were not trustworthy, and the treasury was empty; while it was hoped that its deficiencies would be supplied by the tribute to be exacted from the conquered countries.

On the 22d March the troops, formed into two corps, started; the two legions of the guards by the way of Rome, and the four other legions by the Marches. They asked a passage through the dominions of the Pontiff, but were refused; the request was repeated, but again in vain. The army meantime advanced by Frascati, Albano, Tivoli, and Foligno, and the Pope then either fearing plots against himself, or wishing to feign a danger which did not exist, appointed a regency, and hastily fled to Florence, and thence to Genoa. He was followed by many of the cardinals, and was afterwards joined by Charles IV., King of Spain, and other celebrated personages. This hurried flight, although proceeding from party zeal or ambition, was attributed to necessity and prudence. The pious feelings of the people were roused on beholding Rome deserted, the priests fugitives in the Holy Week, and the sacred ceremonies, which had commenced, interrupted. But the Neapolitan army refrained from approaching the city, and respecting the pontifical government wherever they passed, paid a fair price for their provisions, and maintained a strict discipline.

King Joachim proceeded to Ancona to provide better for the war, and ordered his representatives at the Congress to repeat his former protestations of fidelity, while confirming the conditions of alliance with Austria, but to explain that amidst so many chances of war, he considered it necessary for the safety of his dominions, to advance his army towards the Po. This attempt to deceive was now vain, for to the former suspicions of his want of faith, was now added the discovery of his dealings with the rebels of Lom-

bardy, his assistance in the escape of Bonaparte, his joy at his success, which he had vainly attempted to conceal, his incautious observations, the increase of his army, and its march northwards. The Emperor of Austria accordingly prepared for war, and sent fresh troops into Italy, with General Frimont at their head, on whom Generals Bianchi, Mohr, Neipperg, and Wied were to depend for orders. The army consisted of forty-eight thousand infantry, and seven thousand cavalry, with a train of sixty-four cannon. The main force was encamped behind the Po, and the lesser half on the opposite bank, the regiments being advanced *en échelon* as far as Cesena. General Nugent commanded a small brigade in Tuscany; four bridges across the Po, at Piacenza, Borgoforte, Occhiobello, and Lagoscuro, were fortified and defended by Germans; and every other position on the river was occupied by them, and rendered impassable. Small detachments guarded the valley of Comacchio and the bridge of Goro. The ground behind the Po was defended by the fortresses of Pizzighettone, Mantua, and Legnano, and this front or curtain had, as outlying bastions, the remaining fortresses of Alessandria and Ferrara. The German army therefore occupied the strongest positions; the fortifications, behind which they were placed, serving as a formidable line of defence, or in case the fortunes of war changed, constituting a base of operations against the Neapolitans.

War was proclaimed on the 30th March. A decree of Joachim annexed the provinces of the Marches, and the districts of Urbino, Pesaro, and Gubbio to his kingdom; thus extending his frontiers from the Tronto to the Foglia; another edict intended to rouse the warlike ardour of the soldiers, designated the Austrians as their enemies, assigned the faithlessness of the Austrian government as a motive for war, and its object, the independence of Italy: while a third edict addressed to the Italian people, enumerated their wrongs, reminded them of the blessing of independence, promised them a free constitution, informed them that eighty thousand Neapolitans had gone forth to battle, and invited the strong to arm themselves, and the experienced to give their advice; hatred, revenge, hope, and ambition were alike excited. But to this invitation to join in the cause of Italian independence, was appended the signature of the French General Millet, after the French name of Murat.

While these edicts were circulating throughout Italy, the legion of General Carrascosa, which formed the vanguard of the army, attacked Cesena, where 2500 Austrians were quartered. Cesena, though surrounded by walls, could not resist artillery, and invested by the gate of Rimini, on the side next the river, it was, after a short contest, abandoned by its defenders, who, retiring in good order by the gate of Cervia, reached Forlì, and proceeded thence to Imola and Bologna. On the 22d April, the Neapolitans arrived before this last mentioned city, which was defended by nine thousand Germans under General Bianchi. The second Neapolitan legion was at Imola, the third at Forlì, many miles distant from one another, so that had Bianchi with his superior numbers attacked the first legion, victory would probably have been his; but either impelled by prudence, or in obedience to orders, he abandoned the place, sending three thousand of his men to Cento, and conducting six thousand more towards Modena. That same day the Neapolitans entered Bologna, and shut themselves up there, to wait the arrival of their comrades.

On the fourth, the first legion proceeded in the direction of Modena, the second in that of Cento, and the third reached Bologna. The first encountered the enemy at Anzola and drove him behind the Samoggia, and thence behind the Panaro, a tributary of the Po, which they crossed by a bridge called Sant' Ambrosio, at that time well fortified and provided with cannon and soldiers, who lined the banks for a considerable distance. The Neapolitans reached the river in order of battle; and, hoping to take the right wing of the enemy by surprise, and increase his embarrassment and danger, General Carrascosa sent a battalion by unfrequented paths to Spilimberto, where the wide pebbly bed of the river could be easily forded; he gave orders, that when the officer in command was informed that the battle was at its height, he should march in all haste to the attack. The general himself meantime proposed to advance with his principal forces upon the same side, and attack the enemy on his right flank.

But the king, just then arrived on the field, and eager for glory, suspended these oblique movements, and advanced to the assault in the face of the enemy: three times he attacked the bridge, and three times the assailants returned defeated. General Pepe forded

the river with two battalions, and encountering superior forces, was attacked in his turn, and could with difficulty withstand the enemy's charge. General Carrascosa observing his danger, reached the opposite bank with another squadron, but being also overpowered by superior forces, could only escape by seeking refuge in the river under an arch of the bridge. General Gennaro, hastening to the assistance of both, was obliged to retreat, and failed in his object. The noise of the battle reaching the battalion at Spilimberto, they, in obedience to orders, advanced towards the enemy, and were many of them cut down, and others killed or taken prisoners. The whole line was engaged, but fortune proving adverse to the Neapolitans, it became necessary to storm the bridge.

The king confided this task to General Filangieri, providing him with infantry, cavalry, and artillery, which the general ranged in columns, whilst bringing a number of cannon to bear upon the defences of the bridge. These were soon discomposed, and when an opening was perceived, he ordered the column of cavalry, which stood prepared, to cross the bridge, he himself leading the way, and followed by twenty-four mounted soldiers. He charged upon the bank defended by a large body of the enemy, and by his unexpected arrival, threw them into disorder, vanquished them, and proceeded onwards. But the column which was to have seconded his movement did not stir; for General Fontaine, who commanded, disobeyed orders, either from pusillanimity, or because (like a true Frenchman) he was envious of another's glory. The Germans, observing the small number of their assailants, fired on them, and while some of them fell, the rest retreated, leaving only eight with the general, who, certain of approaching succour, fought on valiantly; but at last, as no aid arrived, all nine fell, covered with wounds; eight were killed, and Filangieri was left for dead, having been severely wounded.

The king hastened to cross the bridge with as many infantry and cavalry as he could muster; upon which, the enemy, already diminished in numbers by the killed, and dispirited by the impetuous although unsuccessful charge of a small squadron of cavalry, sounded a retreat; the Neapolitan battalions, which had remained so long upon the defensive, on the bank of the river, and General

Carrascosa, with his little troop, returned with fresh vigour to the attack and killed many of the enemy, besides taking many prisoners. They succeeded in preventing General Stefanini, who had been wounded, from uniting his battalions with the main body, and might have taken him prisoner, had their horses been less exhausted, and had the daylight continued longer, and thus admitted of their continuing the fight. The Germans passed through Modena, and the Neapolitans, in pursuit, entered the city, and remained there. In this long, but ill-arranged battle, the enemy lost one thousand soldiers killed, wounded, and prisoners; and we six hundred. The possibility of General Filangieri's death, and the certainty that he was disabled for the rest of the campaign, was lamented by all, and was a loss to the Neapolitan army.

That day and the two following, the second Neapolitan legion were engaged in the siege of Ferrara, and one thousand Germans, who were in garrison in the city, repaired to the citadel; the third legion entered Cento and San Giovanni; while the first, without opposition, occupied Reggio, Carpi, and all the country between the Panaro and the Secchia. At dawn on the seventh, the second legion invested the bridge of Occhiobello, which was protected by strong works and a large body of soldiers. The attack failed, and the Neapolitans derived no further advantage from the conflict, which lasted a whole day, than that of forcing the enemy back to the head of the bridge. The next day they became aware that it required guns of larger calibre to storm the place, field artillery not being sufficient. But the impetuous temper of the king, and his impatience for instant victory would not suffer any delay; and hoping that the enemy would only offer a feeble resistance, the legion attacked the fort six times, and was as often repulsed, with the loss of not a few men, with many officers wounded, and the king himself exposed to danger. Reports were studiously spread throughout Italy proclaiming and magnifying the loss and risks incurred in these two days, but with no result. The legion encamped where the battle had been fought, and waited the arrival of more heavy artillery, while the king returned to Bologna, where fresh anxieties awaited him, both for the fate of the war and of his kingdom.

It was here he learned what had become of the two legions of

the guards, which had been sent to Tuscany under Generals Pignatelli-Strongoli, and Livron. The generals were equal in rank and authority, and had to act in concert, neither of them to take precedence of the other—a strange and novel idea in the composition of an army. These troops (six thousand infantry and cavalry) reached Florence on the 7th and 8th of April, having lost a whole day by the way; a serious delay in the midst of war. They were ordered to cross Tuscany and rouse the people in their behalf, by their presence and words engage the Tuscan army to join ours in the cause of Italy, attack and conquer the small body of Germans led by General Nugent, and thus spreading the news of their advance, and with increased numbers, proceed to Pistoia and Modena. As the first Neapolitan squadrons entered Florence, the Grand Duke Ferdinand III. repaired to Pisa, and General Nugent, with three thousand soldiers, to Pistoia: but one thousand of his men were Tuscans, who had been forced against their will to join the Germans. As an ultimate means of escape, the ships were made ready at Leghorn, for General Nugent could not hope to offer resistance to an army twice his own numbers.

The Neapolitans having lost another day in Florence, were proceeding on the 9th in the direction of Pistoia, when they encountered a handful of Germans at Campi, and put them to flight. A larger number were at Prato, who, after some resistance, retreated in good order. The Neapolitans gave two whole days to a short march of ten Tuscan miles. On the morning of the 11th, the legions approached Pistoia. Pistoia is an ancient city of Italy, surrounded by a wall; but owing to many defects in its original structure, and the negligence occasioned by a long peace, it was incapable of offering any resistance. The Germans had continued there less for purposes of defence than shelter, and were ready to abandon the city when their videttes should apprise them of the approach of the Neapolitans. But after a march of only six miles, our troops unexpectedly halted, to wait the movements of the enemy and the return of their scouts. The Germans meanwhile remained in their quarters, and were congratulating themselves on their unhoped for repose, when vague and false rumours reached the Neapolitans that they were busied throwing up new works, and that after leaving a sufficient garrison in the city, and a consider-

able reserve in Pescia, they intended to march with two large and powerful squadrons by Reggio, and attack us in the rear at Caiano and Fucecchio. The generals believing these reports, raised the camp at Prato, and retired to Florence.

Joachim learned these events in Bologna, and perceived that the guards, who formed the reserve of his army, would probably fail him in his hour of greatest need. A few days before, when on the Po, attacking Occhiobello, he had received a despatch from Lord William Bentinck, dated the 5th April, Turin, in which the Englishman haughtily informed him, "That in virtue of the conditions of the European confederation, and of the war begun by the king against Austria without motive or challenge, he, considering that the armistice between Naples and England had been broken, should aid Austria with all his forces by land and by sea." These menaces were the more alarming for Joachim from the state of his kingdom, and the hostile preparations of the King of Sicily. The hope of a revolution in Italy had likewise vanished, for the edicts and speeches of the king had only produced promises, applause, poetic effusions, and popular orations, but neither arms nor action; thus furnishing much future work for the police, and nothing for the war. The twelve and the four regiments he had been promised were mere gasconades, and had no reality; a register was opened for volunteers, but scarcely a name was inscribed. Those who had been detained prisoners by the Germans for political offences or on suspicion, and had been liberated by us, returned quietly to their homes, their spirits subdued rather than excited by their capture. Our confidence that the armies of Italy would join us was now wholly past, since a regiment of Modenese had joined the German forces of Bianchi, and two Tuscan regiments the Germans under Nugent. But neither these alliances nor he hostility shown towards the Neapolitans, were voluntary; they were owing to the peculiar circumstances of the times, and to a calculation of risks and the chances of success, all tending to encourage a life of retirement and repose, and inimical to daring enterprise and revolutions. Therefore the risings in Italy in 1814, which had induced Joachim's advisers to hasten forward their measures, were now looked upon as an offence and an injury to all. The Neapolitans would indeed be less unhappily situated if

they loved freedom as well as they profess, or if, on the other hand, their words and inclinations were equally servile.

Considerations of so serious a nature, and this unexpected turn of affairs, induced the king again to call a council of his ministers and generals; for he always made the mistake of asking advice from his subordinates when in adversity, thus diminishing their confidence in him when most needed, and their obedience when it should have been most unhesitating; and he likewise inevitably excited some to differ from him, and, I may almost say, to hope for a defeat, in order to prove their superior wisdom, and to throw blame on those who had been of an opposite opinion. The king informed the council of his original project, reminded them of his first successes, and of the failure of the expedition to Tuscany, of England having broken the truce, and of the Italian people and his partisans having betrayed their promises; he next described the numbers and position of his army, and all he knew concerning that of Austria, the hostile preparations of the King of Sicily, and the commotions within the kingdom; after which he asked them to give their advice freely. They answered, that the army was scattered over a space of one hundred Italian miles between Reggio, Carpi, and Ravenna, without a second line or reserve, and so that a single attack or accident of fortune might decide the war; besides, the enemy's forces and position were much stronger than ours; therefore they were of opinion, that we should only retain the places now occupied by our troops so long as to allow time to send back the sick and the baggage; and without resigning our first intention, we should seek another field of operations, and ground better adapted to oppose superior numbers.

After the council had broken up, the king ordered the three legions to fortify their camps, and refrain from attacking, or, if attacked, keep skirmishing with the enemy, but not engage in battle. The guards, who were wasting their time in Tuscany, were to return by the shortest road by Arezzo and San Sepolcro; new ground to be selected, where the Apennines approach the Adriatic Sea, and where their last slopes skirt the shore; and all the useless baggage of the army to be collected in Ancona.

The Germans, on the left bank of the Po, had been reinforced by fresh troops which had been sent in all haste from Germany,

so that the 24,000 soldiers at the beginning of the war were doubled in three weeks; they increased the numbers and provisions of their garrisons in all the fortresses beyond the Po, and Venice laboured at her defences; all which solicitude proceeded from the extravagant fears Austria entertained of an Italian revolution, in which Joachim had likewise placed too much confidence. The German army therefore were surprised at our delay, but as soon as they learned the cause, they attacked Carpi, which was defended by 3000 Neapolitans under General William Pepe. The first attack failed, but the Germans returned to the city with increased numbers, and took it by storm. They captured four hundred of our men, and killed a hundred more, losing nearly as many on their side, and they then pursued General Pepe for a considerable distance, as he was retreating in disorder towards Modena. The Neapolitan camp at Reggio was exposed to danger by the fall of Carpi; but the king advancing the legion, which was in Cento, upon Mirandola, the enemy menacing his flank, halted; and the troops from Reggio joining those in Modena, they retreated in a body, and encamped behind the Panaro. The third legion then abandoned Mirandola and returned to their former quarters, and the enemy, upon the recovery of so much ground, resumed courage and prepared to take the offensive; five days, however, elapsed without any fighting.

On the 15th April, a Neapolitan regiment, with a small squadron of cavalry, encamped at Spilimberto, being carelessly guarded, were attacked and taken so much by surprise, that there was no time for resistance or to draw off their forces; they therefore fled in all haste, leaving a few prisoners, and arrived in disorder at Sant' Ambrogio, to seek shelter behind the first legion. With the fall of Spilimberto, the enemy gained possession of both banks of the Panaro, which was no longer defended by the Neapolitan army. The movements suggested by the council held at Bologna had meanwhile been effected; the hospitals and magazines had been emptied; stores of provisions and field equipage prepared; and the king ordered the first legion to encamp behind the Reno, the second to march by Budrio and Lugo to Ravenna, and the third by Cotignola to Forlì. The Germans, emboldened by the easy successes of the morning, attacked the first legion upon

the Reno at mid-day. The soldiers, who had fled at Spilimberto, now formed part of this legion, and demanded eagerly to be led out to battle; and General Carrascosa, while still further exciting their generous feeling of shame at their late defeat, ordered them to advance to the encounter of the enemy, over whom they were now victorious. But as the Germans were soon afterwards reinforced, half the legion ranged themselves between the enemy and the river, while the other half remained in reserve on the opposite bank. The German infantry attacked them three times, and were as often repulsed; a fourth and more impetuous charge was made by the Hungarian horse, which was likewise repulsed and forced into flight. After three hours' fighting, the Neapolitans still maintained their ground, and the Germans removed to a distance of some miles. The former had lost fifty killed, and the latter upwards of two hundred. The king repaired in the night to Imola, and the army, having abandoned Bologna, retreated, without further molestation from the enemy.

Joachim remained one day at Imola, where he learnt that the whole German army was destined to carry on an offensive war against him, and if successful, to proceed to the conquest of the kingdom. Further, that the 46,000 soldiers, of which their army was composed, were divided into two corps; General Bianchi, at the head of the first, consisting of 30,000 men, was marching along the Florentine road; while the second corps, consisting of 16,000 men, under the command of General Neipperg, was in pursuit of us by the Strada Emilia; and that Frimont was supplanted by Bianchi as commander-in-chief during the ensuing campaign. This information sufficed to explain the intentions of the enemy; believing that Joachim would withdraw his army, and that despairing of success he would avoid further battle, and only seek for safety, it was proposed that Neipperg with his troops should harass his flight, while Bianchi should reach the Tronto before him, and thus having enclosed him between two hostile armies, either take him prisoner, or defeat him in a general engagement.

The king, on his side, rejoiced at perceiving the armies of the enemy divided by the chain of the Apennines, and that though his numbers were inferior to those of Bianchi, they were considerably superior to those of Neipperg; and that while Bianchi and Neip-

perg were advancing by exterior lines, the Neapolitan army, remaining in a compact body in the centre, was at liberty to attack either. But in order to derive the most advantage from these errors of the enemy, it became necessary to engage each corps when at the greatest distance from the other, and to fight Bianchi before Neipperg. This view proved correct, when, in the vicinity of Macerata, Bianchi found himself on the descent of the mountains towards Tolentino, and Neipperg on the opposite plains of the Cesano, while we occupied a strong position in the centre with Ancona on our flank. We did not attempt to secure the heights of Colfiorito and Camerino, though strong points of defence, because the object of this campaign was not to detain the enemy, but to conquer him, delay being adverse to us; besides, had we taken possession of these heights, the German army would have been able to unite, and Ancona would have been too far off to afford us any succour.

Our aim then was Macerata, but to reach it imposed twenty hard days' march on the Neapolitans. The king did not disclose his plan to any one, except his chief engineer, on whom he enjoined secrecy, and on whose skill he depended to reconnoitre the ground for battle, as well as that to be crossed by the troops, in order to regulate the march, so that the army might reach Macerata just before Bianchi arrived at Tolentino, and Neipperg at the Cesano; a day sooner or later would have marred the full completion of his plan. In these movements geometric precision was required, and so effectually maintained, that the retreat from the Po, which is now either not understood or ridiculed, would have been cited as an example of strategy, had our good fortune been equal to the wisdom with which it was planned.

The army marched from Imola to Faenza, thence to Forlì, thence to Cesena, without meeting the enemy, because Neipperg was only watching their movements, and followed them at a distance. Information had been received that the guards were on their way to Foligno, for their generals, always more and more ready to credit false reports, and to believe in the reality of the threatening attitude purposely assumed by General Nugent, abandoned Florence, and by their hurried departure, the king's despatches, and an officer of his household, who was conveying

them, fell into the hands of the enemy. These two legions were retreating by Arezzo and Perugia, by long day's marches, without the honour of having performed a single feat in arms, or having conquered or been defeated, and feeling themselves disgraced by the conduct of their leaders. In order to wait their arrival, and give General Bianchi time for his long march, the king made his army pause behind the Ronco, encamping the vanguard at Forlimpopoli, the centre between Bertinoro and the Savio, and placing the reserve in Cesena and Cesenatico.

Thus two days passed. On the morning of the third, Neipperg unmasked a battery of twelve cannons placed upon the banks of the Ronco, and caused two battalions, one of infantry and one of cavalry, to ford the stream; they were immediately attacked by superior numbers, and forced to retreat, leaving forty dead or wounded, and thirty prisoners. Soon afterwards, at a late hour in a dark night, and at a short distance from the Neapolitan camp, seven German battalions and two squadrons of horse leisurely forded the river; the first battalion which reached the bank, formed in square, and the other six followed their example. As soon as the cavalry joined them, they were all ranged in order of battle, but were discovered by a patrol from the camp; Major Malchevski, therefore, a Polish officer in the Neapolitan service, and a bold and skilful soldier, laid a scheme to deceive the enemy, who had come with the intention of deceiving us. He conducted one of his battalions stealthily to the right of the Germans, and ranged them *en marteau*[1] in the middle of the river; he then led a second battalion and three hundred horse, shouting, firing off their muskets, and clashing their arms, to attack the enemy's front, which they found in part prepared, and part still upon the road. Though taken by surprise, they defended themselves, until, not being able from the darkness to distinguish our lines from their own, they fell into disorder, and hearing the sounds of battle before, behind, and on either side, mistook their own fire for that of the enemy; their lines were at length broken, and they recrossed the river in confusion, fighting still as they

[1] *Ranger en marteau.* A formation used by Napoleon, by which the troops were placed in the form of a hammer, those behind as the handle, deploying as they advanced to the front.

retreated; they were stopped by falling in below with the detachment of the Neapolitan battalion lying in ambuscade in the water; and mistaking them for friends, they approached with confidence, but giving the countersign, discovered themselves to be Germans, and were answered by shots, by which many were killed or wounded. Five hundred perished, while hardly fifty fell on our side; the discomfited party numbered four thousand, and the conquerors one thousand four hundred men. But our success was solely owing to the darkness of the night and the daring prowess of Malchevski.

The king having been informed of this bold attempt on the part of the enemy, so unlike the caution of Neipperg, supposed that the German general could only have been forced to this by necessity, and, therefore, that the battle he so much desired would take place the following day. He could not well seek the enemy in his camp, because a retrograde movement would have led him further from the confines of his kingdom, and would have given time and facilities for the operations of Bianchi, the English, and the King of Sicily; but he hoped that Neipperg would attack him, and trusted for victory to his superior numbers and skill. He, therefore, raised his camp that same night from the banks of the Ronco, drew off the garrison from Forlimpopoli, and retreated, though in order of battle, displaying a part of his forces, while concealing the rest. The Germans were not deceived by this feint, and allowed the whole day of the expected battle to pass quietly away. At sunset the king sent one of his officers to Neipperg, who, under a pretence of proposing peace or a truce, was to try to discover in the camp itself, the cause of the bold manœuvre of the previous night, and of the extreme caution of the enemy during the day. The officer was immediately admitted, and entertained in the quarters of the German general, but could discover nothing, and returned to Joachim with courteous answers, though all terms of accommodation were refused.

As the Neapolitan army, in Cesena, already began to suffer from want of provisions, they were removed to Rimini. The disposition of the troops was altered; the first legion fell back to the rear, while the third occupied the centre, as their commander, General Lecchi, had shown signs of despondency, and as usual infected those under him with his ill-timed fears. Lecchi was a

Brescian, and had been distinguished in former wars in Italy and Spain, but with the alteration in years and circumstances, his courage had likewise undergone a change. The rearguard alone had, therefore, to fight the whole army of Neipperg, while the remainder of the Neapolitan army was to confront Bianchi, and an able leader and obedient troops were the more necessary. We continued two days at Rimini ; in which time General Napoletani, who had been left at Cesenatico with 1800 infantry and cavalry, was surprised by inferior forces, and driven from his cantonments, but having re-formed the fugitives at some distance from the enemy, returned to the charge, and recovered the position they had lost, though at the price of not a few casualties in killed and wounded, and three hundred prisoners. The general, without his uniform, and his rank only defined by his weapons and hat, fell in with a captain of Hungarian horse in one of the narrow streets of the village, and hardly had they recognised one another, before each called out to surrender. From words they proceeded to blows, and the general, though on foot, killed his enemy who was mounted. His troops that night broke up their quarters, and retiring behind the Rubicon, encamped near Rimini.

The whole Neapolitan army, marching, or halting, as the approach of General Bianchi, or stress of provisions, obliged them, moved from Rimini to Pesaro, thence to Fano, Sinigaglia, and on the 29th April reached Ancona ; on the 30th the king proceeded to Macerata, where the two legions of the guards had arrived the previous day, and who, on recognising him in the distance by his decorations, drew up as on parade, and welcomed him with shouts of joy, hoping that with him at their head, they would be able to redeem their disgraces in Tuscany, for which they at least were not responsible.

The day of the battle of Macerata, which had been longed for ever since Imola, had at length dawned. The disposition of the army of General Bianchi was as follows : sixteen thousand soldiers were encamped in Camerino and Tolentino ; four thousand were dispersed in Matelica, Fabriano, and over all the ground which slopes from the Apennines to Monte-Milone ; five thousand more, divided into three squadrons, under the command of General Nugent, were posted at Rieti, Ceperano, and Terracina, and along

the frontiers of the kingdom ; less to assist in the battle, than to rouse the people of the country, on whose fickleness, and the weakness of their new rulers, they still built hopes of conquest.

General Neipperg with thirteen thousand men guarded the course of the Metauro, occupied Pergola with a strong force, covered the slopes of the mountains, and advanced his posts to the Cesano. The remainder of the troops under Bianchi and Neipperg advanced from the Po, kept up the line of communication, or guarded the hospitals.

These German corps had divergent bases ; their head-quarters were at Tolentino and Fano, distant from one another about four long days' march ; the communication was kept up by Sassoferrato, over mountain paths. Macerata was the point aimed at by Bianchi, and Jesi by Neipperg ; the object of both, to surround the Neapolitan army and take them prisoners, or put them to the rout. The discipline maintained in all these troops was admirable, and their obedience implicit ; but while the inferior officers felt sure of victory, their superiors were yet doubtful.

The Neapolitans occupied the road between the Cesano and the Chienti ; the first legion faced Neipperg ; the other four were at Macerata, and a small garrison in Ancona. The whole army, consisting of 24,000 soldiers, was weak in discipline, a necessary consequence of the late disputes, and the easy temper of the king ; their spirits were too much depressed to be roused even by his address, written on the 29th April ; and where he informed them, that the wished-for battle was near, that the movements of the army which had up to that time had the appearance of a retreat, were in fact part of the plan of the campaign, and that the enemy who had been more numerous upon the Po, had been reduced on their march, so that victory was easy and certain. He further explained many of his plans and hopes, but failed in his endeavour to raise their spirits, as no credit was given to his words.

General Montigny, with three thousand men in the Abruzzi, was opposed to Nugent, and Generals Manhes and Pignatelli-Cerchiara, with the fourth legion of five thousand men, lined the rest of the frontier ; the fortresses within the kingdom were all garrisoned, although with insufficient numbers ; the militia was ordered out, and though the people yet wavered, they were prepared to

side with the strongest. The king's courage and that of his principal officers was as high as ever, though they indulged in no rash hopes. Joachim proposed to attack and defeat Bianchi, with four of his legions (sixteen thousand soldiers); to send two of these legions in pursuit of the vanquished troops; unite the other two with those under Carrascosa, and attack and annihilate Neipperg; surround the columns dispersed over the Apennines; and during the remainder of the battle direct his movements according as circumstances should render advisable. In his first attack on Bianchi his forces would be equal to those of the enemy, and in every succeeding attack they would be superior. The troops now around Macerata were disposed exactly as the Austrian and Piedmontese when routed at Millesimo; as the two armies of Wurmser, when defeated near Mantua; and as the four armies, so famous in history, whom the single army of the Great Frederic fought and conquered in Bohemia. But the result was different in our case.

The 1st May was spent in reconnoitring and preparing for the approaching battle. On the 2d, the legions of D'Ambrosio and Livron advanced from Macerata towards the enemy; the legion of Pignatelli-Strongoli remained in the city, as a reserve, the legion of Lecchi having arrived there from Filottrano; and Carrascosa faced Neipperg upon the Cesano. When our legions charged the Germans commanded by Bianchi, several of their number hastily quitted the vicinity of Macerata, and took refuge in the fields of Monte-Milone, between the Potenza and the Chienti, whence they were dislodged after a hard fight. But as they were disposed *en échelon*, their numbers increased as they retreated; so that as the Neapolitans advanced, they had to encounter greater fatigue and danger. One of our regiments, the third light troops, attacked a strong position in front, but, it being well guarded, they were repulsed; the king hastened to the spot, encouraged the men, and led them himself to meet the enemy; but they were again defeated and forced back. General D'Ambrosio was wounded; and the attack in front having thus proved a failure, we suddenly surrounded the position, and succeeded in gaining it. The Neapolitan troops advanced by a series of successes, until within sight of Tolentino, and as night came on, encamped on the field of battle. The Germans, who had fought valiantly in the

commencement, made only a feeble resistance during the remainder of the day; they lost six hundred men, half of whom were killed or wounded, and the other half prisoners. The Neapolitans had one hundred killed and wounded; the forces engaged were equal, eight thousand men on either side. The success of Joachim seemed a happy augury; couriers were despatched to Naples with the news, who exaggerated our victory, and to General Carrascosa, to bid him hold himself ready to attack Neipperg. Neipperg, meanwhile, ignorant from the distance, of what had taken place at Macerata, made no effort to send succour to his countrymen.

On the morning of the 3d, a thick fog covered everything, and concealed the two armies for a considerable time. Fresh German troops had arrived at Tolentino in the night, and on the other side, the legion of Strongoli had reached the camp, while that of Lecchi remained in Macerata, as it had been determined to send them against Neipperg; the king being of opinion that three legions were sufficient to conquer Bianchi. But when the mist cleared off, the enemy was perceived stronger than ever (sixteen thousand men at the very least), disposed along the hills which form a screen to the city; their right flank resting upon the Chienti, their left on a steep declivity, difficult of access, while their centre was protected in front by two mounds which almost projected into our lines. Our troops were ranged obliquely opposite the enemy; their left also rested upon the river, and their right on the mountain, twelve thousand soldiers. The king, however, was not discouraged in his hope of conquest over a superior enemy, and he therefore left the third legion in Macerata, while he began the attack.

He ordered that the Germans should be driven from the nearest heights, and they were accordingly quickly dislodged by the guards. The two wings of our line advanced, to co-operate better with the centre, and Bianchi perceiving this, called up an equal number of battalions from his right wing to reinforce his left, which was menaced and less strong; Joachim mistook this movement for the commencement of a retreat, but he soon discovered it to be a new disposition of the troops, and dangerous for us. The Germans were prepared for defence, and we for attack, but Joachim was less

elated than in the morning, and did not venture to engage; both armies therefore remained inactive, though on the alert, for two hours. The Germans at length advanced, and attacked those same heights which they had just before so feebly defended; the right wing supported the assault with vigour, the left, which was the pivot of the army, remained immoveable, as the enemy proposed to change his front and drive us into the valleys of the Potenza, occupy the main road, and cut us off from Macerata, Ancona, and the Abruzzi. But our battalions of the guards fought with so much valour, that the attacking columns were forced to form again three times, and we as often. The battle was sustained with equal prowess, and with alternate success, in the plain below. Here General Campana, who had fought bravely throughout that and the preceding day, was wounded, with many Neapolitans. The two armies had exchanged attitudes, as the Germans, finding it no longer necessary to act on the defensive, had become the assailants.

While the battle was still raging, the king sent orders to General Lecchi at Macerata to send half his legion to the right bank of the Chienti to reinforce our left wing, threaten the enemy's right, and occupy Tolentino. But Lecchi delayed their departure, and General Maio, who commanded the division which at last obeyed the king's orders, was timid and inexperienced, and lingered so long upon the road that the expected succour arrived too late. General Aquino, who after the brave General D'Ambrosio had been wounded, had taken the command of the second legion, doubting the success of this movement, or inclined to insubordination, refused to obey the command to advance his regiments, until forced, under threat of punishment, to submit. Although he had to pass over a rugged ground, difficult for infantry, and impassable for cavalry, he formed his men in squares, and sent forward three companies of light troops in detachments; these advancing as far as the plain, and neither supported nor recalled, were overwhelmed by the enemy's cavalry, and surrendered themselves without offering any resistance. The king having witnessed these losses, hastened with more impetuosity than prudence to avenge them; although during the previous *mêlée* he had looked on with indifference. He ordered the legion of Aquino to attack the left and

strongest flank of the enemy; and Aquino still marching his troops in squares through that rugged country, reached the plain in disorder. The enemy perceiving their condition, hastened to attack them, and they, aware they were taken at disadvantage, were panic-stricken. The first square was put to the rout after a short contest, and retreated without waiting for the word of command; refusing to obey their officers, they dispersed in all directions, and returned to the hilly ground; a second square followed the example of the first, while the other two, who were half way down the hill, were recalled. The troops, however, under cover of a powerful battery of cannon, were re-formed, but the enemy returned to his camp without sustaining any loss; we had a few men killed and wounded, and among the killed was the Duke Caspoli, of the king's household, who had hardly reached years of manhood, handsome, brave, and a favourite with the troops. But our greatest injury was the example of cowardice shown by all, and the insubordination of one of our legions; so that had the enemy pursued the fugitives, the right wing of our line would have been taken or dispersed, the rest defeated, and the war would in that day have been decided by their skill and valour. But destiny, which had still further suffering and shame in store for the Neapolitans, likewise denied glory to the Germans.

While they were yet irresolute, and we disheartened, the battle continued sanguinary, but to little purpose; two thousand on either side lay dead or dying on the field, and as the day declined, the weary soldiers slackened fire, from the necessity all felt for repose; while the leaders on either side drew up new plans for the battle on the morrow. Just then the king perceived the half legion of General Maio upon the heights of Petriola, and was advancing to meet them, in order to acquaint them with the field of battle, when he was stopped by the sight of two couriers in the distance hastening towards him. He waited their arrival, and was informed one was sent by General Montigny from the Abruzzi, the other by the minister of war from Naples, and that they were the bearers of letters which they were to deliver into his own hands. Montigny's told of disasters in the Abruzzi, that Antrodoco had been taken by twelve thousand Germans, that Aquila had surrendered, the citadel having yielded on conditions, that the militia was dis-

solved, the people rising in favour of the Bourbons, and that the magistrates had transferred their attachment and allegiance to another, while he and the few who remained faithful, had been driven back as far as Popoli. The minister of war informed Joachim of the appearance of the enemy on the Liri, of the consternation of the people, and of insurrections in several parts of Calabria. On the receipt of these news, the king lost all prudence, and believing the kingdom to be hastening to destruction, unwisely resolved to plunge into greater dangers, and lead his army back into the kingdom.

Everything was ordered for a retreat. General Millet wrote to General Pignatelli instantly to withdraw his legion to Mont' Olmo; but soon afterwards perceiving his mistake, in having written with so much haste, he despatched a verbal message to him not to stir before nightfall. But Pignatelli was determined to obey the written orders first sent, although the chief of his staff, who was a colonel of the guards, and other officers of rank and experience, entreated him not to decamp openly, in the face of a superior and successful enemy, but consider that his legion was the pivot of the army, and therefore ought to remain a fixed centre to the rest; or that the king being so near, he might send and inquire which of the two orders was to be obeyed. But advice, entreaty, military reasons, and prudence were alike vain, and in open day, at beat of drum, this strong position, which had been so feebly defended at sunrise, which had been contested at midday, and caused so many casualties, was abandoned at sunset, and occupied by the enemy without a blow. Our danger now became great and imminent; our line was divided in the centre, both wings attacked on their flanks, the retreat of the other legions not prepared, and should the enemy suddenly attack us, or should the king be slow in devising means of escape, the capture of the whole army was certain and near. But Joachim, his spirit reviving with the urgency of the moment, issued numerous orders, showed himself everywhere, and was at once the energetic captain and soldier, commanding and acting, so that in a very short time all his troops were in order of retreat, and while still fighting, he led them towards the frontiers. He, with his own hands laid the last trunks of the trees before the entrance of a defile, while under a brisk fire from a squadron of

the enemy's horse. The danger he incurred was so imminent, that General Bianchi punished the officer leading the attacking squadron for not having taken the king prisoner. It was already night, and the Germans reposed triumphant on the field of victory, while the Neapolitans proceeded to Macerata.

The greatest danger being past, the encampment for that night, and the line of march for the following day were determined. Joachim took up his quarters at Macerata, and was absorbed with anxious thoughts, when he was informed that the field-adjutant of General Aquino had arrived, and was anxious to speak with him. He came to announce the death or capture of his general, and of General Medici, as well as the destruction of the whole of the second legion, in a conflict which had just taken place with the Germans in a late and unexpected encounter. The story seemed so improbable, from the position of the enemy's army, that the king, astonished at the intelligence, asked the particulars of their success ; just then, Generals Aquino and Medici made their appearance, pretending that they had wandered from the direct road in the night, and had to fight their way through the enemy's camp, where they had lost many of their men, killed or wounded ; that more had been taken prisoners, and the rest had dispersed. Hardly had they finished speaking, when Pignatelli and Lecchi arrived, one declaring that his legion was disbanded, and the other informing the king that General Maio had turned back, having abandoned the camp assigned him at Petriola, because the whole of the third legion was disheartened and mutinous. All this appeared like a concerted scheme of rebellion, but was, in reality, a consequence of the utter absence of discipline which prevailed, and which now manifested itself in the hour of danger, when our adversity, and the state of disorder into which everything had been thrown, made the delinquent secure from punishment.

The king called a council ; and the particulars of these stories having been examined into, it appeared evident, that the soldiers, fatigued, unaccustomed to obedience, and dispersed throughout the country, and in villages, had gone in search of provisions, shelter, or plunder ; and that the discontented generals, tired of the war, had given false information to conceal their own errors in generalship. It was, however, true, that the camps were deserted, that

all order was at an end, and that the fate of numbers was abandoned to chance. It was hoped, that with daylight the soldiers might return, and that it might be possible to bring them again into order, and lead them to the Tronto. As Petriola had been abandoned, the king decided to send half the third legion off in the night to Mont' Olmo ; but their chief, General Lecchi, doubted if they would obey orders, and when the king proposed the same for the second legion and the guards, the generals of both these troops reminded him that they had been abandoned by their men, and that the few troops they might with difficulty be able to collect that night, would go into battle disgusted with the service, and feeling themselves unjustly dealt with. The king, wearied at length with opposition, issued orders that the brigade Caraffa, belonging to the third legion, should immediately start, an order which they obeyed without hesitation ; thus putting their traducers to shame, by proving the falsehood of their assertions.

With daylight (which soon after dawned), it became evident that the reports and alarms of the preceding night were groundless ; it was found that the second legion had neither wandered from the road, nor fallen in with the enemy ; that though the guards had dispersed and been thrown into disorder, they had not taken to flight ; that the third legion was entire, and that the artillery and sappers had preserved their order complete ; finally, that the enemy, having rested in the field of Tolentino, was advancing in columns towards Macerata. Our army had, indeed, lost order, courage, and hope, and the last restraints of obedience had been broken through amidst so many examples of mutinous language allowed to go unpunished ; but the corruption (if truth be told) emanated from the leaders, and had descended from them to the ranks.

Such as they were, our troops were formed in two columns, which were ordered to march along the left bank of the Chienti, by two roads parallel to the river, through Civita and Fermo ; whilst the brigade Caraffa was to march along the other bank through Mont' Olmo and Santa Giusta. Despatches had been sent the day before to General Carrascosa, in the midst of the disasters of Tolentino, desiring him to leave a regiment to garrison the fortress of Ancona, and with the rest of the legion hasten his march, so as to reach Civita on the evening of the 4th. Here the

army would unite, and the order of retreat towards the frontiers of the kingdom would be determined. The retreat from Macerata commenced; the king in the centre, having reached the plain, found the road blockaded by eight hundred German infantry with three cannon and six hundred horse, ranged in order of battle, whilst more numerous squadrons were attacking the city by the road of Monte-Milone and Tolentino. The king, in order to clear the way, twice ordered the cavalry of the guards to charge the enemy; they were however repulsed. The Germans advanced on every side; the brigade Caraffa, which was encamped at Mont' Olmo, commanded the rear of the enemy, but kept themselves invisible, and were not even excited to come forward by the sound of battle close at hand, appearing to be indifferent who gained. Time was pressing, and it became necessary to open a way for ourselves or lay down our arms. The king determined to oppose the Germans with a battalion of the sixth regiment (whose discipline had been preserved amidst the undisciplined troops of the third legion), and several horse of the guards, and placing himself at their head, prepared to sustain the shock of the enemy's charge; he caused the whole column as well as the troops from Macerata (who having been pressed upon in front, had only just started) to defile rapidly behind the line. Several of our men were killed, and more wounded, among whom was Colonel Russo, a brave officer; but the army was saved.

We were proceeding securely, when, to our astonishment, we perceived General Caraffa, with his brigade of 3000 men, now that the battle was over, debouching from behind Mont' Olmo. The king accordingly by written orders, as well as messengers, forbade his halting at Santa Giusta, where food and accommodation were to be found. The two other columns reached Civita and met the legion of Carrascosa, which was marching in good order from Ancona. The army of Bianchi took up their quarters in Macerata, and Neipperg, no longer impeded in his march, joined them by the way of Jesi and Filottrano. These two generals having now one base of operations, changed their intentions, chalked out new lines, and accidentally gave us so much time that we might have recovered from our injuries and strengthened our position, had not we carried the cause of our own destruction within ourselves. The

guards, who were commanded to encamp at Civita, fell into disorder, and proceeded to Fermo, where they dispersed; the second and third legion were quartered in the same place, and became mutinous; the brigade Caraffa, not being allowed, as a punishment for their cowardice, to halt at Santa Giusta, arrived unexpectedly at Fermo, where food and accommodation were scarce, and the murmurs of the men, which the officers had until then been able to restrain, became louder and more general. In such extremity and danger, great strictness, both as regards rules and punishments, are needed, but the constant repetition of the same offences, the force of habit, and the indulgent disposition of Joachim, prevented the officers venturing on any bold measures, or at least stopped their execution.

To add to these calamities, the night was ushered in by a copious fall of rain, followed by a sharp frost, and the atmosphere was so raw, that it was more like a severe winter in Switzerland than a spring in Italy; many deserted, while the torrents becoming impassable, the army was detained several hours, and this obstacle adding to the confusion, favoured the escape of more of the soldiers. Even the cavalry, artillery, and sappers, became insubordinate; and the first legion wavered, and was only retained in obedience by the courage of their chief. We were now marching in companies on our road to Pescara, where we hoped to restore the spirits of our men behind the walls of that fortress. But the mischief was always increasing from the natural growth of evil, and the greater facility afforded the soldiers to return home, which encouraged them to desert.

On the arrival of the king in the Abruzzi, he inquired into the facts related to him by General Montigny; he had been ordered to defend the strong passes of Antrodoco with 1600 men, but on the 1st May, receiving notice of the approach of the enemy, he abandoned the spot, and repaired to Aquila. The unexpected flight of the general increased the prevailing idea of danger, and confirmed the civil magistrates in that caution which is inseparable from their office, but which had been represented by Montigny to the government of Murat as treason; this, added to his own fears, induced him, on a nearer approach of the enemy, to abandon the city, leaving the citadel, which, though small, was not weak,

alone prepared to stand a siege. The Germans were astonished, and supposed the way had been smoothed for them by the favour of the people; they accordingly sent a message to the governor of the fort, demanding its surrender. This was immediately granted, and, although well provided with soldiers, arms, and stores of provisions, the citadel was given up to an enemy who was yet invisible, and who, as the roads he had to traverse were impassable for artillery, was unprovided with the means of carrying on a siege; the governor only stipulated for the lives of the garrison, along with some absurd forms, which, though bearing the name of military honours, were rather a dishonour. Montigny informed upon his march to Popoli of what had taken place, wrote the despatch to the king of the 3d May, which reached him at an unseasonable hour in Tolentino on the evening of that day. About a thousand Germans had entered the Abruzzi.

The tidings of so much baseness and infamy added gall to the bitter feelings of Joachim, and he ordered Montigny and Major Patrizio, the commanders of the fort, to be put on their trial; but his rigour came too late, as the rapid political changes which now took place prevented it from taking effect. The major escaped all punishment, and Montigny having with his own name sullied those of all the foreigners in our pay, left the kingdom with Pheil, Malchevski, Michel, Dreuse, Palma, Lajaille, and other brave men.

General Manhes, with the fourth legion (5000 soldiers), defended the frontiers at Liri. Having received notice at the end of April that the enemy was approaching the kingdom by the Valley of Sacco, he had conducted his troops to Ceperano on the 2d May, and because some of the agents of the Pope caused the gates to be closed against him, and fired a few volleys at our men, he maltreated the city, where many of the houses were pillaged, and the three largest and handsomest burnt. His troops were divided into two brigades, and occupied Veruli and Frosinone, but on the 6th, after learning the disasters of Tolentino, they were hastily brought back to Ceperano; and from thence, without delay (after burning the bridge), they were conveyed to Roccasecca, Arce, Isola, and San Germano; and thus, although they had never even seen the enemy, they abandoned the course of the Liri, and part of the Garigliano, which formed the defensive line of the kingdom. Por-

tella and Fondi were likewise abandoned; Itri was, however, strongly garrisoned by the twelfth regiment. The small corps under Nugent was encamped along the frontier from Aquila to Fondi; the troops of Bianchi and Neipperg, formed into one army, were advanced as far as the Tronto and Liri. The English seized one of our ships, laden with *matériel*, bound for Gaeta. A considerable fleet with soldiers on board, to be landed on the coast, was in the ports of Sicily, ready to weigh anchor. In the interior of the kingdom, the Carbonari were audacious, the people in rebellion, the adherents of the Government terror-struck, or acting cautiously; the hope of peace had vanished, every proposal had been rejected, and every courier stopped. The Prince of Cariati, who had been sent as ambassador from the king to the Congress, and had just arrived at Vienna, informed Joachim of the indignation of the allied sovereigns, and their determination to accept no terms of accommodation; the French emperor himself blamed the imprudence of this war, and hinted by his letters that it was the beginning, and might perhaps prove the actual cause of the ruin of the empire.

Joachim, now turning for safety to the civil institutions of his kingdom, sent the plan of a political constitution to be published in Naples, with the usual forms of, a king, two chambers, ministers, and a council of state. The laws to be proposed by the king, and discussed in the chambers; the magistracies to be independent; the government administrations to be determined by law; the provincial and communal administrations to be regulated by the magistrates of the provinces and by the communities; a free press; and person and property secure. This proclamation likewise conceded many other franchises with the usual guarantees. Its principal defect lay in the article relating to the election of the municipal deputies, called Notables; but great stress was laid on no levy of soldiers being allowed, without the vote of Parliament. The constitution bore the fictitious date of Rimini, the 30th March, although only sent on the 12th May, and published on the 18th; a tardy and useless prop to a falling throne. Had the law been passed one year sooner, it would have saved the kingdom and the king; because the chambers would never have consented to the war of Italy; but at the time in which it was given, any parlia-

ment whatsover must have been injurious to the interests of Murat, since all bodies of men are sure to range themselves on the side of success; and the few heroic instances recorded by history, have emanated from a people in the heat of rebellion, and never from the mature and deliberate vote of an assembly of politicians.

Meantime the English commodore, Campbell, with two ships of the line, and two frigates, was cruising in the Bay of Naples, and sent a messenger to the regent, informing her that if the ships and all the marine stores in the royal arsenal were not delivered over to him as a ransom of war, he would send a thousand rockets into the city. The regent called a council of the ministers, and some of the members of the council of state, and of the most esteemed among the magistrates, and laid the case before them; the minister of police declared that the menaces of the commodore were already known in the city, and the danger exaggerated by fear and malice; that at the first assault of the enemy there would certainly be a rising among the people, which would perhaps be impossible to suppress. The governor of the town begged for peace. A general present, who had just arrived from the army, pointed out our superiority in means of defence, and suggested that Campbell either would not venture to approach, or would expose himself to the fire from ten double ranges of batteries along the coast; and that the audacity of his demands proved that he trusted to our fears, which therefore made it the more important to refuse to listen to him. The general was supported by others in this bold resolution, when the regent declared:—

"That although the danger might be a delusion, the panic within the city was real; that it was therefore imperative not to increase the number of our enemies, and to use every means to soothe the agitation in Naples; that Campbell and his government (supposing this last should approve of his conduct), after the stain of having broken the truce, would be doubly disgraced in the eyes of the world, if they took advantage of a terrified people, to rob them of their ships and stores; and that the final and only sure protection against injustice is history." While thus speaking, the regent concealed her desire to stipulate with the commodore for her own and her family's safe return to France, in an English vessel.

She confided the settlement of terms to the Prince of Cariati,

who, agreeing with the opinion expressed by the majority in council, unwillingly consented to treat with the insolent Englishman; but it was fortunate for us that he undertook the office, for at the first meeting he informed him of the opinion of the council, and our adversary perceiving there was truth in his words, was more cautious and discreet in what he demanded. It was agreed:—

"That the Neapolitan ships of war should be consigned to the commodore, but that all the marine stores should be retained in the royal magazines in deposit; that both should be at the disposal of the two governments, Neapolitan and English, at the termination of the war of Italy.

"That the queen, with her family, and such persons and property as she should select, should embark and have their safety secured on board one of Campbell's ships.

"That she should be empowered to send a messenger, or chargé-d'affaires to England to treat for peace; and, that the war between the English and Neapolitan fleet should cease upon the ratification of these terms."

The terms of accommodation were immediately proclaimed to reassure the city, and enable the queen to give her attention wholly to matters of state, in the extremity to which they were now reduced. Although her advice had been rejected, when she first advocated peace, Caroline had, as regent, exerted herself strenuously for the war; she had provided for the exigencies of the army fighting in the Marches, and for the security of the fortresses within the kingdom; she had sent a numerous detachment of valiant cuirassiers of the guards, to reinforce Montigny, and a detachment of grenadiers to Manhes; she had despatched gendarmes to the frontiers, as well as the small number of soldiers left at the depôt, and even the guards of the palace; and while addressing the city militia with more than woman's courage, she roused their zeal, and pacified the fears and suspicions of the people, which are so easily excited and so frequent in a city containing a crowded population of luxurious habits, when exposed to the danger of war both by land and water. Her sister Pauline, her uncle Cardinal Fesch, and her mother Letitia, were in the palace; and at the approach of danger she prepared the means of embarkation for France for all of them, as well as for sending her four young children to Gaeta. Joachim was already van-

quished and in flight, his army routed and dispersed, the fortunes of the kingdom at their lowest ebb and irretrievable—every hope faded, every delusion vanished. When the afflicted family came to take leave of the queen (Prince Cariati and I were alone present), she was melancholy but calm, and consoled them by her advice, and by the hopes which she feigned for their sakes. After their departure, she continued a short time silent, and then returned to the affairs of Government; she proposed to supersede Manhes by another general of greater ability and courage, who might drive the Germans beyond the Liri, and enable the king to retire into the Abruzzi, and she selected for this purpose General Macdonald, a soldier of Napoleon, at that time minister of war. In the midst of the discussion, the Duke of Santa Teodora arrived to tell her the particulars of the departure of the royal family, at which he had been present, and as he did so he was moved to tears, when the queen exclaimed, "Either restrain yourself, or leave me, I pray, and assuage your grief elsewhere; for in my present state I must have no touching scenes." Words indeed worthy of her rank and of her blood.

Macdonald assumed the command of the fourth legion, and advanced to meet the enemy. After several short conflicts, he succeeded in driving them beyond the Melfa, for throughout this war the Germans were cautious in attack, and ready to retire; a proof they depended less for victory on their own valour than on the faults of our army, and the discontent of the people. The king meanwhile continued his retreat by the way of the Abruzzi, and placed the best troops of the first legion in his rear, to oppose the advance of the enemy; their numbers increased by the few who remained of the tenth regiment, and by the Italian battalion which had been recently levied. This battalion of four hundred men was the sole aid afforded by the Italians to the Neapolitan army fighting for the independence of Italy. General Negri, who commanded it, was a native of the Lower Po, and presented himself to the king in Ferrara, as a colonel of the former kingdom of Italy; he was well received, and made a general; himself an ardent partisan of liberty, he boasted, however, of followers, none of whom ever appeared. The rear-guard was led by General Carrascosa, and halted on the banks of the Sangro, to await the result of Macdonald's

movements; while there they were attacked by the enemy, but succeeded in killing many, taking others prisoners, and driving them back in disorder to Castel di Sangro; and would have effected still more if fresh orders had not arrived, obliging Carrascosa to stop the fight and retire. This was the last favour fortune granted to the flag of Naples.

The king hoped to unite the troops he was conducting by the Marches to those of Macdonald, to re-form them at Capua, to draw fresh troops from the provinces, and leaving garrisons in Ancona, Pescara, Gaeta, and Capua, reassemble 50,000 soldiers behind the line of defence on the Volturno; from thence lead them to meet the enemy, and either fight or wait, as circumstances should decide; but if Heaven favoured him, recover his hopes and fortune. He therefore retired cautiously, avoiding all encounter with the enemy, and keeping his troops in line, so as to march at the same time along the Garigliano, the road of San Germano, and the Abruzzi. Thus the regiment of the guards encamped at Sessa on the 16th, the fourth legion at Mignano, and the first at Venafro, while the rest of the troops entered the fortress. But that night the camp of Mignano was attacked, and the fourth legion was so unprepared, that they were in marching order rather than expecting battle. Attacked on their flank from the mountains of San Pietro, the rear was at last thrown into disorder, and forced to retire in confusion. The general brought up a regiment of cavalry to their aid, but attacked from the heights above, which the horses could not ascend, they gave them the rein and turned back at full speed. The troops encamped at Mignano, hearing the tramp of horses ever nearer, and their confusion increased by the darkness of the night, by the fugitives, and by the recollection of late disasters, mistook their comrades for enemies, and inconsiderately fired at them; these again returned the fire, not because they were also deceived, nor from retaliation, but because their danger being thus twofold, they hoped to force a way for themselves to escape. A horrible *mêlée* followed, which it was impossible to stop; the voices of the leaders could not be heard, nor the standard seen, nor the word of command obeyed. Some thought the enemy had taken them by surprise, others that they were betrayed; the troops got entangled with one another, and all order being at an end, they

abandoned the camp and fled. The regiment forming the rear-guard was close behind the enemy, and hearing the noise of battle in front, advanced with caution, until on reaching the ground where the camp had been, they saw it deserted, and with the marks of recent conflict and flight ; upon which they also dispersed and fled. Of the whole legion of six thousand men, only a few remained, and thus the successes of the night on the Ronco were counterbalanced by the night of Mignano.

General Carrascosa, who was on his way from the Abruzzi, learning on the morning of the 17th, the rout at Mignano, accelerated his march ; but the rapidity of his movements only caused more desertions. The king proceeded to the royal villa of San Leucio, near Caserta, and there waited until the troops were collected, and to learn the state of the kingdom. He was informed that five thousand infantry and two thousand cavalry, but, in both instances, panic-stricken and insubordinate, were at Capua ; that many of the guns had been abandoned, and that all discipline was at an end. Meanwhile, the Germans were encamped round Capua, strong in numbers, and inspirited by success. The prince-royal, Don Leopold of Bourbon, was with them, issuing proclamations with promises of justice and clemency. Six provinces, the three Abruzzi, Molise, the Capitanata, and the Terra di Lavoro, had already submitted to the Bourbons, and the rest neither opposed them nor hesitated as to the side they meant to adopt, but only waited their arrival. The English had doubled their naval force in the Bay of Naples, and the King of Sicily was at Messina, preparing to cross the Faro with a powerful land and sea force. Murat lost all his hopes in the people, the magistrates, the courtiers, the ministers, and even in himself ; he saw his Government tottering, and the return of the Bourbons certain and near ; therefore resigning his position as a commander and king, he only thought of his personal safety and of that of his family ; he had been informed of the treaty with Campbell, with which he had at first been greatly displeased, but now rejoiced in it ; he imagined that the Bourbons and the Germans were desirous of taking him prisoner, the first to wreak their vengeance on him, and the second to prevent any final risings in his favour, which were feared in the Principati and Calabria ; and to deprive Bonaparte, the Emperor of France, of a

long-tried and useful instrument in war. Suspecting fraud and treachery in the city and the palace, Joachim carefully provided against such contingencies.

Deputing General Carrascosa to take the command of the army, he entered Naples at sunset as a private individual, but was discovered by the people, who greeted him once more as a king, and as in the days of his prosperity. Arrived in the palace, he passed at once to the apartments of the queen, and having found and embraced her, said in a firm voice, "We are betrayed by Fortune; all is lost!" "Not all," she replied, "if we preserve our honour and constancy." They then secretly prepared for their departure; after which their most trusted and attached friends were admitted within the privacy of the palace, and, after a few words, were dismissed. The king, with his ministers, arranged many affairs relating to the kingdom; and his last acts, intended for the benefit of the people, are worthy of remembrance; he was cool and collected, cheering those around him, and as liberal to the French, who were preparing to depart, and to the servants he was leaving, as if he were a prince ascending the throne.

His fate being now certain, he was desirous, by concluding peace, to put an end to the troubles of the kingdom, and selected Generals Carrascosa and Colletta to open negotiations with the enemy. He charged the first to consider the interests of the State and the army, and not his; but to stipulate that the property sold or given away by him should be guaranteed to the present possessors, so as to leave him the character of a good king, and that the Neapolitans might continue to cherish his memory. When Colletta asked him what he would concede to the enemy, he replied, "Everything, except the honour of the army, and the interests of the people. I wish that all the burden of adverse fortune should fall on me alone." On the 20th May, Carrascosa, Colletta, Generals Bianchi and Neipperg, with Lord Burghersh for England, met in a small house, three miles distant from Capua, belonging to a gentleman of the name of Lanza, from which circumstance the treaty afterwards bore the name, and was dated from Casalanza. After a long and stormy debate, which, more than once, was on the point of being interrupted, the following conditions were agreed upon:—

Peace between the two armies; the fortress of Capua to be surrendered on the 21st; the city of Naples, with its castles, on the 23d; and afterwards the rest of the kingdom, with the exception of the three fortresses of Gaeta, Pescara, and Ancona; the Neapolitan garrisons to leave these strongholds with the honours of war.

The public debt was likewise guaranteed, the sale of the Crown lands maintained, the new nobility to continue with the old, their titles confirmed, as well as the honours and pensions of those officers who, after swearing fealty to Ferdinand IV., should volunteer to enter his service.

Here the treaty ended, but the German plenipotentiary added, that King Ferdinand having promised to grant a pardon for every political act of the past, whether in favour of the enemy or against the Bourbons, all such offences were cast into oblivion, and any Neapolitan might aspire to civil or military offices in the kingdom. The Neapolitan plenipotentiaries made no such demand, for they would not accept as concessions and favours that to which they considered themselves entitled in common justice, nor suppose it possible that the king could consider it a crime in subjects to serve a Government which had been imposed on them, which had been recognised as such, and sanctioned by the laws of that period.

"The Emperor of Austria" (the document still exists) "gives his formal guarantee for this treaty." The Neapolitans required this additional pledge, as they cherished a vivid and painful remembrance of the oaths broken in 1799. On the evening of that day, after Joachim had been informed of the particulars of the treaty, he departed incognito for Pozzuoli; and from thence proceeded in a small vessel to Ischia, where he remained one day, treated with all the respect due to a monarch. On the 22d, he departed for France upon a larger vessel, with a small retinue of courtiers and servants without either pomp, luxury, or even the conveniences of life. Meantime the treaty of Casalanza having been published in Naples, the municipality sent envoys to Prince Barbone, who was at Teano, precursors of the rejoicings and submission of the people. Though this act was not made public, the queen of Murat, who was yet in the palace, and regent of the kingdom, was acci-

dentally informed of it. When the first Neapolitan legion evacuated Capua, to afford more commodious quarters to the Germans, the populace not seeing any soldiers, except at the gates, rose in a riot, broke open the prisons, and would have proceeded to greater excesses, had they not been restrained by the small number of generals and other officers collected there. The first legion, even, which had until now been obedient and under discipline, were hardly out of the fortress, when, deaf to the entreaties and menaces of their leaders, they dispersed on all sides.

The common people in Naples, under the pretence of rejoicings, broke into riots, and although the guards of public safety suppressed the first movements, it was evident that they would shortly not be strong enough to withstand all this popular violence. The queen therefore sent letters to the English admiral, requesting him to send a body of troops into the city to support the civil authorities, and she accordingly received three hundred English, by whom the rioters were terrified into submission, and tranquillity was restored.[1] She, meanwhile, embarked on board an English vessel with some of her court and three ex-ministers, Agar, Zurlo, Macdonald, and a few other persons of distinction, who, not confiding in the promises of the treaty of Casalanza, fled from the dreaded vengeance of the Bourbons.

Without a king, regent, or regency, the numbers of the populace increased by fugitives from Capua, who crowded into the city in the hope of plunder, the prisons of Naples were attacked, and the doors of the dungeons not only burst open, but broken to atoms; the guards of public safety were already exhausted, the English few, the disorder great, and the danger was increased by the approach of night. The mob were on the eve of gaining the

[1] The houses of the English merchants and bankers were particularly marked out for plunder (though the Lazzaroni, like the people of Abruzzo and Calabria, always affected to consider the English their natural allies). Madame Murat, on this occasion, assembled the national guard herself, and, assuming their uniform, addressed them in a speech full of spirit and eloquence. Her life was in danger the moment she capitulated to Captain Campbell of the "Tremendous," who received her and her children on board his ship, to which she was followed by the infuriated Lazzaroni, shocking her ears by the most licentious songs, even in spite of the interference of Captain Campbell, whose conduct was described to us in Naples as being the most gallant and generous.—*Lady Morgan's Italy*, vol. iii., Note, p. 235.

ascendency, when, towards sunset, a body of Austrian troops arrived, who had been entreated, by messengers and letters sent by the municipality, to come to their assistance; these, united with the city guard, went round every part of Naples, to punish all found with arms, or with the appearance of rebels, and put an end to their criminal expectations, while suppressing the riot. So great yet so necessary was this severity, that at least a hundred of the most depraved of the populace perished; a thousand more were wounded, who entered the hospitals or concealed themselves.

That night and the following day, the city was illuminated, and resounded with the shouts and merriment of the people; all the vessels in the harbour, even that on board of which was the queen, were decorated, as for a festival. On the 23d, the German troops, as agreed upon, entered the city with sounds and signs of victory, preceded by Don Leopold of Bourbon, who, mounted on horseback, and followed by a numerous court in rich attire, graciously returned the salutations of the people. The events which had taken place at Casalanza and Naples, were meantime proclaimed by couriers and telegraphs, and the new government was everywhere recognised and celebrated, while all traces of the reign of Joachim, names, effigies, and colours disappeared. The queen alone, a prisoner upon the vessel which was still in the harbour, herself a spectacle to excite pity, was obliged to be a witness of her own fall.

BOOK VIII.

REIGN OF FERDINAND I.

1815—1820.

CHAPTER I.

THE STATE OF NAPLES AT THE RESTORATION OF THE BOURBON KING—MEASURES OF THE GOVERNMENT—CALAMITIES WITHIN THE KINGDOM.

1815—1816.

Though Murat fell in 1815, the laws, habits, opinions, and hopes which had been impressed on the minds of the people, during the last ten years, did not fall with him. Years are not always a just criterion by which to measure the age of nations, as centuries will not at one time suffice to mark their growth, which, at another, may be reckoned by days. There are certain periods in which a people arrive at a crisis in their existence, and such for us was the Decennium, or ten years of the French kings. All our institutions had been altered, and every part of society and of the State had undergone a change, either for better or for worse. The civil code which, in 1805, filled a hundred volumes, was now compressed into the Code Napoleon, a monument of political wisdom: and the penal code, which could with difficulty be defined amidst the various documents and usages of the courts of law, was collected into one body of laws; though owing to the great number of crimes, and the extreme severity of punishment, it was still imperfect. Public discussion had succeeded the old secret and iniquitous system of trial; and a wise commercial code had been introduced.

The sources whence the exchequer had formerly been sup-

plied were many and vague; such as arose from the old feudal abuses, or the Capitation tax, or the Adoa and Rilevio; or from fictitious sources, such as the *Nave bruciata*[1] (burnt ship), and gratuitous donations, as well as the ordinary taxes, such as those on salt and tobacco, and from the tithes. Thus, in early times, the public finances were regulated on barbarous principles, and were confused and unequal in their distribution, but they were now organized into a system, and wealthy; the requirements of the revenue regulated the taxation; the *Arrendamenti* had reverted to the exchequer, the public debt had been cleared and audited, the sinking fund had been founded, and a bank of discount projected. But two canker-worms, generated by the habits and instability of a state of conquest, gnawed at the root of the finances; rapacity on the part of the rulers, and want of confidence on that of the people; a long peace and a stable government were the only remedies, and both these required time. The conduct of the administrators of the provincial and municipal revenues, which had been extremely remiss, was now under regulation. The *Intendente* of the province took the place of the Prefect, an inefficient officer, whose power had been capricious and uncertain; and laws, with almost too many regulations, had succeeded the undefined authority exercised by former administrators. The distribution of the communal property had benefited private individuals as well as the public at large, and to this had been added the spoils of feudalism. The *Decurionati*, the District, Provincial, and State councils, watched over the interests of the nation, and the system introduced for the purposes of administration became an instrument for the preservation of freedom; since it is the boast of all large public bodies, as well as their natural tendency, to watch over the rights of the people.

Monasteries had been suppressed, the feudal system eradicated, and though the barons had suffered from many acts of violence, these had been necessary, because States cannot be renovated as they are maintained; rules and forms being required for their

[1] *Nave bruciata.* It happened that a long time ago a contribution was levied to rebuild a ship which had been burnt, and though the pretext no longer existed, the contribution was still demanded, and paid as a regular tax under the name of the *Nave bruciata.*

maintenance, and extreme and vigorous measures for their renovation.

The religious sentiment had been weakened, and religious belief scoffed at or banished. No new virtue had arisen to compensate for this loss, nor had it even been rendered less injurious by any improvement in morals or manners, since both had degenerated.

Liberal opinions in politics prevailed among the people, and yet while showing little respect to law, they were too subservient to man; a union of license with servility.

With regard to persons; the magistrates were superior in ability, conduct, and honesty, to those who had preceded them.

The clergy had degenerated and fallen into disrepute, for the revolution of Naples in 1806 had partaken of the principles and license of French liberty; and the clergy, after the church had been impoverished, sought for wealth beyond the pale of the altar, but though not as hypocritical and corrupt as formerly, they were likewise less circumspect in their behaviour; while the monks, who had been turned out of their monasteries, became priests, and injured the priesthood by their companionship.

The ancient nobles were poor and decayed, the new unaccustomed to their position, and without the jealousy common to their order, because they derived their power from other sources, and were more an ornament than support to the monarchy; privileges having been abolished, the nobility had become a class of proprietors, and had no longer separate interests from those of the people.

Few of Murat's army remained; the greater number had deserted, including many of the officers and generals. The impatience for promotion in those who remained therefore increased; their language was presumptuous, their warlike ardour and desire for glory greater, while discipline was attenuated, and morals worse. The ambitious had been accustomed to receive a reward for every service, and to find employment and fortune for every talent.

Amidst civil discords the lower orders had been accustomed to dishonest gains, such as the plunder of the feudal landholders, and to that which they were able to obtain on the pretext that all men were equal; and they were therefore greedy, restless, and only to be governed by force.

The prestige of monarchy was at an end from the hour when Joseph and Joachim rose to be new kings, and were in the eyes of the people greater and more powerful than their former sovereigns. The character of monarchy was changed, for the old was based on privileges and exclusion, the new on merit and equality. The blind reverence paid by our fathers, was converted into a sentiment of fear of the royal power, or approbation of the royal acts; a calculation of interest had succeeded attachment between the sovereign and the people, and this change of sentiment effected a practical change, fruitful in results.

The people who had been afflicted by twenty years of adversity, could not forget the cruel persecutions of 1793, the tyranny of 1799, the despotism of succeeding years, the delusive hopes of modern liberty, the rapine and insolence of foreign armies, and the inefficiency of their own. They numbered over the promises which had been broken, the oaths which had been forsworn, and how often they had been deceived to help other men to wealth and power. They had learnt how both old and new kings are alike indifferent to the voice of their subjects, that the first had governed them by the prestige of their race, the last by force. But now that the prestige had vanished, and the force was broken, the adherents of either party, Bourbonists or Muratists, were few in number; and the majority of reflecting persons, whether Carbonari or Liberals, though not displeased at the fall of Joachim, felt uneasy and were suspicious of his successor.

The people and their rulers watched one another reciprocally with alternate hope and fear. As a counterpoise to the general desire for independence which had lately sprung into existence, the victorious party now set up the principle of legitimacy; but had this principle been understood to mean simply the restoration of the old dynasties, it would have only served to remind the people of the evils they had endured, and would have roused the suspicion that their rulers would from revenge, or from a natural desire to advance their own interest, destroy political freedom: the kings, therefore, promised to govern better. Some immediately confirmed the recent good laws, and all promised new franchises, while the people rejoiced to hear them express penitence for the past, and the resolution to use moderation in future. They felt more

secure under a mild government in the hands of old rulers taught a lesson by adversity, than in the hands of new sovereigns, the spoilt children of fortune, who used their power with intemperance, and were strong enough to break through all restraints. The people therefore hoped to make a new compact by the peace, which should be permanent and equally advantageous to all parties; they were confirmed in this idea by the edicts of the king; and if the promises of legitimacy had been sincere, and not a false demonstration, the people would have adhered to their sovereigns, and Europe would have reposed from her labours.

Such was the state of the kingdom at the departure of the French kings.

The Congress of Vienna declared Joachim fallen from the throne of Naples for having excited the war of Italy in 1815, and the old dynasty of the Bourbons reinstated. Immediately afterwards, the disasters which befell Murat's army commenced, and King Ferdinand prepared land and sea forces to invade Calabria, as well as proclamations and decrees flattering to the Neapolitans; but either because the King of Sicily was slow in his movements, or the fall of Murat more rapid than was expected, his troops and edicts only reached Naples after the Germans had completed the conquest. The Sicilian army, proud of success won by another's arm, made a tardy but pompous entry into Naples, whilst the value of the proclamations was lessened by the publication of the Convention of Casalanza. But the junction of the two armies increased the power of the king, and the promises which followed the conclusion of the treaty, helped to reassure the people and raise their hopes higher.

The substance of the five edicts published by the king, and written at Messina between the 20th and 24th May, was as follows:—Peace, concord, and oblivion of the past, a proposal of fundamental laws for the State, political liberty, with formal guarantees, in which transpired a confession of the faults of which he had been guilty towards the people, and a sketch of the form of a constitution, without the name. The military appointments were confirmed, the civil maintained, and the laws of the Decennium, including the financial measures of the late reigns, were continued. None therefore had cause to lament the restoration of the

king to the throne of his ancestors, and a thousand hopes of future prosperity were awakened in the minds of honest men.

The ministers appointed were the Marquis Circello, a veteran supporter of absolute monarchy, ignorant, and under the pupillage of a wife as ignorant as himself; the Chevalier Medici, reputed an able man, and who had already twice undergone imprisonment, once, when accused as a liberal under the king, and again in the cause of monarchy during the republic, he was therefore highly esteemed by both parties; and the Marquis Tommasi, almost a stranger in Naples, which he had left when a boy, and whose chief recommendation was, his having written a panegyric on Filangieri. Of these three ministers, Circello held the new ideas, as well as the Decennium, in abhorrence, and the two others, though less opposed to them, were more presumptuous, and depreciated everything Neapolitan; while the king, as well as his ministers and councillors, had been first corrupted by a life of sloth and servitude in Sicily, and had afterwards imbibed a thorough distaste for liberty during the exercise of freedom under the Sicilian constitution of the year 1812, when they had finally been deprived of their despotic power, driven into exile or imprisoned. Therefore, far from appreciating the laws and institutions established by the revolution in Naples, they associated this period only with conspiracies and condemnations, and considered the kingdom in a state of demoralization. They regarded Napoleon and the new dynasties as usurpers, the acts of the Decennium as crimes, and all engaged in them as criminals, and they called a government which for ten years had been recognised throughout Europe, which had been consolidated by laws, by established orders in the State, and by national prosperity, a military occupation. The treaties of Messina and Casalanza had not been dictated in a spirit of sincerity, but by policy or necessity; therefore the offices we held, the property we possessed, and our very lives were no longer ours by right, but were to be considered as gifts conferred by the royal clemency.

The telegraph announced the king had left Messina, and the queen of Murat then immediately set sail from the port of Naples; after landing her children at Gaeta, she proceeded on her unhappy voyage to Trieste. The vessel on which she had embarked, met that conveying King Ferdinand to Naples; and the admiral,

while preparing to salute the king, as customary, warned Caroline Murat, in a sort of good-natured jest, not to be alarmed at the sound of the cannon, as it was only a salvo in honour of the King of Naples; to which she, who was alike royal in her nature and in her bearing, replied that such sounds were neither new nor displeasing to the ears of a Bonaparte. Fortune persecuted the fallen family on every side: Joachim was roving in a fragile bark over the seas, as chance directed, rather than with any fixed plan; Caroline, detained several days in the port, had witnessed the rejoicings over her misfortunes, and had to endure the presence of a rude populace, who approached the ship in boats, to insult her with their songs, and when at last her eyes and ears were relieved from such painful sights and sounds, she met her successful rival as a prisoner, to enhance the joy of his triumph.

On the 4th June, the king reached Baia, on the 6th, Portici, where the generals (Muratist as well as Bourbonist) were invited to meet him. Ferdinand received all with equal condescension; but they regarded each other with doubt and suspicion; one had been conquered, and the other was the conqueror. In private they unjustly taunted one another with disloyalty and servility. The new policy of the king appeared an obstacle to the ambition of one party, while his attachment to his old friends appeared as much so to the ambition of the other. Their hatred and contempt were mutual.

Three days later, the king made his public entry into the city on horseback, and with only a small retinue; the trappings of the horses, and the uniforms of their riders, were simple compared with the splendour and luxury of King Joachim. The populace, therefore, always ready to find fault, and who had called Joachim a playhouse king, now called Ferdinand a peasant king; they stigmatized the gorgeous display of Murat as prodigality, and the unpretending simplicity of Ferdinand as avarice. The rejoicings, which were sincere, were prolonged for several days; while those who lamented Murat, mourned his fall in secret; for they did not regret him for the sake of their country, but from pity, gratitude, and friendship.

The prodigious efforts of France, however, after the return of Bonaparte from Elba, and his wonderful genius and good fortune,

threw a gloom over the prosperity of the government of Naples, until the arrival of the news of the battle of Waterloo, before that of Ligny even was yet known; for fame, contrary to her usual practice, this time brought the good news before the bad. The victory was celebrated by fêtes; and the commander of Gaeta, who until then had continued faithful to the standard of Murat, surrendered that fortress; Pescara and Ancona had been given up some months sooner; Ancona had been first garrisoned by Germans, and then delivered to the Pope, while Pescara had been dismantled, and seventeen breaches opened in the ramparts by mines; an insult to a friendly power, by thus providing against future conquest, and an indication that new wars might be expected. But the constancy of General Begani, who commanded in Gaeta, could not be shaken, and the siege operations had continued, though slowly. After the battle of Waterloo and the capture of Bonaparte, the standard of the three colours (once so proud) still floated, alone in all the world, over the bare rocks of the Tower of Orlando; Begani then resigned the fortress, and, for this act of tardy obedience, he was punished by the king, but rewarded by fame.

The reorganization of the kingdom began with the finances. The king had contracted many obligations during the Congress of Vienna; he owed Austria twenty-six millions of francs as the price of the conquest, and had indiscreetly promised Prince Eugène a gift of five millions; nine millions were owing to the most influential members of the Congress for presents and favours purchased; and it was necessary to provide the means for the maintenance of the German army, as well as for the Sicilian, and the numbers from the army of Murat admitted into their ranks; subsistence had also to be procured for those who had remained faithful, the exiles had to be rewarded, and premiums granted to partisans, besides securing a sufficient surplus for the king himself. By the financial system introduced during the Decennium, the exchequer had been so well supplied, that it was enabled to meet every demand, and the more easily now that credit was restored by the peace of Europe, a circumstance which promised to open the way to greater wealth for the *Gran Libro*, especially since the rapacity of Agar had been succeeded by the parsimony of Medici.

The financial system of the Decennium was therefore maintained; the law of patents was abolished; which affected works of industry, trade, and art, and thus a great amount of revenue was lost to the exchequer, caused by ignorance in the theories of political economy, and by the old-fashioned habits and the errors of the minister.

The property of those exiles who had returned to their country with Ferdinand, was restored, although it had been sold during the Decennium, and the treasury reclaimed the gifts of Joseph and Joachim; these forced restitutions produced discontent among many, and sometimes abuse of the Government. Among those who had received favours from the late kings were the orphan children of the Marquis Palmieri, sentenced in 1807, when he conspired on the side of Ferdinand against Joseph: the costs of the trial had been great, and the children, deprived of their inheritance, would have been obliged to pay them, had not Joachim granted a remission of this debt to the prayers and tears of the widow. Under the new Government this grant was reclaimed, and the marchioness, after having vainly sued the ministers, presented herself at the palace, secure of being heard, since it was no longer inhabited by a usurping king, but by him for whom her husband had incurred the guilt of treason. Yet her tears were vain, and the afflicted family had to pay for the execution of their own father.

The national property was put up to sale and purchased by the *rentes* inscribed in the *Gran Libro;* the ground-rent bought off, and the estates belonging to charitable institutions alienated. These *rentes* were so sought after, that they rose in value, and the exchequer by issuing more promissory notes, accumulated vast sums: but the national debt was increased. It had been at eight hundred thousand ducats at the time of Murat's fall, and was soon afterwards doubled. A still greater danger was incurred, since all the foundations for the public benefit, such as the *Monti di Pietà*, hospitals and establishments for the purposes of art, science, and education, lost their patrimonies in land, of which they were deprived by the Government, receiving in exchange *rentes* in the *Gran Libro;* and thus all the means by which the institutions for the benefit of the citizen had been supported being involved with the fortunes of the

exchequer, a time of need, an invasion, or the caprices of the monarch might, by a suspension of payment, or by the refusal to fulfil the obligations entered into, plunge the whole society of Naples into destitution. To his own disgrace, and to the discredit of his government, a minister of the crown was among the purchasers of the above-mentioned property.

To give a correct impression of these five years of Ferdinand's reign, I shall have to allude to many facts which, when isolated, appear hardly worth mentioning. The reader must not expect to discover the usual causes of revolution, such as an active tyranny, decay in the finances, spoliation of property, or insecurity of life; but errors rather than crimes, insignificant plots, and the dark spirit of hatred stealing on almost unobserved for five years, but swelling the political torrent which deluged the kingdom in the year 1820. The revolution of that year, therefore, appeared to emerge from the bosom of a mild monarchy, when the finances were well supplied, and justice fairly administered; and a government, which had both supporters and friends, was overthrown, and another formed, opposed to the sentiments and interests of many; thus completing a revolution in which the leaders were few, but with numerous followers, and which was approved of by all. Such paradoxes as these can only be explained by a diligent search into history, by describing the inherent defects of each part of the government, and pointing out the disease by which it was destroyed.

The wealthy endowment of the royal academy, which had been assigned by the two last kings as a support to science and scientific men, was now sold; but the sum received for it was small, as was usually the case in this sale of the national property. The minister Tommasi repurchased it in exchange for *rentes*, and made so large a profit, that he doubled his private fortune, which was already enormous, while the academy was for ever deprived of all chance of obtaining a better bargain. The whole conduct of the transaction was infamous; the law by which the national property was put up to sale was kept secret by the minister, who was chancellor, so as to allow time for the marquis to acquire some of the *rentes* before the necessary consequence of its publication had raised their value: the Minister of Justice both requested and

ordered all competitors to keep back ; and, finally, the Minister of the Interior, who was at the head of the academy, neither promoted competition nor revealed the frauds which had been practised ; it thus appeared as if these three ministers had combined to forward the interests of the Marquis Tommasi ; but the affair was really worse, for, by a stretch of royal favour, these three ministerial departments were all filled by the Marquis Tommasi himself.

Two features in the character of the minister Medici prevented all these mistakes and crimes doing much damage to the exchequer : his avarice, and his faithful adherence to his word ; for though his genius was little fitted to cope with theories of finance, he was deeply versed in the wiles and chicanery of banking ; so that while the worst of financiers, he was the first banker of our age. The foreign debt diminished day by day, and wholly ceased in the year 1823 ; and the taxes were duly paid. A bank of discount, such as that used in England, France, and elsewhere, was founded ; a safe measure, where property is protected by law, and profitable where there is a superfluity of money. A million of ducats was placed there from the royal bank, and the exchequer was enabled (by an abuse of trust) to turn private deposits, and other sources of capital, to its own profit, which was, however, without danger or injury to any one in a time of peace.

It will thus be perceived that the new financial system preserved the institutions of the Decennium, but was less rapacious, was faithful in its engagements, and, though not so honest in some of its details, had an improved credit. In both cases the great source of wealth was wanting, namely, private enterprise in connexion with the government ; a happy combination, which will, however, only thrive in a free country, and fails entirely under an absolute government. As the maintenance of the German troops was a heavy burden on the exchequer, the Government undertook the formation of a native army.

A minister of war must either have been a Bourbonist or Muratist ; and therefore a council was instituted, called the Supreme Council, in imitation of the Aulic Council of Vienna, composed of the prince-royal, Don Leopold, as president, the Marquis St. Clair as vice-president, and four generals (two from either side)

as councillors. Some of Murat's soldiers had remained faithful to their standard, but many had deserted, thus endangering the public tranquillity. The army of Sicily was composed of various materials, under various rules of discipline. The organization, character, and uniforms of the two armies, formerly enemies, but now united into one, were different; a disparity which weakened the effectiveness of the force. The aim of all who undertake the organization of an army should be to reduce the whole to complete uniformity in men and things; but the supreme council were not equal to their task; inexperienced in public business, they aspired to an ideal perfection (the common error of new men); and while striving to gratify the ambition of the triumphant party, they got entangled in vain disputes. The two heads of the council belonged, one to the family, and the other to the household, of the king, and were wholly occupied with a court life; the charge of organizing the army, therefore, devolved on the four inferior councillors; and in order to display their entire impartiality, those attached to the Bourbon side were always against the Bourbonists, and those on the Murat side against the Muratists; while to prove their high principles and generosity, they in turn defended the cause of the opposite party when ill used; but though they thus exchanged places, matters continued as before, and the end was factions, favoritism, insults, calumny, and irritation.

Such being the state of feeling in the council, we shall now describe their acts. They collected the remains of Murat's army at Salerno, and all the soldiers brought from Sicily, who had formed the royal guard. Several regiments were then composed by drawing soldiers and officers from either side, but assigning smaller pay to those who had served under the Decennium, and more generous pay to those who had served in Sicily; the generals who had returned to their country with the king, were promoted one or two steps; and it was decreed on the 23d May 1815 (the day of the restoration of the Bourbons), that where the choice lay between officers of equal rank, those who had served in the Sicilian army should be preferred before those who had served under the Napoleonic dynasty, although these last might be their seniors in the service; and the king, yet unwearied with bestowing favours, appended to the list of subsequent promotions of his favourites,

the date of the 23d May, thus adding the advantage of supposed seniority to that of rank; but seniority is a fact immutable as time itself; for though the favour or caprice of potentates may heap honour upon honour, they cannot diminish the years of a man in one case, or add to them in another.

The colours, arms, and motto of the chivalrous order of the Two Sicilies, were changed, although they had been confirmed by treaties and promises; but though changed, the Government was not satisfied; the officers of the corps of marines were obliged to conceal their decoration; and among the other officers, the timid ceased to wear it; while those who had the courage to continue to appear with it, were looked upon with jealousy. When at court, they were obliged to hide the order from the king or to endure his frown, and it was omitted in the new shield of the royal arms; this caused a greater separation than ever in the two factions composing the army, was a disgrace to the supreme council, and produced weakness in the State, while compromising the Government.

The ordinances for the regulation of the army were changed, and everything being new, the ignorance and disgust were equally general. Even the art of war introduced by Gustavus, brought to perfection by Frederick, practised by all the soldiers of Europe, and approved of by Bonaparte, which had been so long tried and been crowned with success and glory, was pronounced imperfect; yet its reform was undertaken by four generals, two of whom belonged to an army which had never seen service, and the remaining two, to an army which had always been defeated.

In the civil administration, the municipal and provincial system was maintained, but the council of state abolished. The communal, district, and provincial councils, therefore, continued as before, but that of the Crown was wanting; and as the whole economy of the State centred in this last, the chain was thus broken, and the administration wanted unity. Its dissolution was caused by its name. The council of state under the Bourbons, although never employed for any purpose, was formerly considered by King Ferdinand the highest tribunal of the monarchy, and a member of council held a far higher rank than a minister; for his ministers were often only appointed as a matter of necessity, whereas his councillors were chosen from among his favourites; a distinction

which had great weight in the royal mind, accustomed to measure the authority and merit of his subjects by his own concessions and favour. Had the council of state under the Decennium been called by any other name, therefore, it would perhaps have been continued.

Joachim left the administrative system imperfect, although he had intended to introduce reforms, but time was wanting; he was engaged in preparing a new law on the subject, when the work was interrupted by Bonaparte's escape from Elba, and the war in Italy commenced by himself; and it soon afterwards wholly disappeared with the rapid fall of this rash king. The glory was reserved for his successor; but though Ferdinand gave his own name to the laws of Joseph and Joachim, he confirmed them as they were without further inquiry, and thereby incurred much odium, since the people expected to find peace, economy, and plenty, under an old government, as much as glory, enterprise, and distinction, under a new: yet the administration of the country became daily worse; the king was indifferent who filled the office of minister of the interior, and allowed it to remain a year and eight months almost forgotten in the hands of the minister of justice, and then confided it to one Parisi, a Sicilian, an old man, averse to any new system, and who despised art and science: at his death, it fell to the minister of marine, General Naselli, who, though less unaccustomed to modern innovations than Parisi, was more ignorant. These appointments proceeded from the fears and ambition of the ministers, Medici and Tommasi, who wished to surround the king with men as incapable as themselves, in order that their mediocrity might not be outshone.

Several magistrates, noted for their virtues and learning, were appointed to reform the codes of law. Those introduced during the Decennium remained meantime in force, with the exception of that relating to divorce, which was abolished, while the laws of succession were altered for the worse; the military code was reformed by other commissioners. The Government was desirous of effacing the names and times of Joseph and Joachim from the public acts, and, in their pride and folly, hoped to erase the memory of these two kings so effectually as to prevent them ever being emblazoned in history, or remembered by man.

In preceding books, I have mentioned how several military commissions had been instituted in the early years of the Decennium; atrocious tribunals, though a necessary act of severity in the commencement of a new dynasty; they were fewer under Joachim, and were entirely abolished towards the end of his reign. A few months later, however, they were restored after the return of the Bourbons, when the number of malefactors disturbed the public tranquillity; but when even these tribunals proved insufficient, a decree was issued, the substance of which, as well as its results I give here, in order that we may observe the extremes of civilisation and barbarism to which the State was alternately subjected. A Junta composed of the *intendente* of the province, the commander of the forces, and the president of the criminal court, drew up and published a list of the outlaws; a price was set upon the heads of all whose names were there inscribed, and every one was empowered to kill them; a reward was also offered for their capture. The trial consisted in the *atto di plenità*;[1] their guilt being considered already proved, the punishment was death, and no appeal could be made from the sentence; its execution was immediate.

The unlimited power of these juntas made it imperative that the members of whom they were composed, should possess almost superhuman wisdom, coolness, prudence, benevolence, and justice; but far from this being the case, their sentences were often given so carelessly and with so much precipitation, that the names and descriptions of different outlaws were often confounded, and in the list of those doomed for destruction were inscribed innocent persons, believed to be highway robbers upon a popular report, either because absent, or because lying forgotten in prison, or serving in the army; and though many of these mistakes were discovered and rectified, many more were concealed by the death of the accused. The period of the Decennium had not been signalized by such acts of cruelty; a price was not then set on the heads of outlaws, and if captured, they were tried by the usual forms of public accusation and defence.

[1] *Atto di plenità.* A mode of trial by which the crime, being a thing understood, the judge had only to identify the person and pronounce sentence.

By another law the correctional judges[1] were abolished, and there was no longer any public trial for petty offences. The plaintiff might institute proceedings, but was stopped by a pardon to the accused; and the old system of remissions and fines which had expired with feudalism was revived. Provocations, blows, wounds which were not mortal, and other offences which came under the head of misdemeanours, were committed with impunity after this law had passed, provided the power or wealth of the delinquent could purchase silence or pardon; an injustice which was the more to be deprecated, as it fell heavily on the weak and the poor, and because invidious in an age of social equality, besides being attributed to the parsimony of the Government, as the correctional judges had been no small burden to the exchequer.

Such was the state of justice in the laws; but let us now turn to what it was practically. The Prince of Philipstadt had two illegitimate daughters, and the Duke of Spezzano several illegitimate children. The law forbade that they should be made legitimate, but the king granted this favour to their parents, to both of whom he was personally attached, thus committing a great injury towards the rightful heirs, and breaking the laws.

By another decree, where an appeal was made against a sentence in a case of feudal right, the matter was finally decided by a tribunal instituted arbitrarily by the king, who pronounced against the commonalty, and for the Duke of Ascoli, a favourite at Court.

Again, there had been a long standing lawsuit between the Duke di Diano and the Marquis di Villanuova, and during the Decennium it had been decided in favour of the former, who thus came into the lawful and secure possession of a very rich inheritance. But Diano was disliked by the Bourbon king, Villanuova a favourite; the lawsuit was therefore revived in 1815 by letters patent, and the fears of one party rose with the hopes of the other; but public indignation, the outcry, scandal, and suspicion which followed, restrained the violence though not the favours of despotism, and the king decided that Diano should remain in undisturbed possession of the wealth he had acquired, but ordered

[1] *Giudici Correzzionali.* Judges who were only permitted to sentence to a punishment not exceeding six years in duration.

that two hundred thousand ducats of the public money should be presented to Villanuova.

These arbitrary acts did not stop here: the *Intendente* of Sant' Angelo, with Colonel Sponsa, and other gentlemen of the Basilicata, were accused of high treason and thrown into prison. After a month of severe imprisonment, finding that no inquiry had been instituted into their case, they demanded their trial, but were refused; even their chains were not removed, nor did the police, as bound by law, deliver the charge of composing the procès to the ordinary magistrates. After a few more months had elapsed, the two first were set at liberty and restored to their employments under Government; and although the accusation was proved to have been calumnious, and the papers presented by the accusers to have been forged, those guilty of this crime remained unpunished, because friends of the monarchy.

Among the officers retained in the service by the treaty of Casalanza, was General Zenardo; he was a man of rapacious character, scurrilous in his language, and as dangerous in peace as useful in war. The Government wished to punish him for some faults committed under the French kings, but the city took alarm, fearing this would prove a precedent to political vengeance; the rest of the generals, therefore, wisely laying aside the consideration of their private feelings, in the common danger, took up his defence, and the king accordingly ordered the suspension of the trial which had commenced, and sent Zenardo into exile. Ferdinand's hatred of the Muratists, which had been restrained by the orders of the Congress of Vienna, began to transpire, and it was then perceived that the moderation of the reigning dynasty was assumed, not to be depended on, nor likely to last.

In Piagine, a village of the province of Salerno, containing a turbulent population, lived a respectable family of the name of Pugli, who continued faithful in their adherence to the late government. One feast day, a band of ruffians from that part of the country, who had returned from Sicily thirsting for blood and plunder, attacked their house, which they called a shelter for Jacobins, pillaged and burned it; then binding the whole family with ropes, regardless of age or sex, dragged them into the public square. Hastily arranging a great heap of dried wood in a circle,

they placed not fewer than five of the family within it, and set fire to the pile; as the flames spread, they threw burning wood over their unhappy victims, who were thus consumed, and when any of them attempted to force a passage through the flames, they were driven back. When their cries ceased, a sign they were all dead, the fire was extinguished, and a miserable heap of corpses were discovered amidst the ashes, in various and touching attitudes. The priest, Pugli, had his arms crossed on his breast; and a woman with maternal solicitude had extended her arms over her two young children, shielding them with her body, so that though dead they were not burnt; the whole presented a horrible sight.

The perpetrators of this crime, secure from punishment, were making merry in the village, when they were arrested and condemned to death by the military commission of Salerno; but their advocate hastened to Naples, and had an interview with the king, in which he reminded his Majesty of former deeds of the condemned (atrocious acts of brigandage, but in the service of the Bourbons), explained to him that the family who had been murdered had been attached to Murat, and enemies of their lawful king; and having obtained the pardon he implored, returned in all haste to Salerno; but Divine justice caused so many obstacles to be thrown in his way, so much time was lost between his interview with the king and signing the paper, that the fatal hour arrived before the pardon, and eleven of those condemned had died by the hand of the executioner. The king was furious, and, without further inquiry, punished the president of the military tribunal, as well as the commanders of the province and of the division, although they were all his devoted adherents.

In Reggio, a city of Calabria, one Ronca was condemned to death. He was a wretch of the lowest description, as a single crime among his thousand misdeeds during years of outlawry and brigandage will prove. He had a wife who had followed him through all the perils of a brigand's life; she gave birth to an infant, and the father wearied with its cries, and fearing lest they might betray him, had the barbarity to murder his innocent child, by dashing its head against a tree; the mother was weeping with grief and horror at this sight, when her husband, enraged at her tears, discharged his gun at the unhappy woman, who was stretched

lifeless over the body of her child. Ronca did not, however, abandon the spot, which was conveniently situated for purposes of defence and plunder, but the ruffian ate and drank for many days beside the unburied bodies of his wife and child; yet this hardened villain was pardoned by the king, in reward for other crimes committed in the Bourbon cause.

Thus the hopes conceived of the new Government were day by day fading away, and the hatred of the old Government was diminishing, when news arrived of the death of Murat.

After the battle of Waterloo, and the fall of the French empire, many reports were circulated of the fate of King Joachim. Some said he was in Turin, others that he was in America, and others again that he was concealed in France, or that, persecuted everywhere, he had abandoned himself to chance; when tidings arrived that he had reached Corsica, where he still retained the title of king, and soon afterwards that he had landed as an enemy in Calabria.

I have already mentioned how, after remaining a day in Ischia, Murat had sought an asylum in a small vessel sailing for France. When crossing the Bay of Gaeta, he beheld his standard still floating from the towers; the thought of his children shut up within the walls, combined with his natural impetuosity of character and long habits of war, suggested the idea of throwing himself into the fortress and fighting there, less in the hope of recovering his kingdom, than with the courage of a desperate man: finding the entrance to the port blocked up by a large number of vessels, he was, however, obliged to abandon his project and continue his voyage westwards.

He reached Fréjus on the 28th May, and approached that very shore where the prisoner of Elba had, two months before, landed under better auspices. Once more on the soil of France, he was agitated by a thousand thoughts and recollections; his first feats of arms, his long services, his successes, his crown, and his name; and again, his last acts in the war of Russia, the resentment of Bonaparte, his intrigues with Austria and England, his alliance with these powers, and his war against France; his desertion and his ingratitude. Adversity had so changed his nature, that fear prevailed over hope; he dared not proceed to Paris, and, therefore, remained at Toulon.

From thence he wrote thus to the minister Fouché, his friend in the days of his prosperity : "You know the motive and the result of the war of Italy ; arrived in France, I now offer my arm to the emperor, and I trust that Heaven may allow me to atone for the disasters of the king by the success of the captain." Fouché presented the letter to Bonaparte, who asked what treaty of peace he had concluded with the King of Naples since the war of 1814 ; thus recalling and revenging past injuries. Joachim remained in Toulon, and was treated with respect by the citizens, either from pity at his misfortunes, or from the recollection of his past greatness, or from the possibility that he might rise again to power.

This irksome repose was, however, interrupted by the battle of Waterloo. Toulon, Nîmes, and Marseilles, were agitated by political and religious frenzy ; the partisans of the empire were massacred, and their spoil divided. Joachim concealed himself, and wrote once more to Fouché, who, having just before been the minister of Bonaparte, was now that of Louis, and contrived under hostile kings, and amidst the ruin of empires, to maintain his authority and power unmolested. Joachim begged for a passport to England, promising to reside there as a private individual, subject to the laws. He wrote to the same effect to Maceroni, formerly one of the officers on his staff, and who had remained faithful to him, while attracting the favourable notice of the allied sovereigns by his ability and good fortune. But Fouché sent no answer, and Maceroni having incurred the suspicion of the French police, was at that time in prison.

The fate of the unhappy Murat became daily worse ; sought after by the police agents in Toulon, and with a snare laid for him by the Marquis de la Rivière, who himself had some years before only escaped execution by the favour of Murat, and who now ungratefully returned death for life, he wrote to the King of France in terms which, while avoiding pride as well as servility, were worthy of an unfortunate and exiled monarch. He sent this letter to Fouché, requesting him to deliver it into the royal hands, not wishing to send the paper direct to the king, in order to avoid discovering his place of asylum, or the necessity of a falsehood for its concealment. He dated his letter to the minister, "From the dark recesses of my dungeon," the only expression denoting his

misery, as his royal dignity forbade further complaint. He received no answer to his prayers, for the crafty minister did not reply, and Louis was likewise silent. Wretched and desponding, he thought of proceeding to Paris, and trusting his fate to the allied sovereigns, whom he intended to remind of his past greatness, his military renown, the confidential intercourse he had once held with them, and how often they had extended to him the hand of friendship and good faith ; he hoped for a generous reception and safety. He resolved not to travel by land, in order to avoid the road yet reeking with the blood of Marshal Brune,[1] and, therefore, freighted a vessel to convey him to Havre de Grâce, whence he could proceed to Paris without danger.

Selecting a remote part of the coast and a dark night for the time of embarkation, he waited long for the vessel, but whether from a mistake or some chance, she proceeded to another place, so that as day broke, Murat was obliged to retreat among the rocks and vineyards. He happily found another asylum, and having escaped the snares which had been laid for him, he finally left France in a small vessel bound for Corsica, a hospitable island, and the native land of many who had once followed him in war, and been the companions of his glory. After two days a sudden storm arose, and they were forced to take in their single lateen sail, and allow the boat to drift along for thirty hours at the mercy of the waves. The hurricane was subsiding when fortunately (as the little vessel was shattered in several places, and was unmanageable in rough weather) another and larger vessel came in sight, sailing towards France ; having reached her, one of the three accompanying Joachim, begged the pilot to take them in and convey them to Corsica, offering him a large remuneration. But, either because the man was obdurate, or that he feared some deception, or the plague, he rudely rejected their request. Luckily these unfortunate men were met by the *Corriera*, a vessel con-

[1] Napoleon had appointed Marshal Brune to maintain order in the south of France. Brune was no courtier, nor ambitious of public notice, but a brave and faithful soldier. He accepted the charge as a duty : but after the news of the battle of Waterloo, the population of this district rose against all the adherents of Napoleon, and Brune was basely murdered by the infuriated mob at Avignon in August 1815.—See Vaulabelle, *Histoire des Deux Restaurations*, vol. iii. chap. viii. pp. 413-425.

stantly plying between Marseilles and Bastia; Joachim then uncovering his face, told his name to the pilot, adding, "A Frenchman, I speak to Frenchmen, and nearly shipwrecked, I ask aid from those who are themselves out of danger." He was welcomed and treated with honour as a king.

The following day he landed at Bastia. Corsica was at that time convulsed by civil discord, and divided between Bourbonists, Bonapartists, and independents. The first was the weaker party, and the two others, who were stronger, appealed to Joachim to form a new government; he therefore fell under the suspicion of the authorities in the island, and prudently retired for safety to Vescovado, and thence to Ajaccio, always pursued by the rulers, and as often protected by the insurgent islanders. These popular demonstrations, while restoring to him his royal dignity, raised false hopes, and made him frequently exclaim, "If a people to whom I am a stranger stand up for me, what will not the Neapolitans do? I accept it as a happy augury." He accordingly prepared a scheme, which he only revealed to his most confidential friends, to land at Salerno, where three thousand of his former troops were stationed, and were inactive and discontented with the Bourbon government; he proposed to proceed with them to Avellino, and to increase the number of his soldiers and partisans on the way; to get three days' march upon the road to the Basilicata in advance of the German troops, who would probably be sent from Naples against him; to fill all the kingdom with his fame, and not to approach the metropolis until the report of his success had thrown the Government into a ferment, and forced the pusillanimous Bourbon into flight. His natural courage, long habits of war, and frequent success, forbade his anticipating defeat, and made him indifferent to danger. Intent on this project, he collected a band of two hundred and fifty Corsicans, all attached to him personally, and ready for adventure; and freighted out six vessels.

The day of departure was fixed, when, just before starting, he received letters from Maceroni, dated Calvi, announcing that he was on his way to Ajaccio, the bearer of good tidings. Joachim waited for him, and he arrived the next day. After relating his own adventures in a few words, he presented Murat with a paper, written in French to this effect:—

"His Majesty, the Emperor of Austria, will grant an asylum to King Joachim, on the following conditions:—

"1st, That the king shall assume a private name; and the queen having taken that of Lipâno, the same is proposed to the king.

"2d, That the king shall reside in one of the cities of Bohemia, Moravia, or Upper Austria, or, if he should prefer it, in the country; but in one of these provinces.

"3rd, That he shall pledge his word of honour not to quit the Austrian dominions without the express permission of the emperor, and to live as a private individual subject to the laws of the Austrian monarchy.—By command of his Imperial Majesty,

PRINCE METTERNICH.

"Dated, PARIS, 1*st September* 1815."

"A prison, then," exclaimed Joachim, "is to be my asylum! A prison is a tomb, and nothing remains for a king who has fallen from his throne but the death of a soldier. You have come too late, Maceroni; I have already determined on my fate; I waited three months for the decision of the allied sovereigns; of these same monarchs, who not long since sought my friendship, but have now abandoned me to the sword of my enemies. I will proceed with my enterprise, filled with the happy anticipation that I may reconquer my dominions; the disastrous war of Italy has not deprived me of any of my rights; kingdoms are lost and gained by arms; the rights of the crown are inalienable, and fallen kings, if favoured by fortune, the instrument of God, may rise again to their thrones. If I fail, my imprisonment must be the natural consequence, but I will never consent to drag out the miserable remnant of my days in slavery, subject to barbarous laws. Bonaparte resigned the throne of France, yet he returned to it in the same way which I now attempt; he was defeated at Waterloo, and made a prisoner; I have not resigned my throne, nor forfeited my right, therefore a fate worse than imprisonment would be contrary to human justice; but be assured that Naples shall be my St. Helena."

In the night of the 28th September, the little fleet weighed anchor from Ajaccio; the sky was calm, the sea smooth, the wind fair, the troops full of courage, and the king in high spirits. The

Neapolitan Government had already gained information of most of Joachim's projects; for hardly had they learned that he was in Corsica, when they sought out some one to place as a spy over his actions; and a man of the name of Carabelli, a Corsican, who had been employed by Joachim when king, had the baseness and ingratitude to present himself as a candidate for the vile office, or was recommended to the Neapolitan Government by his infamous character. He accosted the incautious Murat at Ajaccio, and, under pretence of care for his interests, endeavoured to dissuade him from the enterprise, according to the instructions he had received from the Neapolitan Government, who had calculated the risks of allowing it to proceed. He then sent information of the intentions, hopes, preparations, and movements of Joachim; but the Government took no step towards defence, as they were yet ignorant of his intended place of landing, and feared to spread the news of his project in the kingdom, where his partisans were many and daring, the Bourbonists few and weak, and where the hopes which the credulous and inexperienced had entertained upon the restoration of the former king, had already been disappointed.

The fleet sailed prosperously along for six days, but was then scattered by a tempest, which lasted three; two of the vessels, one of which contained Joachim, drifted into the Gulf of St. Eufemia, two more came within sight of Policastro, a fifth was wandering in the seas of Sicily, and the sixth was driven along as chance directed. Providence mercifully prevented their disembarkation at Salerno, as the band was neither strong enough to have insured success, nor so weak as to have been immediately put down, while they were in sufficient numbers to have introduced civil strife into the kingdom, which would have been followed by more oppression and suffering. Joachim hesitated how to act, but, desperate and daring, he resolved to land at Pizzo, and proceed with twenty-eight followers to the conquest of a kingdom.

It was the 8th October, and a feast-day, and the militia were drawn up in the market-place for a review, when Joachim arrived, with his standard raised, and he and his followers shouting, "Long live King Murat!" At the sound all present were silent, foreseeing the disastrous termination of this bold attempt. Murat

perceiving how cold was his reception, hastened on to Monteleone, a large city, the capital of the province, and where, trusting to the gratitude of the citizens, he hoped to find friends. But one Captain Trentacapilli, in Pizzo, with an agent of the Duke dell' Infantado, (both devoted adherents of the Bourbons, the first having already perpetrated atrocious deeds in their service, the second sincerely attached to their cause), hastily collected their followers and partisans, and coming up with Joachim, discharged their weapons at him and his followers. He halted, and instead of returning the fire, saluted them. The courage of these despicable wretches rose with impunity, and firing again, they killed Captain Moltedo, and wounded Lieutenant Pernice; the rest were preparing to defend themselves, when Joachim prevented them by words and gesture.

The ground soon swarmed with the increasing numbers of his opponents, the road was blocked up, and no escape possible, except on the side towards the sea, but here high cliffs intervened; Joachim, however, dashed down them, and reaching the shore, saw his vessel at some distance. He shouted to Barbarà, the captain, who, however, on hearing his name called, retreated further off, carrying away the rich booty he had on board. This robber, and ungrateful villain, had been induced by Joachim, when king, to quit the infamous trade of a corsair, and although a Maltese, he had been admitted into his navy, raised in a short time to the rank of a captain of a frigate, and created a knight and baron. Joachim now despairing of succour, tried to push off a small skiff which lay upon the shore, but the strength of one man was not sufficient to move it, and while he was still at work, Trentacapilli, with his myrmidons, surrounded and seized him, tore off his jewels which he wore on his cap and breast, struck him in the face, and insulted him in a thousand ways both by words and actions; at this moment his fortunes had sunk to their lowest ebb, for the insults of a rabble are harder to bear than death. Thus deprived of his decorations, he was led into the dungeon of the castle, together with his companions, who were likewise captured and maltreated.

The authorities of the province were first apprised of these facts by report, followed by letters confirming the news. General Nunziante, who commanded in Calabria, sent Captain Stratti with a sufficient force to Pizzo; Stratti proceeded to the castle to take

down the names of the captives, as he did not credit the information that Joachim was among them. After two names had been given, he asked the third, when the prisoner replied, "Joachim Murat, King of Naples." Startled at these words, Captain Stratti requested him in a respectful manner to pass into a better room, where he paid him marked courtesy, giving him the title of Majesty, a last favour or mockery of fortune. Nunziante, on his arrival, saluted him with deference, and provided him with proper food and clothing. This general contrived (no easy task) to treat Joachim in his prison in such a manner, as to reconcile his fidelity to the Bourbon king with respect to the misfortunes of King Murat.

The Government learnt the news of Pizzo by telegraph and couriers. The sensation this produced in the king and his ministers was that of mingled terror at the danger they had incurred, delight at their escape, suspicion, doubts, hatred, and the atrocious resolution to satiate their desire of vengeance. They proposed to imprison the most noted and influential of the Muratist party, but had not the courage to fulfil their design; they, however, despatched soldiers into the provinces, sent the Prince of Canosa (already a tried instrument of tyranny, and capable of every enormity) with despotic power into Calabria, and increased the number of guards and officials in the palace. These precautions were to cease with the death of Murat, and the order for his execution was sent down by telegraph and messengers. A court-martial was to try him as a public enemy. Whilst the order for his death was flying upon the wings of the telegraph, Joachim was passing his time, unsuspicious of danger at Pizzo, sleeping as soundly as those in happier circumstances, careful of his person, and when speaking to Nunziante, addressing him as a king would a foreign general. The day before his execution, he observed it would be easy to come to an accommodation with King Ferdinand, by the latter yielding him the kingdom of Naples, and by his yielding to Ferdinand his claims on Sicily. These wild and unseasonable ideas are characteristic of the character and mind of Joachim.

On the night of the 12th, the fatal order arrived, by which seven judges were appointed, three of whom, as well as the procurator-general, were of the number of those whom Murat, when king, had

raised from obscurity, and loaded with gifts and honours. Had they refused this cruel office, they would perhaps have been punished (as the rigour of the law demanded) by a loss of employment, and imprisonment for three months, but they would have purchased an honourable reputation at a small price; preferring, however, a less generous course, they all accepted, and thanked him by whom they were selected, for the opportunity of proving their loyalty to their new king: they, therefore, were unmerciful towards their former king, and hoped under the name of a virtue to hide the turpitude of their conduct. The infamous tribunal met in a room of the castle.

In another room Joachim was sleeping the last sleep of his life. The day was already advanced when Nunziante entered, but he had not the heart to waken him; when he had finished his sleep and opened his eyes, the general prepared him to hear bad news, and then told him that the Government had ordered him to be tried by a court-martial. "I am a lost man, then!" exclaimed Murat; "the order for my trial is the order for my death." His eyes filled with tears, but dashing them off, and ashamed of his emotion, he inquired if he might be permitted to write to his wife, to which Nunziante assented with a gesture, for he felt himself overcome, and his voice too much choked to speak. Joachim then with a firm hand wrote in French as follows:—"My dear Caroline, my last hour has struck; within a few moments I shall cease to live, and you will have lost your husband. Do not forget me! I die innocent; my life has never been stained by an act of injustice. Adieu, my Achilles, my Letitia, my Lucian, and my Louisa. Show yourselves worthy of me. I leave you without a kingdom, without wealth, in the midst of many enemies. Be united, and rise above misfortune; look upon yourselves as you are, not as you might be, and God will bless your humility. Do not curse my memory. Know that my greatest misery in this last hour of my life is to die far from my children. Receive your father's blessing, receive my embraces and my tears. May the memory of your unhappy father be ever present with you.

"Joachim.

"Pizzo, 13*th October* 1815."

He cut off some locks of his hair, and folded them in the letter, which he consigned to the care of the general.

Captain Storace had been appointed to plead his cause, and was sent to inform him of the melancholy office which had been imposed on him by his judges. Murat replied, " They are not my judges, but my subjects ; private individuals cannot be the judges of kings ; nor can other kings sit in judgment over them, because they have no power over their equals ; kings have no judges but God and the people. If I am considered in the light of a marshal of France, I may be tried by a council of marshals, and if as a general, by generals. Before I descend so low as to submit to the decision of the judges who have been selected, many pages must be torn from the history of Europe. The tribunal is incompetent." Storace begged him to allow himself to be defended, but he answered resolutely, " You cannot save my life, allow me to save my royal dignity. This is no trial, but a condemnation, and those who are called my judges, are in reality my executioners. I forbid you to speak in my defence."

Captain Storace left him sorrowfully, and the magistrate employed to collect the evidence entered, and asked his name, according to rule ; he would have gone on, had not the prisoner interrupted his insulting address by saying, " I am Joachim Murat, King of the Two Sicilies, and your king ; leave me, and relieve my prison of your presence." Left alone, he sat with his head sunk, and his arms crossed on his breast, contemplating the portraits of his family, and his frequent sighs and deep dejection alone betrayed the bitterness of those thoughts which oppressed his heart. Captain Stratti, his kind jailor, finding him in this attitude, did not venture to address him ; but Joachim broke silence, " Pizzo rejoices over my misfortunes (he had either guessed or been told that such was the case). What have I done to the Neapolitans that they should be my enemies ? I have lavished all the fruits of my long labours and wars in their behalf, and I leave my family poor ; whatever freedom exists in the code of laws is my work ; I made the army famous, and raised the nation to the rank it holds among the great powers of Europe. For your sakes I forgot every other tie. I was ungrateful to the French who placed me upon the throne, whence I descended without fear or remorse. I took no

part in the tragedy of the Duke d'Enghien, which King Ferdinand now revenges by another tragedy; I swear it, by that God in whose presence I shall shortly appear." He was silent a few minutes, and then added, "Captain Stratti, I desire to be left alone. I thank you for the kindness you have shown me in my misfortunes, but I have no other means of evincing my gratitude to you than by its acknowledgment; be happy." As Joachim finished speaking, Stratti obeyed, and left the room in tears.

Soon afterwards, as he had not yet been informed of the sentence by which he was condemned, the priest Masdea entered, with these words: "Sire, this is the second time that I have spoken with you. When your Majesty came to Pizzo, five years ago, I asked your assistance to complete the building of our church, and you granted a more liberal sum than we had reason to expect. My voice, therefore, has already succeeded in obtaining a hearing, and I now trust that you will listen to my prayers, which are offered up for the eternal repose of your soul." Joachim fulfilled the last acts of a Christian with philosophic resignation; and at the request of Masdea, wrote in French, "I declare that I die a Christian.—G. N."

While these pious duties were enacting in one chamber of the castle, the court-martial in another were delivering sentence as follows: Joachim Murat, by the fortune of arms, having returned into that private life in which he was born, and having ventured, with twenty-eight comrades, to attempt this rash enterprise, not trusting to the force of arms, but to rebellion, has excited the people to rise, offended against the lawful sovereign, endeavoured to revolutionize the kingdom and Italy, and is therefore condemned to die as a public enemy by the law made during the Decennium, and which is still maintained in full vigour. This law had been dictated by Joachim seven years before, but had been by him mercifully suspended in many cases; it was now, however, the instrument of his own death.

The prisoner listened coldly and disdainfully to the sentence. He was led into a small court of the castle, where a double file of soldiers was drawn up, and, as he refused to have his eyes bound, he looked calmly on while their weapons were made ready; then placing himself in a posture to receive the balls, he said to the

soldiers, "Spare my face, and aim at my heart." After these words the muskets were discharged, and he who had been king of the Two Sicilies fell dead, holding in his hand the portrait of his family, which was buried with his sad remains in the very church which owed its erection to his piety. Those who believed in his death mourned it bitterly; but the generality of the Neapolitans beguiled their grief by some invention or other, respecting the events of Pizzo.

Thus died Joachim, in the forty-eighth year of his life, and the seventh of his reign. He was born at Cahors, of poor and humble parents; in the first years of the French Revolution, when hardly past his boyhood, he served as a soldier on the side of liberty, and soon afterwards rose to be an officer and colonel. Valiant and indefatigable in war, Bonaparte remarked him, and placed him by his side; he was created a general, marshal, Grand Duke of Berg, and, lastly, King of Naples. He gained a thousand trophies (and more when second than first in command) in Italy, Germany, Russia, and Egypt; he was merciful towards the vanquished, liberal to his prisoners, and was called the Achilles of France, because as brave and as invulnerable as the hero of old; he received the diadem almost as a dowry of the sister of Bonaparte, and lost it by his ignorance in the art of governing. His conduct was twice fatal to the cause of France; in the year 1814 by his over caution, and in the year 1815 by his rash folly. Ambitious and indomitable, he applied the rules of war to the government of the State; he was great in adversity, bearing his misfortunes with fortitude, but little in prosperity, from his violent and hasty temper. He had the ambition of a king, the spirit of a soldier, and the heart of a friend. In his person he was dignified, with an agreeable countenance, but too careful in his dress, to which he gave even more attention in the camp than in the palace. The fortunes of his life were as varied as the qualities of his mind; and unhappy as was his end, he met it fearlessly, and died lamented.

The Neapolitans were yet mourning the events at Pizzo, when a cause of still greater affliction and terror arose in the appearance of the plague. This epidemic had only ceased a few months in Malta, when it broke out again in Dalmatia, and almost at the same time in Smyrna, and in some villages of the island of Corfu;

skirting along the shores of the Archipelago, it reached Scutari and Salonica, where, owing to the stupidity of the Turks, it reappeared in the suburbs of Constantinople ; while it attacked the inhabitants of Cadiz at the opposite extremity of the Mediterranean. At the same time, it reached Noia, a small city of Puglia, situated on the Adriatic, containing a population of five thousand two hundred inhabitants. Eagerness for gain by men carrying on an illicit trade, caused its introduction with some goods, from Dalmatia or Smyrna ; but the smuggler either himself died of it, as he deserved, or hid himself, to avoid punishment for his unpardonable crime.

On the 23d November, Liborio di Donna died, and on the following day his wife, Pasqua Cappelli, both above seventy years of age, poor people, whose birthplace was unknown, but whose names are recorded in history, by their unhappy notoriety as the first victims of the plague. The disease, which was not yet recognised, was confined to the lowest classes, either because the infection was conveyed through wares more in use among them, or because fortune is most unsparing towards those who are already afflicted. The houses of the rich were not yet contaminated, and they refused to believe in the contagion, until a young man of the name of Lamanna caught it, and brought the infection into his family, when all classes of the unhappy city were soon afterwards either attacked or threatened with the disease.

The first death occurred on the 23d November, but a cordon was not placed around the city until the 2d January ; traffic went on as usual, people left the city and returned, and merchandise was carried into the provinces, and as far as Naples ; fortune or Divine providence, however, saved the kingdom and Italy; for out of the number of men and quantity of goods which left Noia, none happened to be infected. But if the authorities in the province were neglectful in the beginning, the Government afterwards made amends by their energy, in sending down commissioners and soldiers, passing precautionary measures, and confiding the principal direction to General Mirabelli, who, though strict, where necessary, and indefatigable and zealous, made himself popular. The unhappy city was surrounded by three circuits of ditches, one of which was at a distance of sixty paces, the next ninety, and the

third (which was rather a boundary line than barrier), ten miles off. Sentries were placed along these, and numerous fires lighted up the country at night. Whoever dared to attempt passing the line was to be punished with death ; and therefore, in one instance, an unhappy wretch, driven wild by disease or terror, trying to escape from the fatal city, and not stopping when warned or ordered to return, was killed by a discharge from several muskets.

The labours of the magistrates within the city were still greater and more distressing. All animals, which by their wool, feathers, or hair, were likely to carry infection, were killed in one day. The furniture of those who had been attacked by the plague was burned ; hospitals were established for the sick and convalescent, and directions given to watch contumacious persons ; spies were set on every house, all trade was stopped, the streets barricaded, and churches shut. But love of money and the ties of affection were often stronger than the duty of obedience or the fear of danger ; and valuable articles of furniture, and sick friends or relations, were kept concealed, thus occasioning the death of whole families.

The last day of the plague was the 7th June 1816. The calamity had lasted six months and a half ; it first assumed an alarming character in November and December, and increased during the three ensuing months ; it diminished in April, revived in May, and ceased in June. Three deaths occurred on the last day, but whether they were nobles or commons, rich or poor, is not recorded, for the general calamity had made all men equal. The number who died were seven hundred and twenty-eight, and of those cured, who had been attacked by the plague, seven hundred and ten ; a fourth of the population of Noia had therefore suffered from the pestilence. The tendency of the disease was to waste the system, and required remedies of an exciting nature ; it was most fatal when communicated by inorganic matter, but milder when communicated from one man to another. The plague having thus exhausted itself, the work of purification was completed, and all danger ceased ; a hundred and fifty cannon were fired, which, although chiefly intended to shake the atmosphere, and dissipate every vestige of the pestilence, were likewise a signal for rejoicings in the city and throughout the kingdom. A

herald was sent round the streets of Noia to proclaim that free intercourse might be resumed between the citizens, and meantime the barricades were taken down, the ditches filled up, and every sign of mourning and terror disappeared. Relations and friends embraced once again, and all went in procession to the church to sing hymns of thanksgiving. The joy was universal, but on the morrow, as each missed a father, a husband, wife, or child, their hearts were filled with lasting sorrow.

One night the magnificent theatre of San Carlo caught fire by accident. A few persons who were on the spot rehearsing a play, fled in consternation, and their cries, with the volumes of smoke issuing from the building, discovering the danger, people hastened thither from all parts of the city, but too late. The conflagration spread; the king and the royal family left the palace which adjoined the theatre, and the fire catching the whole of the immense structure which composed the roof, sent forth raging and brilliant flames, which were reflected on Monte St. Elmo, and in the sea below. The people stood by, looking on in sorrow and amazement; the sky, which had been calm, became stormy, and the wind blew the flames in the direction of Castel Nuovo, until they licked the bare walls of the castle. Happily the danger did not last long, for in less than two hours this noble structure was burnt to ashes, and the mistake of having, from financial avarice, abolished the company of firemen, was now acknowledged, though not rectified.

The next day we visited the ruins, which reminded us of ancient Rome and Pæstum, except that the scene before us was more melancholy, from our recent recollections of the magnificent paintings of Niccolini and of the music of Rossini. Calcined marbles, granite, and melted glass and metal, lay scattered in all directions. The king ordered the theatre to be rebuilt in the shortest possible time, and in four months it rose more beautiful than ever, so that men hesitated to which of the two kings, the father or the son, to give the palm.

That same year a bad harvest caused a famine among the poor; grain costing twenty ducats the *cantaio*.[1] The Government placed an embargo on the export of corn, first lowered and then abolished

[1] *Cantaio*, 200 English lbs.

the duty on imports, and next offered large premiums for its importation. But while the fortunes of the merchants were increased, no relief was afforded the poor. The system of monopoly aggravated the distress; the Government was perplexed amidst these embarrassments, and the large sums they lavished were either useless, or spent differently from what had been intended. The famine lasted two years, but ceased on the third, by plenteous harvests; much of the old grain was still in reserve, several merchants consequently failed, and their rapacity was punished. Fevers accompanied the famine, which began in the prisons, and spreading among the people, proved fatal and contagious. The lower orders, always under the influence of ignorance and superstition, believed the plague, the fire, the famine, and the fever, signs of Divine wrath, and a punishment for the sins committed at Pizzo; and thus the Government incurred a real but unmerited odium.

About this time the king fulfilled a vow he had made when a fugitive in Sicily; he had there heard that the church of San Francesco da Paola in Naples was to be demolished to enlarge the space before the royal palace, and to make room for a pantheon; and he vowed that if it should please God to restore him to the throne he had lost, he would rebuild the church more magnificent than before. This wish being fulfilled in 1815, he ordered the temple to be reconstructed, and invited all the architects of Italy to compete for the design; that of the Neapolitans Fazio and Peruta was chosen, and they were waiting for the promised reward, and looking forward to the honour they hoped to acquire by the work, when it was given to another architect, Bianchi di Lugano, unknown to the competitors as well as to fame. The first stone was laid on the 17th June of the year 1816, by the king himself, in a public and sacred ceremony, and the most eminent Neapolitan sculptors and painters were employed during the prosecution of the work. Landi and Cammuccini, whose names are known throughout Italy, and beyond the Alps, painted two canvasses with subjects taken from the Gospel narrative. At the time I write the temple is yet unfinished.[1]

The management of the police was for many months so discreet

[1] 1825-1830.

as to attract no observation, which continued as long as it was in the hands of the Chevalier Medici, and while the humane maxims laid down by the Congress of Vienna were adhered to. But the Prince of Canosa was afterwards appointed minister of police, and I shall therefore now state what was his origin, conduct, and system. Born in Naples of a noble family, he lived in retirement until the age of thirty-five, when, in compliment to his name, he was admitted into the municipal council: This took place in 1798, when the French army, led by Championnet, were at the gates of Naples, There was neither king nor regent in the city, for all had fled; the army was disbanded, the people in revolt, and the republicans holding secret meetings. The municipal council were sitting to provide against the dangers impending over the city, when Canosa declared that the king had justly forfeited his throne for having abandoned his kingdom, and that a new form of government was necessary for the State, which he proposed should be aristocratic. This proposal being as absurd as impossible (since only two kinds of government were practicable, a monarchy or a popular form), awoke the derision of all present, and soon afterwards brought trouble on the speaker, when he fell under the suspicion of the republican government established by the conqueror, and was thrown into prison. At the fall of this government he was left in confinement, and as his foolish wish to establish an oligarchy was as invidious to the monarchy as to the republic, Canosa was condemned to five more years' imprisonment; out of six votes, three were for the punishment of death, but the more merciful sentence prevailed; and the only time that the savage Junta of State showed any pity, was in the case of a man destined, a few years later, to destroy thousands. He was still undergoing his punishment, when, by the peace of Florence, he was released, and returned to the privacy and obscurity of family life. But in 1805, when the Neapolitan Court again fled, he offered his services to the Queen, and having been accepted, went to Sicily.

An infernal policy at that time guided the House of Bourbon; either in the hope of renewing the prodigies of 1799, or excited to hatred by the prosperity of the kingdom they had lost, they shrank from no means to excite a civil war in the country. They sent Fra Diavolo, Ronca, and Guariglia, into various provinces,

planned conspiracies, and roused the courage of their disheartened champions of '99 ; lavished gifts and promises, and offered a premium for crimes ; but in order to give method and consistency to this infernal scheme, there was wanted a sagacious head to organize the conspiracies, a leader for these low-born wretches, and a centre to the plots, at no great distance from the kingdom : Canosa was therefore appointed to this office, on the rock of Ponza.

He threw open the prisons within this island, and with the assistance of the galley slaves, and others as depraved, whom he had brought with him from Sicily, or had tempted to join him from Naples, he, during five years, organized conspiracies, rebellions, and crimes of every description, causing the deaths of thousands, either executed by his orders, or by the opposite party, in retaliation, or after trial. At length the means of carrying on this system of brigandage began to fail, and Canosa, though still unsatiated, returned to Sicily. He found the Court embittered against Lord William Bentinck, and soon afterwards the queen was driven away, the king placed under restraint, and the civil government such, that there was no place for Canosa. His services in Ponza only procured him a promise of the office of minister of police, whenever it should please Heaven to restore the lawful king to the throne of Naples.

This fatal promise was fulfilled in the year 1816. The society of the Calderari[1] had sprung up in the kingdom. The members of this society were bound by their vows to support despotic power in Naples, to suppress the Carbonari, free-masons, Muratists, and liberals. The Calderari were composed of men of the worst characters who had escaped from the prisons, when burst open by the mob in 1799, of the anarchists of that same year, of those who had been brigands during the Decennium, together with the refuse of the galleys of Ponza and Pantelleria. Many of these had perished in the last fifteen years, either in fight or by the hand of the executioner, but many still survived, who hoped for success and power

[1] *Calderari.* On the restoration of the king, Canosa revived the Santa Fede, with the new name of Calderari (or Tinkers) in opposition to the Carbonari. As soon as this association was discovered, it was discountenanced. The arrogation of exclusive loyalty by a party was not admitted, nor the principle of religous intolerance sanctioned. — *Lady Morgan's Italy*, vol. iii. Note, p. 266.

on the return of the Bourbons, but, on being rejected by the Government, lived in concealment.

Prince Canosa instituted himself, or was, in fact, their leader, and as soon as he became minister, he acted by the same means, and used the same secrecy as the society; he increased their numbers, distributed patents and arms, gave his orders and advice, and waited his opportunity to seize all the members of the hostile society in the cities and provinces, on one and the same day. Anxious to gain the favour of the king, Canosa, though a man of depraved morals, and always intoxicated with wine and passion, ostentatiously observed the rites of the Church, and was thought pious by Ferdinand, as well as by the low populace. It was a strange sight to behold him kneeling before the altar, muttering prayers and kissing holy relics; and still more strange to see him in his home, plotting deeds of iniquity, beneath the images of the Saviour and the saints, while his rooms were filled with informers and assassins, along with confessors and friars, noted for their sanctity.

But such hypocrisy could not impose long, for before his plots were fully ripened, many thefts and assassinations were committed, and the city was filled with ruffians, and the country with banditti; the Carbonari, when attacked, retaliated; the authorities were menaced; the laws trampled under foot, and the armed force which was sent to repress crime, either shared in it, or was unable to put it down, while the cause of the abyss of misery into which the country was plunged, was traced to Canosa. His emissaries in the provinces were thrown into prison, his papers were seized, and his plots discovered. This caused a greater excitement than the plague, for men will bear any adversity sent them by Providence, but will not pardon that caused by man. Canosa, meantime, continued minister; some of the councillors of state and influential persons about the court, with the ambassadors of Austria and Russia, however, petitioned the king to remove him, and Ferdinand yielded, though with reluctance; and dismissed his minister more because advised to do so, than in accordance with his own judgment; he, however, allowed him to continue in the enjoyment of his large stipend. Canosa wished to quit the kingdom, as a man of his character cannot endure to live at home, except as a tyrant. The disturbances which followed lasted long, though with less violence

and publicity, but were never wholly suppressed; while another great evil was added, in the triumph of the Carbonari, who increased in numbers and arrogance.

Francesco Patrizio was appointed Director, in place of the Minister of Police. He was a warm partisan of legitimacy and absolute monarchy, and, when under the influence of his passions, was violent; though, when compared with Canosa, he might be called merciful. Ambiguity and vacillation of purpose, the worst faults in a minister, were the distinguishing features of his rule.

CHAPTER II.

EVENTS AT HOME AND ABROAD.

1816—1819.

Towards the end of the year 1816, an American fleet appeared in the Bay of Naples; and an envoy was sent on shore, who demanded from the Government as a right, four millions of dollars, in compensation for the injuries inflicted on the United States by the confiscation of certain American ships, which had entered the Bay of Naples, relying upon the promise of protection to commerce; and he afterwards added threats to enforce his claim. The envoy reminded the Government, that in 1809, Joachim, being king, agreed to certain conditions respecting the commerce between Naples and the United States, and the following year several American ships arrived in the bay with valuable cargo; but whether, as was asserted, in open violation of the terms consented to, or as an act of necessity, these ships, with the usual contempt new governments show to private claims, had been immediately sequestrated and sold for the benefit of the Neapolitan exchequer.[1] The indignation of the American Government, which had been repressed for a few years, was now reawakened in 1816. The replies to the envoy were unfavourable, and he only received three empty vessels, which had not yet been sold; he protested again, and, as a conciliatory measure, proposed to found a mutual emporium of commerce in some island or port of the Two Sicilies; but our connexion with England compelled us to return an insulting refusal to this proposition, and the fleet departed from our shores.

The want of harmony among the troops was always increasing; the king was personally attached to the so-called Sicilians, yet the

[1] See *ante*, p. 116.

policy of his Government favoured the Muratists; and while the former were his real favourites, they were left unrewarded, while the latter were hated, yet courted by him. This double dealing was concealed by only a thin veil, and the first signal of discord was the bestowal of a new medal, called *di Onore*, on all the soldiers who had continued with the king in Sicily during the ten years of the French dominion: it was in bronze, with the king's effigy on one side, and on the other, a collar with the inscription *Costante Attaccamento* (constant attachment), which formed the centre of a star with four rays, suspended by a red ribbon. The medals were widely distributed, as they were even seen on the breasts of men who had been taken from the galleys, and of others who had undergone, or been condemned to the degrading punishment of flogging; and as it did not therefore record any virtue in the wearers, whose "constant attachment" had been the result of necessity, and who had none of them ever been tried by a choice between a more fortunate destiny and danger, every characteristic of what is called honour in society, in those who wore the medal *di Onore*, was wanting; it only therefore served to mark a broader distinction, and to separate one half of the army further from the other.

This was the last act of the Supreme Council of War; their mistakes arose from the ambition to form too large an army, and the entire absence of habits of public business, which produced so many disorders in the administration, that the finances of the State were injured, and the king's authority was held in contempt. The supreme council was therefore dissolved, and General Nugent, an Irishman by birth, at that time in the service of Austria, and well known by his varied fortunes during the wars of Italy, was appointed commander-in-chief. The choice displeased other claimants, who, concealing their disappointed hopes under the word patriotism, lamented that foreigners should always be preferred to so many meritorious Neapolitans, and quoted the names of Acton, Mack, and others. Nugent, while reorganizing the army, cancelled or changed all the acts of the supreme council for new but defective ordinances; but as they lasted only a short time, and fell silently with his fall, they now add to the number of forgotten human errors.

I must, however, allude to one of these errors, because it led to many unhappy mistakes. These ordinances of Nugent encouraged the Minister Medici in his belief, that the destiny of Naples depended on the destiny of France, and thus justified the parsimony of the exchequer; for if the dynasty of Naples was only destined to reign so long as that of France lasted, peace or war, internal tranquillity or revolution, must in Naples depend on what was taking place in France; and the former was only like the little boat attached to a large ship, and need fear no storm so long as France held together, nor hope for safety if she were lost; it was therefore unnecessary for her to provide for her own interests. Such are the conceptions of men of commonplace minds, who, when raised to a high position, are full of vagaries and theories.

By this course of reasoning, an army was pronounced a useless burden to the State, and four regiments of guards were considered sufficient for the king, with a large constabulary force for the safety of the kingdom. But the contingent of 25,000 men which had been promised to assist in the wars of Austria nevertheless, obliged us to maintain an armed force, although the all-powerful Holy Alliance had promised a long peace, repose for the monarchs, and submission in the people. The minister was annoyed and disgusted at thus having to spend money uselessly, and therefore lowered the pay, and lessened the accommodation of the soldiers; avarice was followed by injustice, and murmurs and complaints arose in the army. Nugent, though desirous of the public good, was a foreigner and rapacious, and, while himself disapproving these unfortunate measures, was the instrument employed to enforce them.

The levy for the army had been stopped by a decree of the year 1815, by which the king had abolished the conscription, which he considered an infliction on the people, introduced by the French; but now after many other plans had been proposed, he was compelled, under present circumstances, to resort to it again, though under the name of a levy, and calling the conscripts recruits. He hoped to conceal the turpitude of this breach of promise by a change of name; but the people had a twofold cause of complaint, for they could not forget that formerly the convenience of the conscript had been studied, and he had earned fame and fortune,

whereas the recruits were kept in a poor and abject condition; and that, while the legitimate king blamed the severities practised by the usurpers, he resorted to the same himself, and even worse.

The law of conscription is necessary under republics, constitutional monarchies, and mild despotisms, where the feudal system has been abolished, and is now even adopted by absolute governments, as the only system by which their immense armies can be maintained. But as it derives its origin from the doctrine of equality, it belongs to the new era, and hence in free countries, and where the laws are equal, it improves the character of the army; but its beneficial effects are lost under arbitrary governments, where discipline is uncertain, and where favours or punishments are dispensed at the pleasure of the king, while it is a certain evil where the government is hated by the governed, because the conscript brings along with him, to the army, patriotism and the love of home. Before he has attained his twentieth year he has heard the opinions of thinking men, listened to patriotic sentiments, and to his own father's censure of the Government. It is, therefore, impossible to form an army of conscripts which will be servilely obedient; and yet, without the law of conscription, it is equally impossible in these days to assemble an army of paid troops worth anything, or in sufficient numbers. This difficulty is drawing absolute governments towards the brink of destruction, and leading the people towards the attainment of political liberty.

I have already mentioned how, in the year 1790, many companies of militia were formed, which were called National Guards under the Republic, but were disbanded at the fall of that government, revived during the reign of Joseph, and increased by Joachim under the name of provincial legions. These same troops, who were limited by law to 80,000 men, were, in 1817, formed into twenty-one regiments, as many as there are provinces in the Two Sicilies. The possession of real property was a necessary condition before obtaining a title to be inscribed on the militia; the officers were selected by the king among the largest proprietors, and he likewise assigned their arms, regulations, uniform, and military equipments. The service was gratuitous, and all serving, were civilians. Five battalions were quartered in the metropolis, four of infantry, and one of cavalry, as guards of

public safety; it was the same corps which had been formed under Joachim, and in which the privates were freeholders and artisans, and the officers wealthy men and nobles. These battalions prided themselves on their ancient name and uniform, and boasted their origin, while they gloried in having maintained quiet during the popular and Bourbonist commotions of the year 1815.

By this militia, and by an army raised by conscription, all the arms were in the hands of the citizens, which, where a monarch has interests in common with his people, strengthens his authority, but where, as often happens, the case is reversed, serves to weaken his power. Political constitutions depend for their support on arms; and as long as arms are in the hands of conquerors, the government is one of conquest; when divided between a chief and his barons, it is a feudal monarchy; and when distributed by the monarch alone, becomes a despotism; but a government supported by armed civilians forms a civic government.

King Ferdinand IV. now styled himself Ferdinand I., which, though only a change in a cypher, produced important changes in the State. By the Congress of Vienna, reuniting the Two Sicilies into one kingdom under Ferdinand, who was fourth of that name in Naples, and third in Sicily, he became first in the united kingdom. Following the example of the Norman kings, he created his eldest son, and heir to the throne, Duke of Calabria, and his second, Prince of Salerno; the eldest son of the Duke of Calabria bore the title of Duke di Noto; his second, Prince of Capua; his third, Count of Syracuse; and his fourth, Count of Lecce—empty titles which were to descend to their children by the male line without land or power. After the king's change of title, doubts arose as to the pretensions of the Pope to the investiture of the throne of Naples, and the contested claims are not yet wholly set at rest, but are left to be decided by time.

By another edict of the same date, a council called a Court of Chancery[1] was instituted, composed of twelve ordinary councillors, five extraordinary, and eight referendaries. The referendaries were instituted for inquiry, and the ordinary councillors for advice; the extraordinary only giving their vote in general meetings.

[1] *Consiglio di Cancelleria.* Though thus called, it bore no analogy to the English Court of Chancery.

The court was divided into three chambers, and provided for the administration of the commonalties, and for lay or religious foundations, but did not interfere with the taxes or finance, nor with the administration of the public money, whether in the state or in the provinces. The vote was suggestive, the examinations were secret, and upon the mandate of a minister, and the council was solely responsible to him; it was neither intended to censure, nor to put any restraint upon the ministers, but to aid and support them; it was therefore an unpopular measure, because an offshoot of despotism.

By two other decrees, all of the same date, the council of state and the ministerial cabinet were reorganized; the powers of the first were not strictly defined, nor were their times of meeting fixed: the king chose the members of council at his pleasure, their vote was likewise suggestive, the meetings and their opinions kept secret, and thus the council of state ceased to constitute a part of the government, and was simply a form in the constitution of the monarchy, which could be employed to veil the despotic measures of the king. The cabinet was divided into eight secretaries of state, and the police was no longer under a minister, but was conducted by a magistrate, bearing the more humble title of director. The name was an improvement, but the office continued substantially the same.

By these ordinances, the king aimed at undermining the constitutions of Sicily. A fourth part of the first-mentioned council, as well as the council of state and the cabinet, were filled by Sicilians; the political condition of the Two Sicilies was declared equal; the government was sometimes to reside in Naples, and sometimes in Palermo; there was to be no precedence of one over the other. The Duke of Calabria was appointed the king's lieutenant in the island, where the administration, finance, justice, and all parts of the government, were to remain independent; the taxes paid in the year 1815, and voted by Parliament, were confirmed, and it was farther declared, that without the vote of this body, no other tax could be imposed in future. By flattery and artifice, the Government hoped to soften the blow and mitigate the grief of the Sicilians for their lost liberties; for the Parliament was in fact never again convoked, the liberty of the press was

restrained, and the people had no security for the execution of the laws. The Sicilians were thus fraudulently deprived of their constitution of the year 1812, as they had likewise been deprived of their more ancient constitutions which had existed in the island for seven centuries. It is therefore here necessary to give the reader a hasty sketch of the rise and fall of Sicilian freedom.

In the year 1060, the Norman barons, after having expelled the Saracens from Sicily, had met in council to provide for the exigencies of war; this assembly, taking its name from the object for which it had been called, was termed the military or baronial *braccio*;[1] later on, as a mark of respect for the power of the clergy, a clerical *braccio* was added to the military, called the ecclesiastical *braccio*. The political liberty of Sicily had meantime been advancing, and with it the requirements of the nation, and the taxes had increased; but as the Government then differed from that of the present day, in the absence of a census on landed property or incomes, when the theory of finance had not yet been reduced to a science, and when the conqueror seized on all on which he could lay his hands in the countries he had subdued, the ruler could only raise the taxes by voluntary contributions from his subjects. Hence arose the term *gratuitous grant* used in early times, but so often abused in later ages. The landowners of Sicily were occasionally summoned to meet for this purpose, and called the *braccio demaniale*,[2] which was added to the two others.

These three bodies were united in one, which, according to the usages of the time, assumed the name of Parliament. The members of the military *braccio* were hereditary, the ecclesiastical was composed of the bishops and abbots of certain sees, and the *demaniale* of deputies elected by the municipal councils of the cities or towns. The Parliament at first met every year; but after the reign of Charles v. every four years, in a general session, to distinguish it from the convocations extraordinary summoned to consider unforeseen cases. At the close of the general session, four members from each *braccio* were selected, to form an execu-

[1] *Braccio*. Arm, used symbolically as power or authority.

[2] *Demaniale*. *Demesne* lands or *terræ dominicales*, lands occupied by the lord. See *Blackstone*, vol. ii. p. 90.

tive body between the sessions, to watch over the performance of the decrees, and support the rights of Parliament.

The Parliament fixed the amount of taxation, as the Government was not empowered to levy taxes except in very urgent cases, such as for the ransom of the king, for the defence of the kingdom against foreign enemies, revolutions within the country, or any other great and sudden emergency; and strict limits were set on the arbitrary power of the sovereign. The Arragonese dynasty gave additional powers to the Parliament, which the kings, their successors, revoked, leaving them nothing but their ancient freedom of taxation; which state of things continued until the year 1810. While reviewing the constitutions of past ages, which we call barbarous, it would appear that we ourselves, who boast an age of political franchises, wear the heaviest chains.

In 1810, King Ferdinand, driven from Naples, after a residence of four years in Sicily, menaced by Murat, and obliged to maintain an army for defence, and likewise as his sole hope of regaining his kingdom; desirous also to maintain his party in Naples by secret emissaries, and to keep up his dignity in foreign courts by his ambassadors, found the tributes paid within the island, and the assistance received from England, barely adequate to support so many expenses; he therefore summoned a Parliament, and calling their attention to the preparations of the enemy on the opposite coast of Calabria, demanded subsidies to supply his necessities, and to avert so great a danger. The Parliament voted him a grant of money, but not so large as he expected, and added hard conditions to this small donation. The king was prone to anger, and his ministers, being Neapolitans and strangers, hated the Sicilians; therefore in contempt of the rights of the Parliament and of the State, which had been respected for eight centuries by thirty-one sovereigns, Ferdinand sold the property of the nation, and imposed a heavy tribute on the contracting parties, thus destroying the ancient constitution of Sicily.

The Parliament protested, and three members, in the name of all, signed a remonstrance, which was sent up to the king, who was only roused to greater anger, and refused to revoke his decrees or call another Parliament, a language which excited the complaints and indignation of the people. Soon afterwards, the

three who had signed the remonstrance, with two more leaders in parliament, were arrested in the night, and without being allowed defence or trial, were shut up in the prisons of Favignana and Pantelleria, horrible places assigned for the punishment of men guilty of the worst crimes. The prisoners were the Princes Belmonte, Jaci, Castelnuovo, and Villafranca, and the Duke d'Angiò. The discontent this created was great, and was not appeased until the Constitution of the year 1812 was conceded, which deprived the king of his royal power, made his son vicar-general, and forced the queen into exile and flight. The five prisoners were then released, and raised to positions worthy their reputation and popularity; and the ministers, councillors, and confidential advisers of the king, who had shortly before been the persecutors, were now, in their turn, persecuted and banished.

In 1815, however, they were restored to greater power than ever; and their desire for revenge on Sicily, joined with their craving for despotic power, induced them to vie with one another in urging the king, who was himself inclined towards a more liberal form of government, to annul the Sicilian Constitution of 1812; and as the guarantees given by England were impediments to this scheme, they resorted to treachery, and informed the English Government that Sicily was discontented with her political condition and demanded new laws; in proof of which assertion, they quoted certain expressions some of the communes had made use of at their solicitation, and others, whose meaning had been altered, or their words falsified. Sir William A'Court, the English ambassador at Naples, the intimate friend of the king and Chevalier Medici, who was hostile to the Sicilians, craftily encouraged this belief, so that Great Britain, deceived and deceiving, abandoned Sicily. These intrigues had been secretly at work for many months; and the statute which changed Ferdinand IV. into Ferdinand I. had been determined on ever since the Congress of Vienna, but was not published until the 1st of December 1816. The Government having at length obtained the consent of the English minister, and being supported by a German and Neapolitan army, threw off all disguise, and published the above mentioned decree, which enabled them to abuse their power, and satisfy all their wishes, without restraint.

The discontent of the people, which was spreading by various

means throughout both kingdoms, was soon afterwards increased by a new law relating to the Tavoliere di Capitanata, and by the massacre of the Vardarelli. The Tavoliere, which had so recently been a wild common, was now covered with ears of corn, and was yielding greater wealth than had even been contemplated, when a new law disturbed the sacred right of property, put a stop to industry, placed difficulties in the way of retaining freehold property, hindered the further emancipation of the serf, and revived serfdom where it had been abolished. Financial avarice was the sole motive for this step, though the reason assigned was a desire to favour the interests of the shepherd; a considerable extent of these vast tracts of land was now assigned to a rambling and nomadic pasturage, thus cancelling the greatest benefit which had accrued from the laws of 1806, that of introducing cultivated meadows into the kingdom. It is not within the province of this History to enter into an analysis of an economical law, and it is sufficient to state here that the Capitanata was thus restored to its pristine condition, of sterility and poverty.

Gaetano Vardarelli, a man of low birth, had in early life been a soldier, but had deserted from the army of Murat, and escaped into Sicily; forced to fly thence on account of fresh crimes, he returned to the kingdom, and instead of seeking pardon or concealing himself, he sought safety in a life of perpetual warfare. He became a brigand, and was successful in several encounters, but being closely pursued, returned once more to the island, hoping that his deeds and success in brigandage would plead his apology for his former crimes. Nor was he mistaken; he was restored to the army, became a serjeant in the guards, and reappeared in this character in Naples in 1815.

But dissatisfied with a moderate fortune and repose, his evil genius prompted him to seek for opulence in a life of adventure. He deserted that very year, and began ravaging the country as a highway robber; generous towards the poor, he was rapacious and cruel towards the rich. His associates were his two brothers, three more distant relations, and upwards of forty other men, as desperate characters as himself. The chief and tyrant of the band, he punished their faults with the utmost severity, and cowardice with death. They were all mounted, and contrived to appear

invincible (although pursued by large bodies of Neapolitan and German soldiers), by attacking their enemies unexpectedly, and then retiring as suddenly, by never resting day or night, and showing themselves almost simultaneously in distant regions. Vardarelli acquired such a reputation for daring and success, that the common people up to this day, forgetting his crimes, continue to admire him, and all the more as he boasted himself, and perhaps was, a Carbonaro.

The ministers, anxious to dismiss the German legion, were prevented by the success of Vardarelli, and by the idea that a horde of assassins could hardly be thus invincible, without secret aid from the Carbonari ; as well as that the society would increase in audacity, if supported by a handful of armed men in open rebellion against the authorities, and who were both daring and powerful. It, therefore, became the interest of the Government to destroy them, and as they could not get rid of them by force, they condescended to treat with them as equals, in a deed which I here transcribe, as a proof of the weakness of the legitimate rulers, and which soon afterwards caused serious disasters.

" Article 1. The Vardarelli and their followers shall be granted pardon and oblivion of their past misdeeds."

" Article 2. Their band shall be converted into a squadron of gendarmes."

" Article 3. The pay of the chief, Gaetano Vardarelli, shall be ninety ducats per month, and of each of the three subordinate officers, forty-five ducats, and of every gendarme, thirty ducats. They shall be paid every month in advance." (This was equal to the pay of colonels and captains.)

" Article 4. The squadron shall take the oath to the king before the royal commissary ; they shall be subject to the general in command of the province, and shall be employed to pursue the public malefactors in every part of the kingdom."

"Naples, 6*th July* 1817."

The Vardarelli took the oath, and faithful to the conditions imposed on them, soon destroyed all the highway robbers who infested the Capitanata ; but they were suspicious of the Government, and when called upon for a review, they would only assemble

in the open country, refused to enter a city even when ordered to do so, and were always shifting their quarters. When half the band were reposing, the remaining half watched, ready armed. They had good cause for their suspicions, for the Government was constantly plotting against them, hoping to atone by treachery for the ignominy of the treaty; and though they many times contrived to escape, they at last fell into one of these snares. They were in the habit of visiting Ururi, a small village of Puglia, where they felt themselves secure by the number of their friends and relatives; but among these very people, the Government found agents willing to undertake their assassination. One day, when the troop were carelessly reposing in the square of the village, several muskets were discharged from the adjoining buildings, and Gaetano and his two brothers, with six of his principal comrades, fell dead. The remainder fled in consternation.

The Government promised to revenge this assassination. General Amato, who commanded in Puglia, sent in search of those who had escaped; his messengers bearing letters in which he assured them that the crime committed in Ururi should be punished, and that they should be allowed to choose another chief. There were thirty-nine remaining of these unfortunate men, who, amidst their perplexity and terror, were some of them persuaded of the sincerity of these promises; others confided in their own strength, and many were actuated by the ambitious hope of being chosen leader. They continued, however, passive, and on their guard. Meantime, a squadron of soldiers was sent to Ururi, and some of the homicides were thrown into prison, while others fled, and their trial was begun with a show of severity.

After this pretence of punishment, the General invited the Vardarelli to a review in the city of Foggia, and promised to elect the chief and subaltern officers of the squadron by their vote. After some demur they went to the appointed place, all except eight, who refused the invitation. It was a holiday, and the place chosen for the review was crowded with curious spectators. The Vardarelli arrived in gay uniform and trappings, as was their custom, and shouting, "Long live the king!" The General from a balcony expressed his approbation by smiles and gestures. Colonel Sivo having ranged the thirty in line, reviewed them, and praised the

fine appearance of the men and their horses ; he then asked them questions, and took down notes of their replies. The General from above, likewise conversed with them ; at last the Colonel went to him, as they believed to consult on the choice of their officers. The Vardarelli remained standing each before his horse ; they had been detained for two hours during the review, in which time the Neapolitan troops had secretly surrounded the square, and were waiting the appointed signal to rush upon them.

General Amato made the signal, by raising his cap, and all at once the columns advanced, with their muskets levelled, calling upon them to surrender. The crowd opened, and closed behind them. The Vardarelli hastily sprang upon their horses, upon which the first files of soldiers fired, and nine of the Vardarelli fell dead, two opened a way for themselves, and escaped ; the remaining twenty, overpowered by numbers, abandoned their horses, and fled in disorder to a large old building behind them. The fame of their courage, which was now increased by despair, kept the soldiers from pursuit ; they surrounded and searched the building, but no one could be seen, nor any way discovered by which they could have escaped ; the troops now poured in, and searched every corner in vain ; they were standing in wonder and perplexity, when a shot, which missed fire, came from a small aperture leading to a cellar ; and a soldier, who advanced to examine the place, was killed by another ball. The Vardarelli were concealed in that hole ; the soldiers for some time threw down into it quantities of burning rubbish, but neither a cry nor groan was heard to issue from that infernal place ; the fire and smoke however increased. Two shots were heard at the same moment, which were afterwards discovered to have proceeded from the weapons of two brothers, who, after a last embrace, had shot one another ; seventeen, who remained, surrendered, and one was found dead, who had been burnt alive.

The Government having been informed of what had occurred, ordered that those who had surrendered should be tried for having broken the convention of the 6th July, and they were therefore all led before a court-martial on the same day, condemned and executed. The ten who had escaped were destroyed in various ways and at different times, and thus these miserable men all died violent deaths, but not in fair fight where they had so often been

victorious, but by treachery and fraud; their names and deeds therefore are still repeated by the people with mingled admiration and pity. The men of Ururi, who had been imprisoned, were liberated and rewarded. The crimes of the Vardarelli had been punished by a greater and more deliberate crime, and the conduct of the Government was publicly blamed for treachery, which was not to be justified because employed against the treacherous.[1]

After the subjugation of the Vardarelli, but before they had all met their death, the German army, which had arrived in Naples in May 1815 to oppose Murat, and was now reduced to twelve thousand men, departed in August 1817, as the friends of the Bourbon. They left a fair name for discipline and good conduct, but no feeling of attachment. The kingdom being thus freed from their presence, the disgrace to the king and his subjects of governing, and being governed, by foreign troops, was removed.

The following year, 1818, a Concordat was concluded with the court of Rome. The treaties concluded with foreign courts during the five years contained in this Book, were as follows:—That to which the King of Naples had consented with the Congress of Vienna, on the 9th June 1815; on the 12th of that same June, he concluded the alliance with Austria, by which Austria engaged, in case of war in Italy, to send powerful armaments to the defence of the Neapolitan kingdom, whilst the king promised to furnish twenty-five thousand soldiers to the wars of Austria; the number was afterwards reduced to twelve thousand by the Convention of Vienna, on the 4th July 1819. On the 26th September 1815, the king joined the Holy Alliance; on the 3d, 17th, and 29th April 1816, he concluded terms of peace with Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli; the British admiral, Viscount Exmouth, acting for us. The conditions of security and the commercial advantages were equal, though we had to pay a heavy price for them; for the Neapolitan Government agreed to an annual tribute of forty thousand Spanish

[1] General Pepe was at this time appointed to the command of the third division, which comprehended the two provinces of Avellino and Foggia. Among his duties was the extirpation of the robbers, which he endeavoured to effect by restoring the militia, instead of using the means employed by the Government, which are thus described: "The rulers finally had the barbarity to poison food and drink, in order to destroy the robbers, as if they had been rats."—See *Vita di Guglielmo Pepe*, per Francesco Carrano; p. 78.

piastres, and the ransom of all who were slaves at the time of the treaty. Our national pride was mortified at thus becoming tributaries to pirates; but the Government showed more wisdom in consenting to pay a trifling profit, to save our merchants from the dangers of slavery, and our commerce from injury; for though African piracy is a disgrace to Europe, no one potentate can hope to destroy it single-handed, nor will it ever cease until a truly Holy Alliance be formed to put a stop to this infamous practice by arms, or until the great powers use menaces, and the lesser bribes, to induce that vile and unprincipled race to refrain from plunder.

In consequence of this treaty, an additional burden of two millions of ducats was imposed on the people; the demand was exorbitant, because three times the amount needed. Three hundred and fifty-seven manumitted slaves were landed at the port of Naples, and marched in procession through the city; a mournful spectacle, as they wore a lugubrious and mean attire, which reminded all who saw them of the miseries of slavery. An immense concourse of people followed, and at one moment might be seen the joyful recognition of kindred embracing one another, and the next were heard the lamentations of families who, seeking for their relations, learned their death, or that they had been sold in chains. The countenances of those who had been ransomed, betrayed neither joy nor sorrow, but were full of curiosity and wonder; for many of them had been so long in slavery, that on their return they found their families dead, or the places of those they had known, filled by generations foreign to their memories and affections, while they themselves had already acquired such different habits, manners, and ways among the barbarians, that many when free returned voluntarily to Africa.

Naples had long had commercial treaties with England and France, and her intercourse with Spain had subsisted from time immemorial. Two of the treaties with Great Britain, were dated Madrid 1667 and 1715, and three, Utrecht 1712 and 1713; one of the treaties with France was dated Madrid 1669, and another from the Pyrenees, 1688. Naples had granted innumerable privileges to these three flags, without requiring in return either premiums or compensation, but acting as a vassal to her liege. By new treaties, dated the 25th September 1816, with England, the

26th February 1817, with France, and the 15th of August of that same year, with Spain, the old treaties were revoked, and an abatement of one tithe of the dues paid by other foreign vessels, as well as by native, was made upon the commerce carried on by these three nations; all merchandise from abroad was therefore brought to us under the protection of these privileged flags, and we were deprived of a great part of the transport trade, with all its profits and emoluments.

In September 1817, and January 1818, the payment of a sum of five millions of francs was assigned to Prince Eugene Beauharnais, in compensation for what he had lost in territory in Italy, which had been occupied by Austria from 1814; an act of base subserviency in us to the will of the Holy Alliance, and of weak partiality towards the viceroy, on the part of the Emperor Alexander.

That same year, 1818, the abolition of the *Albinaggio* (*Droit d'Aubaine*[1]) was agreed to by all the courts of Europe. This custom had its origin in early times, when the foreigner was considered a barbarian, and it was therefore general throughout Europe; but it has now, by the growth of civilisation, been as universally abolished.

In December 1819, a treaty was concluded with Portugal, which excited much public scandal and indignation. The penal galleys contained an enormous number of criminals (one of the evils consequent on continual revolutions within the kingdom, and of the corruption of the times). These were a burden to the finance, and an anxious charge to the police. An agreement was therefore entered into with Portugal, to give up all condemned to the galleys for life, as well as those undergoing temporary punishment, and even those who had already undergone a great part of the penalty for their crimes, to be transported to Rio Janeiro. The Portuguese commissioners refused to accept the old, the maimed, or the sick, and selected the young and vigorous, as fitter for bodily labour. The Government boasted of their clemency in having liberated these prisoners, although in another hemisphere; but the act was considered a breach of compact (since such exists even

[1] (*Albinaggio, Droit d'Aubaine.*) The right claimed by the Government to the property of any foreigner dying in the country.

with criminals), and was still more reprehensible on the score of humanity, for while the infamous traffic in slaves had been forbidden throughout the civilized world, men born free were sent from Naples, and given away, to gratify a sordid economy.

Other treaties had been concluded with Russia, Sardinia, and the Holy See, but as they were only temporary, I refrain from entering into any particulars respecting them, and proceed at once to relate the origin and consequences of the Concordat.

In the first and second Books of this History, I have given an account of the Concordat of 1741, and the disputes respecting the Chinea. From that time Naples enjoyed a period of prosperity, owing to the long peace and to the number of learned men who then advocated the cause of popular freedom; after Giannone, others of inferior note wrote against the pretensions of the Papacy; and King Ferdinand, then young, and less bigoted than in his latter years, encouraged these works. But after the sanguinary and triumphant revolution in France, the King of the Sicilies and the Most High Pontiff were reconciled by their common fears, and suspended their private quarrels. Upper Italy was next invaded by the French, Rome followed, and lastly, Naples. The sovereigns of both countries fled, and their states organized themselves into republics, while the vessel of St. Peter could hardly weather the storm. The victorious armies of France were at length driven from Italy in 1799, and both sovereigns returned to their thrones, which had been rendered insecure by past vicissitudes, and were menaced by still more in future, which the events of the age were visibly preparing. Affairs of minor importance therefore yielded precedence to anxiety for the preservation of their power; and meantime, in order to defray the expenses incident to war, and provide for the State, the Neapolitan government sold the Church property without asking the consent of the Pope, suppressed monasteries, left episcopal sees vacant, in order to enjoy their revenues, and in many ways humbled the pontifical pride, while (as usual in times of adversity) the Pope waited in silence for the hour of vengeance.

Such was the state of matters when one of Bonaparte's family, and after him Murat, came to the throne of Naples. The regulations for the government of that kingdom were identical with those of the empire of France, where many of the free institutions,

and even the license which had existed under the hardly extinct republic, were still preserved. Monasteries were suppressed, marriage was made a civil act, and divorce rendered lawful by the sentence of a civil tribunal; all which were encroachments on the ancient rights of Rome. Soon afterwards, the Pope was taken prisoner, and the patrimony of St. Peter was absorbed in the empire of France; the Legations and the Marches were annexed to the Italian kingdom, and the triple crown, so fatal to Italy, because a perpetual obstacle to Italian unity, and to the prosperity of the country, disappeared. The Neapolitan Government did not change its tone even when the Pope returned to Rome in 1814, for she still ruled as mistress in the Marches, and claimed a more extensive and permanent dominion in the Pontifical States. The Neapolitan people, who were not very tenacious of the dogmas of religion, content with outward forms, and who had been enriched by the Church property, had seen the vices of the friars laid bare, and had their minds opened to the light of reason, felt no repugnance nor sting of conscience at thus throwing off their dependence on the Church.

But in 1815, King Ferdinand, who, now past the vigour of youth, was afraid of death, surrounded by priests, and indifferent to the welfare of the country, began to feel self-reproach for his former disputes with the Pope, and wished to appease his conscience by a Concordat. Some of the ministers opposed him, but more from the vanity of displaying superiority of intellect, than from sincere conviction, or because they felt the injury and degradation to the State in being dependent on the Papacy. Meanwhile, as days passed away, the king always approached nearer death, and, impatient and despotic in his temper, commanded a reconciliation with Rome, selecting the Chevalier Medici, who was secretly averse to the Concordat, to negotiate the affair; but whether his past opinions or his present interests had most influence with him, may be inferred from the terms of the Concordat. He met Cardinal Gonsalvi at Terracina, and there concluded the treaty, of which the following are the most important clauses:—

1. That the dioceses should be reinstated. (The bishops had been originally 132, and had been reduced, by their sees being left vacant, to forty-three, but were now to be restored to 109.)

2. Compensation to be made for the sale of the Church property which had taken place during the reigns of Ferdinand, Joseph, and Joachim; that part of the property which was not yet sold, to be restored.

3. The restoration of as many of the monasteries as was possible, with the amount of property returned, and consistent with possible grants to the exchequer.

4. The Church to have the right of making new acquisitions.

5. The present king, and the kings, his successors, to be for ever prohibited from disposing of Church property, which now, more than ever, was declared and recognised as sacred and inviolable.

6. Twelve thousand ducats to be paid annually to Rome from the episcopal revenues of Naples.

7. The ecclesiastical tribunals to be restored for the discipline of the clergy, and for the trial of all cases (although betwixt laymen) which had been declared to belong to the spiritual jurisdiction by the Council of Trent.

8. The bishops to be empowered to pass censure on whomsoever shall transgress the ecclesiastical laws and sacred canons.

9. The bishops to be permitted free intercourse with the people and free correspondence with the Pope; every person to be allowed to appeal to Rome; the prohibition of the *liceat scribere*[1] to be revoked.

10. The bishops to be empowered to stop the printing or publication of books judged contrary to the doctrines of the Church.

11. The king to name the bishops; but the right of rejection and consecration to be reserved for the Pope.

12. The oath of the bishops to be in these words:—"I swear upon the Holy Evangelists, obedience and fealty to his Majesty the King; I promise, in like manner, not to hold any communication, nor enter into any assembly, nor maintain within nor without the kingdom, any suspicious connexion to endanger the public tranquillity; and if, in my own diocese or elsewhere, I should have cognizance of anything which might tend to the injury of the State, I will inform his Majesty thereof."

Such was the Concordat of 1818. While Rome thus gained a great advantage, the royal dignity, the welfare of the people, the

[1] *Liceat scribere.* The permission or license to appeal to Rome.

labours of so many men of intellect, and the progress which philosophy had made during a century, were all sacrificed in one day, by the indolence of the king and the ambition of one of his ministers. The reasons why the Concordat was obnoxious to the philosophers have been already stated, and the priestly party among the Catholics were equally averse to it, because they felt assured that the time was past when the tribunal of Rome could return to the eminence it had attained in the times of Gregory VII. Upon the restoration of the monasteries, the former monks who had now for many years tasted the enjoyment of a life of freedom, felt averse to return to conventual rules, but were compelled by the fanaticism of a few, and by the authority of the Government; and the people, to whom the monastic habit, which had just before been prohibited, now appeared absurd, remembered the late vicious career of the very men who they now saw thus disguised and austere in their habits. Missions were sent out from the new monasteries in every direction, but they produced a contrary effect to that expected, and returned without having been able to obtain an audience, or after having been made subjects for pleasantry.

A superior of a monastery denounced and censured a captain of the militia who was neglectful or careless in the observance of outward forms of religion, though otherwise well conducted; but as this produced no alteration in his manner of life, and the interdiction of all communion with the faithful proving equally inefficacious, the friar clothed the altar in black on a feast day, and publicly pronounced an anathema upon him. Whether because, as it happened, the captain had friends among the congregation, or that the time for anathemas is past, the populace rose in a tumult, menaced the superior, and would have taken his life, had not the captain himself interfered, and by entreaties and threats, saved his life. The superior was Father Ambrogio of Altavilla; he was translated to another monastery, as a punishment for the scandal he had excited, while the captain, one Salati, remained in the service, and received commendations for his spirited defence. This occurred at Gioi, in Cilento, 1819.

It would fill pages to recount all the ill effects produced by the Concordat; the oath of the bishops excited a suspicion that what was told in the confessional might be imparted to the Govern-

ment ; numbers who belonged to the secret societies, therefore, the liberals, and the enemies of those in power, and even men in power themselves, neglected the duty of confession, to the detriment of their principles and of the interests of both the sovereigns who had signed the Concordat. The Marquis Tommasi was charged with the fulfilment of the articles agreed to by us, and the Bishop Giustiniani for Rome, both of them men inferior in intellect and influence to the members of the mixed tribunal appointed by King Charles of Bourbon in the Concordat of 1741. The lay delegate to the ecclesiastical tribunal was not restored, and from that time forth, no one was appointed to watch over the rights of the Crown and of the State.

Although the people had submitted quietly to the Concordat, they violently opposed the introduction of cemeteries, which had been ordered by a wise law ; for the disgusting practice still prevails, both unhealthy and worse than barbarous (as savages bestow a nobler sepulture on their dead than we do), of burying in the vaults of the churches within the heart of the city. Yet so inveterate is an old prejudice, that rather than raise a tomb in a pleasant spot over the bodies of those they loved, they preferred mingling the remains of their young daughters and their wives in one common pit with those of thieves and the lowest wretches. The priests, indeed, secretly encouraged this prejudice, in order not to lose the profit upon the mortuaries, nor to diminish the harvest of purgatory, which is always larger in the presence of the grave, which contained the ashes of those who had been revered or cherished in life.

On the 15th April 1816, the marriage of the Duke of Berri, grandson of the King of France, with the Princess Caroline Ferdinanda, eldest daughter of the Duke of Calabria, had been celebrated ; she was hardly fifteen, had an agreeable person and cultivated mind, to which she united masculine energy and a haughty disposition.

On the 16th July of that same year a marriage had been likewise concluded between the Prince of Salerno and the Archduchess Maria Clementina, daughter of the Emperor of Austria : and on the 3d August 1818, the Infant Don Francesco di Paola, brother of the King of Spain, was betrothed to the Princess Luisa Carlotta, second daughter of the Duke of Calabria, a young and handsome princess.

The dowries given and received on the occasion of these three marriages were such as were usual in marriages of the royal families of Naples and Vienna.

The Duke di Civitella had died in May 1815; he was a man of upright character, who had always lived in retirement; the friend of Joachim and one of his court, he lamented the fall of the house of Murat, and unable to endure the hateful sight of a German army entering Naples, he threw himself from a height, and thus perished, leaving a beautiful young wife and a large family of children in tender age. This mode of committing suicide is so usual in Naples, that when any one is seized with melancholy, his friends do not hide steel instruments or poison from him, but use every means to prevent him getting out upon the rocks.

That same year the physician and distinguished poet Giovanni Meli died at Palermo, his native place, having attained the age of seventy-six: his verses, which are in the Sicilian dialect, are celebrated in Sicily more, and in Italy less, than they deserve. The city ordered a marble bust of him, and proposed to erect a monument in his honour.

Giovanni Paesiello died in 1816, at a more advanced age. Music changed its style for him, and from rhythmical and simple melody, became impulsive and brilliant. Cimarosa was the companion of his early years, as in later life Rossini, by whom he was, however, cast into the shade; for taste in music changes frequently and rapidly. He obtained honours and riches in life, and splendid obsequies followed him to the grave, with recitations in his praise; a marble monument was erected to him by his attached sisters in the church of Santa Maria Nuova.

In 1816, at the advanced age of one hundred and fifteen years, expired Domenico Giovanelli, whose name I do not only mention for his longevity, but because when dying, he bequeathed his rich patrimony, the fruit of a modest and industrious life, to the poor of Lentella, his native place. He had seen the death of his grandson—the son of his son, who died of old age, and his name must have expired with him, had he not desired that it should be added to the names of all the poor who were to be benefited by his death; and he thus secured an honourable and numerous line of descendants.

That same year, the Prince of Hesse Philipstadt ended his career. He was of royal German lineage, commander-in-chief of the Neapolitan armies, and by his warlike valour and private virtues had proved himself a worthy scion of a noble race.

Two years afterwards, in 1818, died Lieutenant-General St. Clair, a Frenchman, who had been an emigrant in his boyhood, flying from the civil commotions in his country. He had served in the Neapolitan armies, was a favourite at Court, and beloved by Queen Caroline of Austria, to whom he was a prudent friend in prosperity, and constant in adversity. He was humane, honest, and benevolent, and died beloved and lamented.

The king went to Rome, to do homage to the Pope, and to receive honour from him, as well as his blessing and indulgence, in return for his acquiescence in the matter of the Concordat. He was accompanied by his wife, and by only a small retinue, without any state; in the number of his followers he brought with him Casacciello, a Neapolitan buffoon, who did not succeed upon the Roman stage; the Roman audience grew tired of his *bons mots*, and the laughter of the king heard in the midst of the public apathy, confirmed His Majesty's reputation for dulness.

While in Rome, the king pardoned ten Neapolitans, who had been expatriated in 1815, some for having joined Joachim, and others for having fled from the Bourbons. The names of three of the ten were Count Zurlo, Baron Poerio, and David Winspeare, to whom I shall have again to refer, as they were reserved by fate for new calamities and changes of fortune. On his return, the king was accompanied by his brother, Charles IV., who had reigned twenty years in Spain, and had retired to Rome during the revolutions in his kingdom, but who had not returned to power and fortune after the fall of the enemy, as his son had been raised to the throne in his stead. He had shortly before visited Naples for his pleasure, but now came to reside there permanently. The two royal brothers exchanged tokens of reciprocal attachment, and the people admired this rare instance of family affection in royal personages. The Duke of Calabria soon afterwards went to Rome, but on hearing of the approaching end of the Queen of Spain, he hastened his return to Naples.

Towards the end of that year, the king fell dangerously ill, and

Charles attended him with the tenderest anxiety. The wisest among the Neapolitans trembled at his danger, for they feared that his son would introduce changes for the worse in the State, as the prince was already thought ill of, and supposed to be averse to a mild government, while known to be the intimate friend of Canosa. Strange as it may appear, the ministers of the dying king were the first to slander the fame of his successor; the king, however, recovered, and sacred ceremonies and civic feasts celebrated the event; on which occasion the greatest poets of the country immortalized the general rejoicing in prose and verse; their works filled a large volume. Ferdinand expressed his thanks for these congratulatory addresses on the part of his people, and the ministers proclaimed that his Majesty intended shortly to enact something which would be greatly for the satisfaction of the liberal party. Amidst all the happy events within the range of possibility, a constitution was the one object in which their hopes and conjectures centred; and when it was reported that Ferdinand had cut the queue off his hair, it was considered a sign and proof of a change of principles. I must here remind the reader that in 1799 to cut off the queue was a sign of Jacobinism in the people, and a proof of guilt, enough to condemn a man in the Junta of State; and that this fashion or whim was certain death, or punishment in some other form; therefore the cutting of the royal hair now neither excited pleasure nor laughter, but roused sad recollections of the past.

Charles IV. soon afterwards fell ill, and the king, who was at Persano, amusing himself with the chase, was immediately informed of it; but too much devoted to his pleasures, or trusting that Charles would recover, he refused to return to the city. Charles, eager to see his brother, inquired after him from those around him, who, to soothe him in his last moments, assured him the king would soon return; but Ferdinand having been told the truth by messages and letters, aware of their contents, and tired with receiving them, ordered that the despatch which had just arrived should not be opened, and that no one should mention his brother to him until his return from the chase, prepared for the morrow, and to which he was looking forward with infinite pleasure, reckoning up the number of swans and stags he intended to

kill. His command was obeyed, and when, on his return, the despatch was opened, and he read that Charles was dying, and had made an effort in his last agonies to ask in a feeble voice for his brother, Ferdinand remarked, "Then by this time he must be dead. I should therefore arrive too late, and for little or no purpose; I will wait until the arrival of the next news."

It came immediately, acquainting him that Charles was no more; and as it would therefore have been indecent for the king to remain at Persano for mere amusement, he removed to Portici. The character and life of Charles belongs to the history of Spain, but we may here remind the reader, that he was born in Naples in 1748; that he left it with his father Charles in 1759; that his lively disposition and gentle manners, when a child, had won the affections of the people; and that in his latter days he was a kind brother to Ferdinand, a faithful friend to the courtiers he brought with him from Spain, and an amiable guest in a foreign land. He died calmly in the Catholic Christian faith on the 19th January 1819.

The funeral obsequies were celebrated six days after his decease, in accordance with the absurd rites used in Spain. During those six days after the king's death, it was pretended that he still lived, ate, and gave his orders. When his body was enclosed in the tomb, it was three times called by name, and three times shaken, and entreated to answer; that the departed might appear to have resigned this life voluntarily, tired with the cares of royalty, and acquiescing in the common destiny. The remains were first deposited in the Church of Santa Chiara, where the kings of Naples are buried, and were then carried to Spain. Whilst the funeral rites were celebrating, King Ferdinand removed from Portici to Carditello for another day's hunt; and having the previous evening invited Sir William A'Court, the English minister, to bear him company, he received in answer, that a solemn and august ceremony (avoiding all mention of the word) would prevent his accepting the gracious invitation; but the next day, while A'Court was in the church listening to the praises of the deceased, he received another note from the king, bidding him, when the funeral obsequies of Charles were ended, to join him at Carditello. The Englishman was surprised, but accepted the invitation, and afterwards

said, he never saw the king in better spirits or more adventurous than in that day's hunt.

But in the course of the following day, Ferdinand began to feel himself agitated by fears of death, for his brother having departed this life reminded him, that the greatest age the Bourbons of his race had attained was seventy, and that he was himself sixty-nine. He turned to religion for consolation, and made a vow to found a hermitage of Capuchin friars, which was soon afterwards built in the middle of the forest of Capodimonte, near the palace, and six of the cells set apart for the king, one of which he meant to occupy, when, weary of reigning, he should retire from the world. Joachim had intended to convert this same forest into a race-course and tilting-ground, and Joseph had proposed to lay it out in a luxuriant and beautiful garden : these several projects mark the characters of the sovereigns more than all their public works, which were often built for show or necessity.

In April of the same year (1819), the Emperor of Austria, Francis I., came to Naples on a visit of pleasure and ceremony, accompanied by the empress and by one daughter, and with Prince Metternich and other high personages in his suite. He was received with marks of respect and honour, and lodged in the palace. On his departure in May, King Ferdinand created Prince Metternich, Duke di Portella, with a large salary attached to the title. Portella is one of the gates of the frontier, and an entrance into the kingdom ; he had already created General Bianchi, Duke di Casalanza, in commemoration of his deserts at the convention of that name, and the minister Talleyrand, Duke di Dino, who also bore the title of Prince of Benevento, conferred on him by Bonaparte, and thus carried along with him the proofs of his perfidy. Ferdinand granted large pensions to his ambassadors Ruffo, Castelcicala, and Serra Capriola, and bestowed gifts on the ministers Medici, Tommasi, Circello, and Naselli. He permitted General Nugent, for a small sum, to purchase the large estate of Castel Volturno ; and soon afterwards presented Medici, Tommasi, and Nugent, with 180,000 ducats, the residue of the savings in the war department, or rather the result of the privations and destitution of the army. By an extravagance new even in the history of kings, he bestowed a vast space of ground in the middle of the

pleasant Strada di Posilippo, on the Margravine of Anspach,[1] which she surrounded with walls to make it more private, and afterwards laid it out in gardens, and built a house there. He bestowed still greater presents on his consort on her name-day, her birth-day, the first day of the year, and on every anniversary of rejoicings in the palace. A villa upon the Vomero, which had been built twenty years before by one Lulò, a favourite of Queen Caroline of Austria, and called after her, and which had been purchased and enlarged by the minister Saliceti, and sold by his heirs to the king, was given by Ferdinand to his wife, and called after her Floridia. He added more land and buildings, and embellished the place with a lavish hand; he kept several kangaroos there as a luxury, animals from Australia, which, by a singular deformity, walk on their paws and long twisted tails; he had given England eighteen unrolled papyri from Herculaneum for an equal number of these disgusting animals. The exchange was managed by Sir William A'Court.

[1] *The Margravine of Anspach.* Elizabeth, daughter of Augustus, fourth Earl of Berkeley, a celebrated beauty and wit, born 1750, married (1767) William, sixth Baron Craven. She was separated from him in 1781; and on his decease in 1791, married the Margrave of Anspach, who, some years later, disposed of his principality to the King of Prussia, and retired to England, where he died in 1806. Ferdinand had long carried on a correspondence with him relating to the chase; each of them keeping an exact daily register of their feats in that line. The King of Naples kept up a similar correspondence with his brother, the King of Spain, but preferred the Margrave, because his inferior in this accomplishment. After the death of the Margrave, his widow resided at Naples, where she died, June 1828, at seventy-eight years of age.—See *Mémoires Secrets des Cours de l'Italie*, pub. 1793, and *Memoirs of Lady Blessington*.

CHAPTER III.

ERRORS IN THE GOVERNMENT AND THEIR CONSEQUENCE.

A DECREE of the king, produced by an affair of a private nature, raised a general panic. The Redinger Company was creditor to the State for provisions supplied to the army of Murat; but the financial embarrassments made credit uncertain until the year 1818, when the accounts were at length cleared, but payment refused by a royal decree worded thus: "Because the object of this outlay had been to sustain an unjust war against us, to prevent the return of the lawful sovereign, and to maintain the military occupation." Remonstrances and a general panic followed the publication of this decree, as had the case of Redinger been taken as a precedent, great losses would have accrued to the claims of private individuals; for, if to have supplied the army with provisions were considered a crime deserving punishment, those who had supported the late Government by their advice and their arms, had incurred still greater guilt.

The hatred which the king and his ministers had conceived towards the late Decennium, transpired in all their acts: of the two roads, Del Campo and Di Posilippo (the finest and most beautiful in his dominions), the king never once traversed the former until three years after his return, and he never approached the latter. He refused to visit that part of Pompeii which had been disinterred, and the excavations themselves were almost stopped, because they had been a favourite work of the French kings. All the names given during their reigns were altered, the Casa Carolina alone continuing the same, although founded by Caroline Murat, because (by an assertion they were not ashamed to inscribe in the public acts) said to commemorate the virtues of Caroline of Aus-

tria. When any person was mentioned in council, the king always asked, "Is he one of us, or one of them?" Fashions of dress, manners, or colours, used under the French kings, were held in abhorrence; and their laws alone were maintained by the humanity or wisdom of the Congress of Vienna. The principal feature of the existing Government was covert hatred, followed by deceit. The hearts of the rulers were with one party, their lips sounded the praises of the other; and thus their feelings and their policy being at variance, their measures sprang from opposite motives, and a like contradiction in aim and action pervaded the whole social machine. To express this more concisely, the people belonged to the new era introduced by the French kings, the Government to the old, because itself antiquated; while the different political ages to which they severally belonged, produced either secret or open divergence in their sentiments and actions; it is this same political canker which tends to weaken the Bourbon States throughout Europe.

Hatred of the late Government caused the foundation of the order of knighthood of St. George, with the word *Ri-unione* (Re-union) added; to mark the time in which the two kingdoms had been united into one. The king could not endure the Order of the Two Sicilies, which, although changed in badge and colours, derived its origin from Joseph, and its fame and lustre from Joachim; yet the Convention of Casalanza and the Congress of Vienna forbade its suppression. By granting the decoration of St. George (which was equal to it in rank) to men likewise decorated with the Order of the Two Sicilies, the latter was merged in the former, and the hated name disappeared. The new order was military, was bestowed as a reward for valour and military services, and was awarded by a chapter composed of generals. The king was grandmaster, the heir to the throne, grand constable, those whom their good fortune had placed at the head of the army wore the grand collar, and the generals who had been most distinguished during the war, the grand crosses; it thus descended by eight grades to the privates. The ribbon was blue bordered with yellow, the colours of the star, ruby and white, the motto *In hoc signo vinces*, surrounded the effigy of the saint, and on the other side was inscribed *Virtuti*. The decoration was bestowed alike on Neapolitans

and Sicilians, Muratists and Bourbonists; and it seemed like a flag of truce held out to the disputants in the army.

While the names of Joseph and Joachim were thus gradually disappearing, new codes of law were in the course of publication. They were six; but as no change was introduced into the commercial code, or in any of the proceedings in cases which appertained to commerce, we shall only refer to the civil and penal codes, with the alterations in the proceedings and trials for criminal and military offences.

I have already described the state of the civil code under the French kings. For the sake of morals, and in deference to the opinion of the world, it was necessary to make marriage a more stringent tie; but the new law, by rendering it indissoluble, except when referred to the consistory, drove many to despair, from the perpetuity of the bond, and was the cause of much private immorality. Another improvement was hoped for, by strengthening the paternal power, which had been wholly ignored during the license permitted in the early days of French liberty, and had hardly been restored under the empire and in our country; but which now, by falling into an opposite extreme, became excessive. A reform was needed in the system of mortgage, but none was made. Personal freedom was treated as a matter of so much indifference, that in pecuniary transactions the security might be given by the individual who stood bail, surrendering himself voluntarily for imprisonment. But while this part of the code was thus altered for the worse, that which was still maintained of the wisest of all codes, was of itself sufficient to secure the wellbeing of society.

The penal code preserved several of its former errors, such as want of proportion in the scale of crimes, excessive severity in punishment, and the too frequent use of capital punishments; while new errors were added: 1. Crimes were invented under the head of blasphemy, and punished severely, while almost imputing the faults of man to the Almighty, and offending the Divine Majesty, by declaring that whoever should take God's name in vain must be insane, and, therefore, to be condemned, as a punishment, to a lunatic asylum. 2. The punishment of death was divided into four kinds, indicated by the dress to be worn by the culprit; this ancient and cruel practice towards condemned persons before their

execution, was a remnant of barbarism, which, when it increased the severity of suffering, was in itself a punishment; but in these days the idea of varying the degrees of pain in death, or striking terror by a yellow or black dress, by feet shod or unshod, only excites ridicule; and such mummeries to which the sufferer is indifferent, and the public unaccustomed, are not fitting instruments of law. 3. The little power the judges already possessed of deciding within certain limits on the punishment to be awarded, was abolished; yet as the amount of suffering is greater or less, according to the sensibility of the sufferer, it becomes necessary to vary its duration in some degree, consistent with the difference of age, sex, condition, and feeling. On the other hand, the entire abolition of confiscations was an advantage so far exceeding all the disadvantages produced by the errors in the penal code, that on the whole, the laws under this head were improved.

I regret that I cannot say as much in favour of the mode of carrying on proceedings in criminal cases, which were altered for the worse. The long cherished hope of a jury was again disappointed; the power of arresting any one, by an order to accompany the party making the arrest, without writ, trial, or proceeding against him, was confirmed: the trial or accusation was confided to five or three judges, instead of six or four as formerly, thus losing the advantage of a parity of votes. The judges at the trial were, by the new law, likewise engaged in the previous examination, and were, therefore, predisposed against the prisoner, to the danger of justice, by thus preventing an unbiassed judgment during the discussion; the cases of appeal to the Court of Cassation were limited, and the condition of the accused person, if bad before, was now worse. The Government wished to lower the authority of the highest tribunal in the State, which had been the steadfast supporter of liberty, because of the laws.

The military code, called the statute, contained many of the defects as well as merits of the old code. It had serious imperfections, such as not instituting different laws for times of war, and times of peace, and enlarging the sphere of jurisdiction for military tribunals. For as the duties of the soldier are different in war and peace, so the infraction of these duties constitute different crimes; as it is impossible to preserve the ordinary forms of trial amidst

the rapid movements in war, either impunity or arbitrary punishments, are the natural consequences ; a laxity or violence, equally offensive to justice, and injurious to habits of discipline. To extend the sphere of military jurisdiction separates the army from the civil state, and is a remnant of feudal times ; but is an error still common, and approved of by military men and governments. In times of peace few cases occur which should be amenable to military tribunals, while all should be submitted to them in times of war ; for in peace, the crime itself is the subject of discussion, and in war, the delinquent.

Among the punishments were, the prolongation of the time of service, and flogging. But where service is made a punishment, the military profession will be considered a penalty, and the passion for glory ceases, which of itself makes an army powerful, and forms the chief attraction to a military life. Flogging belongs to the category of tortures, and as it brings with it both pain and infamy, it is not applicable to an army raised by conscription ; it should therefore be reserved for those who fly or conceal themselves, or refuse to advance in battle, as cowardice is so degrading in itself, that no punishment can increase its shame.

Among the list of crimes stands insubordination, but not the abuse of power ; yet, as all social institutions are compacts, duties and rights should be reciprocal, and blind obedience on one side ought to be counterbalanced by justice on the other. The proceedings in the military tribunals must correspond with those in the civil tribunals ; and all who are acquainted with the course of penal trials must desire to see the introduction of juries, to purify the indictment from contumacy and calumny, to have bail accepted for imprisonment in many cases, to make the discussion more perfect, and to make a better use of witnesses ; but these reforms cannot be effected in the military code before they have been introduced into the civil. The statute therefore as it stands at present, is perhaps the best in Europe.

The administrative code in which a reform was desired and was essential, continued as before a heterogeneous collection of laws, decrees, and ordinances, so that the decisions in administrative matters were more than ever dependent on the will, or the interests of the central government ; and if, during the Decennium, the

chief authority sometimes interfered too much when difficulties arose in the council of state, now that that body was dissolved, there was no curb whatsoever on despotic power. So adverse to political liberty is the practice to which I refer, that to it may be attributed the odium in which an otherwise wise and liberal administration is held throughout the kingdom.

The publication of the codes was followed by important changes. During the re-organization of the tribunals many of the judges were deprived of their offices without any motive assigned, and this silence, together with the incorruptible lives of most of them, induced a belief that their removal was caused by the unfortunate antipathy the ministers and the king bore towards the men and things of the Decennium. The public sympathized with these ill-used men, and accordingly, when they entered into any of the liberal professions, they met with success and encouragement. Kings forget how the world is changed, and that the condemnation of an absolute government is a recommendation to the public at large; and that, if the moral sense of the people is against them, they have nothing left to bestow on their adherents but material advantages and wealth; their followers, therefore, are few in number, indifferent to honour, base in prosperity, and cowardly amidst dangers.

The fate of those magistrates who were allowed to remain was still harder. By a law of Joseph their office had been declared permanent, but a decree of Joachim in 1812 suspending this law for three years; prolonged the dispute until 1815, when, by the political vicissitudes of that year, and by a decree of the new king, this state of suspense was continued until the publication of the Bourbon codes; and even after they had been published, and the judges chosen by the king appointed, the trial lasted three more years. It was intended to keep them always in a state of dependency, at which proposal all honest judges were indignant, and the rest alarmed; added to this, every judge had a spy placed over him, that the Government might be informed of their opinion in each separate cause; and they were frequently, by order of the ministers, subjected to censure, or menaces, and were even dismissed or removed. The whole body of magistrates were without the most essential condition to their utility—stability

and independence; and men therefore, who by their nature would have cultivated the arts of peace, and preferred quiet, began to desire changes and innovations in the state.

The reorganization of the police presented greater difficulties; it had been taken out of the violent hands of the Prince of Canosa, and intrusted to Francesco Patrizio, a man of vacillating and capricious temper, who sometimes was too lax in discipline, and sometimes drew the reins too tight, so that the unbroken horse (which forms the arms, and is symbolical of the character of the Neapolitan people) either proudly scorned an incapable ruler, or was maddened by the whip when not required. Secret societies, which were once instituted for the cause of freedom, revived; new societies sprang into existence, and invitations to join them, as well as publications containing bold messages to the sovereign, appeared; in one place the form of a constitution was printed, and everywhere insubordination towards the Government was displayed, while crimes were perpetrated, and attacks made on their adherents.

These disorders were most frequent in the province of Lecce, and at last reached such a height, that General Church, an Englishman by birth, who had joined the Neapolitan army on account of some unworthy action which had been forgotten in his reformed character, was sent down to the province as royal commissary, with powers of *alter ego*. He was severe but just; a hundred and sixty-three persons belonging to different secret societies were executed, and while striking terror into the members of these societies, he revived the courage of the respectable inhabitants, emboldened the magistrates, and restored tranquillity to the province. This proved, however, of no avail in the rest of the kingdom, for the germs of liberty were sending forth fresh shoots, encouraged by the Carbonari, of whose origin, growth, and vast ramifications, as well as of their vices and corruption, it is now time that I should give some account.

In 1799, some Neapolitan exiles were initiated into the rites in Switzerland and Germany, where the society existed under another name;[1] and on their return to their native country, they introduced it there, where it continued for some time unnoticed and un-

[1] The *Tugendbund*.

influential. In the year 1811, certain French and German members arrived at Naples, and asked leave of the police to propagate their doctrines in the kingdom, as a means of civilisation for the people, and a support to the new rulers. A Genoese of the name of Maghella was minister, who had risen to power during the revolutions in Italy and France, and to whom the resemblance between the Carbonari and Free Masons, the facility with which these last had been subdued, his desire to make friends with the common people, and, lastly, the conviction that the vigour inherent in a new state must necessarily have a vent in enterprises of danger, were recommendations and arguments in their favour. He imprudently forgot to consider that while faction, when openly carried on, may be of advantage to a government, when wrapt in mystery and secrecy it is the reverse; and that, where the opinions of any body of men support the interests of the people, they soon spread and take fast root; thus as the principles avowed by the Carbonari were in harmony with the wishes of the Neapolitans, and with the theories of the age, the character of the society infused courage in the masses, and placed the State in jeopardy.

The minister, however, was not capable of perceiving this danger, and proposed the recognition of the society to Joachim, who refused his consent more from the instincts of a king than from legislative wisdom; but he at length yielded, and almost entreated the Carbonari to come to Naples. As they were invited by the police, it might have been expected that the people would have regarded them with suspicion, but, on the contrary, their confidence in them increased, for public morals had been corrupted, and in a new and insecure government the police had the disposal of offices and stipends; the society therefore only appeared another means of profit. It gained rapidly in numbers and power, and many of the public officials enrolled themselves as members, while many of the members were made public officials; nor was there a Government office which had not Carbonari in their employment.

The Government at length began to be alarmed at their numbers, and to regard them with jealousy, when a despatch arrived from the learned Dandolo, councillor of state to the Italian kingdom, who wrote as follows to King Joachim:—"Sire, the Carbonari are spreading in Italy; deliver your kingdom from them if

possible, for they are the enemies of thrones." The king soon afterwards proved the truth of this assertion, for in 1814, when he was with his army on the banks of the Po, the Carbonari of the Abruzzi broke out in rebellion, and it needed force, prudence, and stratagem to put them down. Joachim, with his usual impetuosity and pride, became furious, proscribed the society, persecuted all belonging to it, and denounced them as the enemies of the government. From that time forth his real enemies inscribed themselves on the list of the Carbonari, and all well-intentioned persons abandoned the society, which was joined by bad and bold spirits.

The Carbonari having been declared the enemies of Joachim by edicts and by the executions which followed, sent their emissaries into Sicily, where they were well received by the king, and still more favourably by Lord William Bentinck, who was at that time contemplating vast enterprises. The adversaries of one king and the friends of another, they were courted by the great, and began to think themselves the chief hope of Italy, and less a society than a power. Their arrogance increased in the commencement of the year 1815, when Joachim, persecuted by adverse fortune and disasters in war, sought their friendship, almost in a tone of supplication. The Carbonari had been forsaken by all the wise and virtuous men who had formerly belonged to them, and intoxicated with dreams of greatness, they promised their assistance everywhere, kept faith with none, but offered the hand of friendship unconditionally, neither stipulating for laws nor franchises; ignorant that it is the nature of the great to humble themselves in times of necessity, and upon the return of prosperity to treat their benefactors with contumely and ingratitude. But in the midst of all this folly their numbers increased, for secret societies flourish in times either of great prosperity or of great adversity, and only perish in a time of repose; they are fostered by unusual successes or reverses, by violent stimulants or as violent persecution, and even the lash of the executioner is less a scourge than a spur to action.

The fall of Joachim in 1815 was welcomed by the Carbonari, who, remembering the promises held out to them in Sicily, hoped for support and favour from King Ferdinand. But he, treating the

Society with marked disapprobation, put a stop to their proceedings, and the Carbonari, deceived and confounded, dared not any longer hold their meetings. Many thousands in the kingdom continued to entertain the same opinions, but the Society ceased to exist. I have already stated how the Prince of Canosa, when he rose to be minister of police, allied himself with the Calderari, and plotting against the Carbonari, led to the commission of many crimes, until he at length fell from his office, and that the Carbonari then lapsing into worse practices, were converted from a peaceable society into a sanguinary faction, and from being a purely speculative body commenced active measures; having calculated their forces, and found them considerable, they no longer found it necessary to stand on the defensive, but attacked other men, and committed execrable crimes, which they concerted in their secret meetings; evil deeds require evil men to enact them, and for this reason they accepted the services of the worst characters, anxious to prevent the opposite faction making use of them. Vice itself became a title for admission, and thus the Society degenerated, and was actuated as much by private as political motives; much blood was spilt, both guilty and innocent, to gratify hatred, passion, or revenge.

The Government wished to repress the audacity of the Carbonari, by punishing their crimes with severity; but the Society was already too powerful, and their offences were therefore passed over in silence; accusers hung back, witnesses perjured themselves, and the judges were forced to yield. At one time the means for their conviction were wanting, at another the will to punish, and general impunity followed. Every criminal therefore enrolled himself a member of the Society, as well as all who were meditating fresh crimes; and the prisons were thus converted into *Vendite.*[1] The Calderari now changed sides, and aspired to the honours of the opposite society, and all who had committed crimes or were troubled with evil consciences became Carbonari.[2]

[1] *Vendite.* The lodges of the Carbonari.

[2] The account of the Carbonari given by Botta is considered by the German historian Schlosser as more correct. The general spirit of the tenets of this Society may be traced in the secret societies of the 12th and 13th centuries, at the period of the disputes between the Guelphs and Ghibelines, and of the resistance of the

Such were the Carbonari of the year 1818, at a time when the army was divided by interests and feelings, ill composed and worse disciplined, and therefore a fit material for their machinations. The subordinate officers were quickly infected, but none or only one among the generals became a member, and but few of the superior officers; but all the officers and soldiers of the militia, who were young men, and possessed of some property, and the clergy themselves, did not escape the contagion. Religion had declined from the hour that philosophy had shaken belief in some of its doctrines, and that corrupt morals had banished the rest. Nothing therefore remained but the exercise of empty forms, displeasing to God, and useless to society; the habit of repeating prayers a hundred times in the day, a movement of the lips without the heart; slender charities, and those not from benevolence, but custom or ostentation, and not so as to inconvenience the giver, but bestowed out of his superfluity; the duty of confession

Popes to the pretensions of the Emperors of Germany. Secret societies were then instituted in support of the Papacy, which set up the dogma of human brotherhood and social equality based on the gospel, with hatred of all foreign domination, which in later societies assumed the phase of the independence and unity of Italy. "We labour," they said, in their symbolical language, "to purge *the country* (Italy) from the *wolves* (strangers)." Soon after the French occupation of Naples, some of the most ardent republicans retired to the mountains of Calabria, bearing with them the most vehement hatred of all kings, whether native or foreign, by both of whom they had been persecuted. They were living there isolated and not even formed into a society, when the English in Sicily received notice of this state of things, and determined to make use of them to disturb the French dominion. They excited them to combine, and enlist followers, promising them, in case of success, the form of a constitution. The Society of the Carbonari then arose, taking the name from the charcoal-burners in Calabria, many of whom joined the society. Capobianco was at their head. They imitated the Free Masons in their initiative rites, and enjoined the strictest secrecy; but while the Free Masons had more a social end in view, the Carbonari were purely political, and closely followed in the steps of the societies of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, vowing vengeance for the *Lamb* slain by the Wolf—by the Lamb meaning Jesus Christ, and by the *Wolf*, all kings and tyrants. Like these early types, they likewise maintained that Jesus Christ had been the first and most illustrious victim of tyranny, and declared they avenged his death in that of tyrants. In 1819, after the Austrians returned to Italy, the Society extended through the whole peninsula, and was said to include 642,000 members. All classes of the population of Naples had members in the Society; the guilds of merchants, work-people, clergy, and members of the administration, the army, and magistracy. —See Vaulabelle, *Histoire des deux Restaurations*, and Botta, *Storia d'Italia*, vol. iv. p. 258.

merely fulfilled to appease the conscience and enable the sinner to return to his sin, and acts of penance performed without the spirit of repentance; in short, superstition, or what is worse, hypocrisy and fraud. In these consisted the whole religion of the people and of their king.

At the commencement of the year 1819, the Society of the Carbonari was composed of men of daring and energy, better adapted to revolutionize a state than establish a new order of things. Towards the end of that year many able men, from prudential motives, inscribed themselves of their number; for aware of the vast extent of the Society, or emboldened by the weakness of the Government, they hoped by becoming members to secure their places, or acquire power in a new state, and thus the Carbonari, besides being numerous, acquired weight by this addition of men of influence and property, and became of more importance than the Government itself. The existence of the Carbonari in the form of a society in the eighteenth century, was owing to their opposition to feudalism and the papacy; in the nineteenth century it was more than a mere society, because supported by the inclinations and passions of the age: under Charles, their views coincided with those of the Government; under Ferdinand, they thought for themselves; formerly the people were advanced by an impulse from without, but now they moved by their own impetus.

I abstain from describing the vows, rites, or ceremonies of the Carbonari, because the spirit and substance of political unions do not consist in outward forms, but in the views of the men of whom they are composed. They spring from the dregs of society, and supported by their claim to equality before the laws, advance towards a higher sphere; this tendency, when such bodies are composed of virtuous and well-intentioned men, leads to the introduction of popular institutions, but in the turbulent assemblies of those days, it only led to an invasion of office and power, while using the pretexts and language of democracy. In the year I write (1824) the character of the Society has changed; but whether for better or worse will appear in due time.

I left the thread of our history at the end of 1819, when every act of the Government during five past years, had tended to awaken discontent or contempt in the subjects; all confidence had

disappeared ; a sure sign of the approaching fall of despotic rulers. Where confidence exists, the people will tolerate injustice, but where it ceases, justice itself is suspected. In 1790, when Naples was governed by a mild despotism, many political errors and bad customs of a past age were continued ; there was extravagance in the finances, and oppression and compulsion by feudal lords and the Church ; but all these public wrongs were overlooked in the attachment the people bore their rulers. After the revolution in France, this mild government was converted into a tyranny ; but while the confidence of some few was shaken, that of the mass increased from ignorance, and though the Government adhered less to the laws, it was stronger, and became aware of its prodigious power, during the existence and at the fall of the Neapolitan republic.

The tyranny of 1799 followed, and after that the Government of the two French kings, during whose reigns the people made greater progress in civilisation, and an Agrarian law, under another name, divided among them the property of the barons and the Church. In 1815, when Ferdinand IV. returned to the throne, he continued or only slightly altered the order of things established during the Decennium ; thus equality in the codes of laws, and therefore justice, was maintained ; and though the burden of the finance was heavy, it was equally distributed, and the civil administration, though severe, was wise. Though the laws were sometimes infringed, the police was without arbitrary power, the judiciary power was independent, and the conduct of the ministers of the Crown and of the administrators of the public revenue, subject to revision by a syndic : finally, the district and provincial councils, and the court of chancery, all composed of citizens and magistrates, watched over the public welfare. Taken altogether, the laws and statutes formed a constitution for the State, which might almost be called free. The rulers were mild, the finances wealthy, works of piety and public utility were commenced, and the country was prosperous. Happy in the present, and still more happy in its future prospects, Naples was one of the best governed kingdoms in Europe, and had preserved the largest share of the inheritance bequeathed to the world by an era of innovations ; all the blood which had been shed appeared to have been for her benefit.

From whence then arose a spirit of insubordination, tumults,

and rebellions? The people wanted confidence in their Government. It had been destroyed by the atrocities of 1799; by the treachery practised during the five years which followed; by the conduct of the king; by the acts of his ministers, and by the incapacity of his Government. The social body flourished, but the head withered. Hence the liberals believed that the good laws were no longer the same, that the limited monarchy aimed at becoming absolute, and feared for their persons, while men of property trembled for their new acquisitions; thus the anticipation of evil rather than its actual existence, became the incentive to revolution.

While the secret societies, the army, militia, and people were as I have described them, the department of police was united to that of justice. One would have imagined that this measure must have obliged the police to adhere strictly to the laws, but, on the contrary, the minister of justice now adopted the system of the police; for men who are impatient of their own chains, are ready to impose them on others. One, Giampietro, was appointed director, with absolute power for life. Those who looked beyond the present moment foretold political revolutions, but the Government, from dulness of intellect or feeling, believed this impossible, and continued their course, careless of the consequences. Any who chanced, from excess of zeal or patriotism, to give intimation of approaching danger, were rewarded by anger or suspicion, as none were trusted but those who praised the Government, and predicted its permanence and prosperity. The danger approached, and the opportunity alone was wanting, as the spark to fuel.

Two months later the revolution of Cadiz broke out, which was applauded by all the people of Europe, and recognised by their monarchs;[1] and as the constitution of the Cortes had been sworn to by Ferdinand VII., King of Spain, and Ferdinand I. of Naples, Infant of Spain, and this revolution had cost little blood, few tears, and no public injury, the manner in which it was brought about was

[1] Ferdinand VII. of Spain, by his arbitrary acts, roused the spirit of the Spanish people, and, chiefly through the instrumentality of the army, a revolution was effected in 1820. The Government had fitted out an expedition to suppress the insurgents in South America, when the troops refused to embark. Risings took place in different parts of the country, and a constitution was proclaimed.

admired by the partisans of liberty, and above all by the Neapolitans, who were eager for political reforms, not from a desire to change existing institutions, but to make property more stable and secure. Had the revolution therefore presented itself with its usual accompaniments of risk and disaster, I fully believe that the Carbonari and liberals of our days would not have had courage to proceed.

The example of Spain had great influence on the Neapolitans, from the resemblance between the people both by nature and habits. Never was there greater excitement in the meetings of the Carbonari, and never did their numbers and strength increase so rapidly; but as they perceived that their success must depend on the consent of the army, they tried every means, and were indefatigable in their endeavours to enlist members among the officers and soldiers: many already belonged to the society, and many more shortly joined. Meantime the report of the revolution of Spain, and the vaunted heroism of Riego and Quiroga had almost absolved the consciences of the soldiers from the sacredness of their oath, and made them believe perjury a virtue.

The movement among the liberals in the kingdom was so extensive, that the ministers were startled from their apathy, and all at once perceiving the danger, and having at the same time to devise a remedy, long wavered between resistance and compliance, between the rigours of despotism, and the blandishments of liberty. To recall the Germans would have injured the credit of the Minister Medici, who had just persuaded the king to send them out of the kingdom; to concede the constitution would have offended Austria and would have been a breach of the promise to resist all encroachments of the new ideas; a promise which had been ratified in the Congress of Vienna. Amidst this perplexity, the ministers getting accustomed to reports of tumults, returned to their former apathy; but they were roused again by fresh movements, proclamations, and increased danger proceeding from Calabria, the Capitanata, and Salerno, and without further delay they issued a decree which was intended to make a diversion in their favour, without any great injury to the monarchical power, and, at the same time, throw a veil over their breach of promise to the Congress at Vienna. The basis of this new statute to which the ministers

reluctantly acceded, was an increase in the Court of Chancery by sixty members, half of whom were to be elected by the provincial councils, and half by the king: they were to be organized in two chambers; their vote was to be made necessary for every legislative act; and their debates were to be published. This great change was to be effected without going through the form of a law, but by ordinances which were to be issued almost without any previous notice.

But an unexpected event occurred at this moment, and suspended the acts of the Government, and the risings in the provinces; the army was ordered to assemble in the plains of Sessa, and the king took up his abode there: it had long been rumoured that our troops, following the example of those in Spain, intended to shake off the yoke of obedience, and demand a free constitution. To order them thus to assemble, and the aged king, almost in contempt of danger, in the midst of them, was thought a noble act of courage on his part, and the proof of a clear conscience; the Carbonari, therefore, filled with awe and admiration, suspended their operations.

But the real motive for this encampment was foreign not domestic policy. I will relate the particulars as they were reported to me, though, for the sake of truth, I must mention, that I have no further proof of my facts than the asseveration of high personages. I have been informed, that in the Congress of Vienna, or in another and still more august assembly of potentates, it was determined that at the death of Pius VII. the Legations were to be given to Austria, and the Marches to Naples; and that meantime this resolution should be kept secret from the Pontiff, to avoid (as they pretended) causing him annoyance in his old age; but in reality, because they wished to insure success by seizing on these provinces, as soon as the Holy See fell vacant. Therefore, when the Pope, in 1819, was attacked by a severe illness, Austria sent troops to Ferrara, while Naples announced her intention of forming a camp in the Abruzzi, to be followed by the occupation of the new dominions, after the death of the Pope, and before the choice of a successor. But Providence ordained that the Pontiff should recover, and that he should receive information of their cabals. Monsignor Pacca, the governor of Rome, an extravagant and dissipated cha-

racter, who had been the ambitious accomplice in the deed of spoliation, accordingly fled with Austrian passports, and was reported to have made his escape from an accusation of theft. When Naples was asked the reason for the proposed encampment, she replied, it was to exercise her new levies. The camp in the Abruzzi, however, was never formed; but afterwards, in order to support this asseveration, the army was encamped on the plains of Sessa in the time, and after the manner described. Pius VII. is now dead, and Leo XII. is Pope; yet the Legations and the Marches still belong to the Holy See; therefore, either this story is untrue, or the revolutions of the year 1820, and the agitations of the people of all nations against their rulers, have so riveted the bond between absolute monarchs and the priesthood, as to change their policy. Whether the advantage to Italy of weakening the Papacy would predominate over the injury inflicted by having to receive more German troops, and foreign laws and ordinances, are difficult matters for this generation to decide, and may therefore be left to posterity.

While thus exercising together in the camp at Sessa, the Carbonari in the army were bound closer by the ties of friendship even than by their vows; therefore, if before this time, the scheme of mutiny planned by a majority had been restrained by a belief that their comrades were loyal, the spirit of insubordination in the whole army was now certain to increase. The king was always cheerful in the camp, a smile was frequently seen on his lips, and he was more than usually gracious towards the Muratists; officers and privates appeared equally satisfied, and hypocrisy and want of sincerity prevailed on either side. Judging by these external appearances, the Government believed the army faithful, and abandoned the idea which had been forced upon them of converting the Court of Chancery into the semblance of a representative chamber, and resumed their usual state of inertia. In the middle of July 1820, the camp was raised, and the regiments returned to their former quarters.

At the end of the same month, the Carbonari of Salerno laid the scheme for a general revolution, communicated their project to the Carbonari of the neighbourhood, and sent letters and emissaries to more distant places; but the movers of the plot, and the

chiefs of the Carbonari, belonged to a low order of society, and were without fortune or name; they were therefore persuaded by the wealthier members, who were less daring, to suspend the movement they had commenced, and to send despatches and messengers to countermand the first. Upon these symptoms of hesitation the Government took courage, and some of the rebels were arrested and thrown into prison, others banished by an edict, and the danger ceased; but the immense material prepared for revolution was still secretly at work, like the subterranean fire of a volcano. Whence the spark proceeded, which afterwards ignited, and how great was the conflagration which followed, as well as how it was extinguished, will be related in the succeeding Book.

BOOK IX.

REIGN OF FERDINAND I.—THE CONSTITUTION.

1820-1821.

CHAPTER I.

DISTURBANCES IN THE KINGDOM—DEMAND FOR A CONSTITUTION.

At day-break, on the 2d July 1820, the two sub-lieutenants, Morelli and Silvati, with a hundred and twenty-seven non-commissioned officers and privates, belonging to the regiment of Royal Bourbon Cavalry, deserted from their quarters at Nola, and were joined by the priest Menichini, and by twenty Carbonari; they directed their steps towards Avellino, there to unite with others of the Carbonari, who had been banished a few days before from Salerno, and had taken refuge in that place where the society was numerous and influential. The road from Nola to Avellino is ten miles long, winding through cities and populous suburbs; the land is fertile, the air salubrious, the inhabitants disposed to labour, industriously inclined, and frugal. The fugitives passed leisurely through the midst of this populous district, shouting as they went, "For God, the king, and the constitution!" The meaning of this political watchword was only half understood by the hearers, or even, I might say, by those who uttered it, but all believed the words contained the expression of their particular desire; those who paid taxes supposing it to mean a diminution of the rates; the liberals, liberty; the philanthropist, the public welfare; the ambitious, power; and each, that which he most coveted; the shouts of the infatuated people therefore responded to the vociferations of this band of deserters. Revolutions

require a watchword, however false, as long as it flatters the passions of the people; for were the real motives of popular outbreaks exposed, they would find neither friends nor followers. When Morelli reached Mercogliano, he pitched his camp there, and wrote to Lieutenant-Colonel De Concili, who was in command of the troops at Avellino, and who possessed considerable influence from its being his native place, and from his wealth, noble birth, and dauntless character. In his letter, Morelli asserted that though the first, he was not alone in proclaiming the general desire for a more liberal form of government, and further, that if De Concili would lend his aid in the enterprise, it would confer eternal glory on his name. Before the arrival of this letter, the news of the movement which had taken place had reached Avellino, and had thrown the authorities into consternation, while causing excitement in the troops, and rejoicing the hearts of the people. De Concili hesitated whether to support or to resist Morelli, but leaned towards the Government.[1]

When the news of the events at Nola reached Naples, the king was absent, as he had gone to sea in a vessel splendidly fitted out to meet his son the Duke of Calabria, who was entering the bay on his return from Sicily. The ministers of the crown, the Chevalier Medici, the Marquis Tommasi, the Marquis Circelli, and General Nugent (among whom Medici ranked highest both in public opinion and in the respect shown him by his colleagues), met in council; but, as is ever the case under an absolute government, not so much to consult how to act in so important a crisis, as how to acquaint the king without causing him alarm, or exciting his anger; for his frequent inquiries into the affairs of his kingdom, and the power of the Carbonari, had hitherto been answered by an assurance of the attachment of the people, arising from the excellence of his government, and the happiness he was diffusing; thus, while praising the king, they had praised themselves, and ruled supreme while lulling their master to sleep.

[1] This statement appears only to have been partially true, since Lieutenant-Colonel de Concili, chief of the staff under General Pepe in Avellino, was already an influential Carbonaro, and being a wealthy proprietor, and native of the place, he himself soon afterwards proclaimed the constitution in the city of Avellino.—See *Vita di Guglielmo Pepe, per Francesco Carrano*, p. 82, 83.

The Chevalier Medici even had in the royal councils, represented the ideas of the Carbonari as the wild ravings of a few fanatics, and, by a cunning invention, had assured the devout king, that the missionaries sent from the monasteries would, by the holy means of the Confessional, dispel these fancies. As concealment was now, however, impossible, they resolved, though late in the day, to inform the king of the true state of affairs, but by the manner of their recital and by a promise to apply prompt remedies, disguise the imminence of the danger.

Meantime, the news was whispered among the people in the city, the members of the secret societies were loud in their comments, and the authorities trembled; while the friends of innovation and the ambitious rejoiced, all predicting some approaching and inevitable catastrophe in the desertion of a handful of soldiers. The king proposed remaining out at sea, but encouraged by despatches from his ministers, he landed with his son, and immediately summoned them to meet him in council; the timid advisers of timid princes, accustomed to rule over a submissive people, inexperienced in revolutions, and terrified by their own consciences, they hesitated how to act, and lost the precious moments, which are all-important in times of civil disturbances. In a council of generals convoked by Nugent, it was proposed that General William Pepe, the commander-in-chief of the rebellious province, should be sent to Avellino, to resist the insurgents, and put down the revolt. Nugent, certain of the king's consent, and pressed for time, sent for Pepe, and with words of encouragement desired him to depart within as short a time as would suffice to inform his Majesty; and then wrote the despatch defining his powers. The general willingly complied, because he felt sure of being able to allay the disturbance, and expected to be rewarded by fame and honour; he wrote despatches to the officer in command at Avellino, gave his orders, and determined the movements of the soldiers and militia, while announcing his own speedy arrival in the province.

But when Nugent sent to inform the royal council of what he had done, he was told that the Government suspected the loyalty of General Pepe; a clear indication of the course of policy they had pursued during five past years. By the Convention of Casalanza, and by the terms of the Congress of Vienna, the Muratists

were retained in their employments, and gradually obtained authority, command, and influence, and even some of them were treated with an outward show of favour. But they were hated by the king, and mistrusted by his ministers, and while the Government prized their services, they suspected and detested them personally. This was the case with Pepe, as well as with the other generals. Nugent himself, although commander-in-chief, and at the head of the war department, did not enjoy the full confidence of the Government, and, therefore, was unaware of the suspicions and reasons against Pepe; and Pepe, though thought an enemy and traitor, had been raised to the highest position in the army, and governed two provinces with extraordinary powers; he had been often commended for his conduct, and had received the grand cross of St. George as a reward for his services, besides being intrusted with the formation of the militia. I could mention many similar instances, but the whole policy of the Government is exhibited in that which I am about to relate.[1]

Nugent sent to Pepe to stop his departure, and endeavoured to conceal the reason for this change of orders under various pretexts, by which Pepe was not however deceived. He suspected the truth, and feared worse, but pretended he was satisfied, and remained silent. As the old habit of procrastination prevailed in the royal council, the ministers determined to carry on the present government, trusting to better fortune, or to the people getting

[1] In all that in the following pages relates to General William Pepe, the reader must bear in mind the animosity existing between him and General Colletta. Colletta instructed Pepe in mathematics when a boy, and had known him from the age of fourteen. He therefore could not overcome the mortification of seeing him promoted above himself in 1820. When describing the war of Murat against Austria in 1815, Colletta judges Pepe as a soldier, though not giving him full justice for the valour he displayed; but in a narrative he published, entitled *Storia di Napoli dal 2 al 6 Luglio del* 1820, he bestowed upon him exaggerated praise; this pamphlet, however, was written in the first excitement of a victorious revolution; in the present work Colletta writes after Pepe had been raised to the supreme command, and had published a pamphlet in which he asserted that Colletta was anxious to avoid a war against Austria, and that he desired the return of Ferdinand with a modified constitution. Pepe was more a soldier and patriot than general or statesman; yet he was esteemed by Nugent, who considered blind obedience the first duty of a soldier, but Pepe placed his duty to his country above every obligation to his military oath, and considered a soldier should rather break his sword than use it against the freedom of the citizen.—See *Vita di Guglielmo Pepe, per Francesco Carrano*, p. 151, &c.

tired and changing their minds; and, meanwhile, to resort to various expedients, or, if necessary, try fraud and stratagem. It was impossible to send Nugent against the insurgents, as he was hated by the army, because he had lent himself as an instrument to the avarice of the exchequer, and was in still worse odour with the people, who remembered the insults they had already had to endure from foreigners; they could not employ any of the generals from Sicily, as they had no reputation with us, and were disliked by the soldiers, the majority of whom were Muratists; nor could they trust the Muratist generals, as they suspected their loyalty. Such is the unhappy and despicable condition to which a government is reduced, which from an adherence to old prejudices, and from incapacity, although supported by the prestige of time, by wealth, offices, and honours, cannot, even in an avaricious and corrupt age, gain the attachment of the subjects. But the council, forced to an unwilling choice, selected General Carrascosa, who, though a Muratist, was a distinguished officer, experienced in the conduct of difficult enterprises, a stanch supporter of the monarchy, yet not disliked by the people; for they remembered his youthful deeds in the cause of liberty, and his avowed predilection for a liberal government; besides which, the people associated the ideas of the Republic and the Napoleonic dynasty with that of freedom, since they had seen them all advocated by the same men, and opposed by the Bourbons. In a soirée given at the palace to celebrate the return of the Duke of Calabria, the courtiers were uncertain whether to express their pleasure at his arrival, or their regret at the events of the day; whether to speak of dangers, hopes, or fears. But the king appeared with a placid countenance, and as with courtiers the royal example is equivalent to a command, all assumed an air of serenity.

The hours which were passing rapidly away in Naples between inertia and hesitation how to act, were spent elsewhere to good purpose; for the revolt was spreading by fame and by impunity. That same day it extended through the Principato Ultra, of which Avellino is the capital, with part of the Principato Citra, and reached the borders of the Capitanata, spreading as widely as its fame. De Concili then perceived his best course would be to join the revolution; and deceive, bribe, or seduce the authorities, as

the case might be; he collected the soldiers of the line, as well as the militia, and under the pretext of establishing a line of defence, pitched his camp opposite Morelli, and after a secret conference with him in the night, determined to enter the city the following morning, proclaiming the king and constitution, and carrying the colours of the Carbonari.

At daybreak, therefore, of the 3d July, Morelli marched in high spirits from Mercogliano to Avellino, while Carrascosa, who was waiting in Naples for the instructions promised him, was agitated by contending feelings. He wished to serve the Government, in fulfilment of his oath, as well as from motives of interest; yet he did not wish to oppose the liberals, who were his fellow-citizens, who were increasing in power and influence, and who, sooner or later, were sure to succeed; he neither wished to betray the monarchy, nor to show himself adverse to liberty; and he continued, therefore, distressed in mind and irresolute. The Government still more suspecting his fidelity, and fearing the authority they had granted him might become a temptation to rebel, and lead to the commission of some irrevocable act of treachery, delayed his departure, and at last (as is usually the case with those who wish to avoid trouble) they adopted a middle course, and gave the General free leave to depart, but not his soldiers. He was, however, obliged to stop at Marigliano, and afterwards at Nola, as he found the road to Avellino impeded; for the troops were all in the field, as the garrison of the city, with the militia, Carbonari, and other liberals, were hastening from every quarter to join Morelli, who, strongly reinforced, had encamped his followers on the heights of Monteforte, facing Naples, whilst the insurrection was spreading widely in the opposite direction. The magistrates of Avellino, the *Intendente* of the province, and the bishop, gave Morelli a joyful welcome, and took the oath in the church, to God, the king, and the constitution. After the oath had been administered, Morelli declared that his proceedings could not be considered seditious, since the State would be maintained in its integrity, and the reigning dynasty, laws, and all orders within the kingdom, should continue the same; then advancing towards the *Intendente*, he tendered him a paper signed by the syndic of Mercogliano, certifying that the troops of sub-lieutenant Morelli had kept the strictest

discipline in that town, and had paid for their provisions; this was the certificate ordered by the king in the march of the soldiers, through the interior of the kingdom: then turning to De Concili, he presented him with another paper (the muster-roll of his men), saying, "I, as sub-lieutenant, submit to your orders as Lieutenant-Colonel in the army of His Majesty Ferdinand, the constitutional king;" after having thus spoken, he assumed a subordinate position, ceased to give orders or to speak, and obeyed De Concili, who accepted the supreme command.

That same day, the 3d July, the Capitanata, the Basilicata, and a great part of the Principato Citra rose in revolt; for a word from De Concili, a message or signal, had been enough to excite this vast population to arms. But amidst all this excitement the laws were held sacred, life was secure, property respected, private quarrels suspended, and the Revolution converted into a national festival; a sure sign that it would be now impossible to repress the movement. As the danger approached nearer, General Carrascosa, who was at Nola, became still more uncertain how to act. Without his soldiers, he could only exercise his authority through despatches or messages; he tried persuasion towards the insurgents, sent protestations to the Government, and feeling the difficulties of his position, became hourly more disheartened. He suggested offering the leaders a sum of money to leave the kingdom, and then to pacify or subdue the multitude of their discontented followers; the Government gladly caught at this idea, although it was a condescension to treat with subjects; but they had long been in the habit of using such means to gain their ends; means better adapted than any other to the comprehension of pusillanimous and crafty ministers. The general who proposed the measure, desired that some one else should undertake its conduct, requesting that a fit person should be appointed, and writing to this effect to the Duke d'Ascoli, the friend of the king, as well as to the minister Medici; but none could be found to accept an office which would have exposed them to danger from both the king and the people, while all alike shrunk from responsibility, or meddling with politics. Absolute sovereigns are in prosperity surrounded by importunate adherents, but are deserted in times of adversity.

On the night of the 3d and 4th July, General Carrascosa had six hundred soldiers under his command, whilst General Nunziante in Nocera, commanded still more numerous troops, and General Campana was at the head of a detachment in Salerno. Not one of these three columns was of itself strong enough to have gained possession of Monteforte, though the three combined would have been more than sufficient; but the Government dared not unite them, as they suspected the fidelity of the soldiers, and that the harmony between the generals would be converted into a conspiracy. On the morning of the 4th, General Campana unexpectedly marched from Salerno towards Avellino, with infantry and cavalry, and encountered the enemy half way; but in the midst of the fight, the general suddenly returned to his quarters. On the morning of the 5th, General Nunziante moved from Nocera; in a short day's march, however, his soldiers deserted in such numbers, that, though disguising his fears, he had to reconduct his diminished troops to Nocera. The movement of Campana had neither been supported by Nunziante nor Carrascosa, and the movement of Nunziante neither aided Carrascosa nor Campana. Carrascosa, meantime, was trying to seduce the leaders of the insurgents, but his efforts were unavailing, as they suspected a stratagem to support the sudden attacks made by Nunziante and Campana. The Government had (incredible as it may appear) directed these disconnected and counter movements. In the midst of the confusion, the spirit of insubordination increased; a regiment of cavalry coolly refused to obey their colonel, and deserted from Nocera at mid-day, with their colours flying: a battalion of the royal guards who had arrived in the camp, evinced their determination not to fight, and another battalion of infantry stationed at Castellamare mutinied.

While this was occurring in the camps, bad news arrived from the provinces; first, that a regiment quartered at Foggia had joined the rebels; and, secondly, that Puglia and Molise had risen in arms, and that the Terra di Lavoro was in commotion. The state of the Abruzzi and Calabria was yet unknown, owing to their distance; but as the former was inclined for the Carbonari, and the latter was always in turmoil, their condition might be conjectured. The guards of the palace were doubled; large patrols explored the

city, and the soldiers were held ready, but were watched in their quarters. Just then letters reached the king from General Nunziante, who, after giving a short account of the mutinous spirit of his troops, proceeded in these words: "Sire, the constitution is the desire of your people; opposition is vain; I entreat your Majesty to yield." The loyalty of the writer could not be suspected. Born of obscure parents, and trained amidst the horrors of civil war, he had followed the king constantly in his varying fortunes, and had, by this claim, and by the royal favour, attained the highest rank in the army, honours, and wealth. His letter, therefore, added to the gloom and consternation in the palace, but the assurances of Carrascosa, that he would subdue the insurgents by treaty or war, supported the hopes of the king, and he waited anxiously for the morning of the 6th, the last period fixed for negotiation or to commence fighting.

New disasters prevented further delay. General William Pepe, already suspicious of the Government, was led by the intrigues of the Carbonari, and by his own hasty temper, to believe they meant to confine him in prison, and that he had no escape except in Monteforte; he therefore decided on flight, and invited General Napoletani to join him either as a follower or companion. They, together, collected the officers and soldiers in their quarters, at the bridge of the Maddalena, about midnight, and by their orders or persuasion, a regiment of cavalry and several companies of infantry were induced to desert.[1] The news had spread in the city and in the palace, when five of the Carbonari entered the apartments of

[1] General Colletta, in a former pamphlet, gives rather a different impression of Pepe's conduct in this affair:—"General Pepe and Field-Marshal Napoletani, having left Naples on the night of the 5th and 6th, entered Avellino on the evening of the 6th; Pepe was moved to this step by his love of liberty, and also by a current report, true or false, that he had fallen under the suspicion of the Government: wise and upright conduct! That popular movement had its promoters in every corner of the kingdom, and only wanted to be united, and the guidance of leaders. It was therefore necessary that one man, gathering up all the threads in his hands, should conduct the great work to its termination, and should build up that which until then had been a heap of loose stones: such a man was William Pepe. Therefore the affection and gratitude of the Neapolitans to him is eternal!"—Colletta, *La Storia di Napoli dal* 3 *al* 6 *Luglio del* 1820; *Si trova nel Ripertorio dei Patrioti*, vol. xii. Livorno 1848; quoted in the *Vita di Guglielmo Pepe, per Francesco Carrano*, pp. 87-88.

the king, openly declaring to the officials and guards, that they came as ambassadors, in the name of the people, to speak with the king, or with some influential personage about the Court. At any other time, the hour, the language, and the audacity of their intrusion would have been considered a crime, and punished as such: but the times had changed, and a servant conveyed the message in all haste, which instantly brought the Duke d'Ascoli, whom one of the five thus addressed: "We are deputed to inform the king, that the tranquillity of the city cannot and will not be preserved, unless his Majesty grant the constitution which is demanded. Carbonari, soldiers, citizens, and the people are in arms; the members of the society are assembled, and wait the answer of the king, to decide what course to adopt." "I will immediately learn his pleasure," answered the duke, who shortly returned, and addressed the leader of the embassy in these words: "His Majesty having ascertained the wishes of his subjects, and having already decided to grant a constitution, is now consulting with his ministers upon its just limits, preparatory to publication." The delegate inquired—"When will it appear?" "Immediately." "Now?" "In two hours." Another of the five then rose, and without uttering a syllable, extended his hand towards the ribbon of the duke's watch, and rudely snatching it, turned the face, so that he and the duke could both see the hour, saying, "It is now one hour after midnight; at three the constitution must be published." He then returned the watch, and left the room. This insolent man was the Duke Piccoletti, son-in-law of Ascoli.

The Duke of Calabria, the king's son, was constantly beside him in the council, with three of the ministers, as the fourth, General Nugent, was detained in the camp of Carrascosa, to assist in determining the course of action for the following day, and whether to give battle or make terms with the insurgents. The ministers, who were now as much alarmed as they had before been presumptuous, when secure from danger, entreated the king to yield to the pressure of the times, to consent to the constitution, and hope in the future: the more the king, trusting in Divine aid, or from greater sense or courage, resisted, the more did these cowards repeat their entreaties and endeavours to frighten him. The Marquis Circello, who was

hated by the people, an old man, but clinging to the pleasures of this life, and therefore eager to prolong his days, addressed the king with tears, in these words: "I love your Majesty as a father loves his son; therefore listen to me, and follow the advice which proceeds from the lips of a faithful servant: grant them a constitution, and let the dangers of the moment blow over; and Providence will then aid a pious and virtuous prince in the recovery of the rights of the Crown from a guilty people." Ferdinand accordingly yielded, and published the following edict:—

"To the nation of the Two Sicilies. The universal desire the people of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies manifested in favour of a constitutional government, has induced us to give our full consent and promise, to publish the basis of a Constitution within eight days' time. Until the publication of the Constitution, the existing laws shall remain in force.

"Having thus satisfied the public demand, we order that the troops shall join their respective corps, and that the rest of the citizens shall resume their ordinary occupations. FERDINAND.

"NAPLES, 6*th July* 1820."

The edict was sent by speedy messengers to the camps of Nocera, Mugnano, and Monteforte, and arrived at the very moment when, despairing of peace, the generals were preparing the troops for battle. The camps on the king's side were therefore raised, and the soldiers returned in high spirits to Naples, shouting "For God, the King, and Constitution!" The camp of Monteforte remained as before; the revolution of a kingdom had been completed in four days; a revolution which, under a wiser government, would never have taken place, and under a more courageous government, would have been immediately suppressed.

By a decree of that day, the king appointed new ministers, and published letters addressed to his son, in which he lamented that the infirm state of his health rendered him too weak for the cares of government; he therefore resigned the royal authority into his hands. The edict, the decree, and the letter caused still greater excitement in the people, who, declaring that eight days were not sufficient to frame a constitution from its foundations, while that time was more than requisite for the publication of one copied

from those already in use in Europe, believed the proposal was a stratagem intended to lull them to repose, to induce the camp at Monteforte to break up, and to enable the Government to crush them when thus disunited. They insisted on the king granting them the constitution of the Cortes, which had been recognised in Europe, which he himself, as Infant of Spain, had sworn to observe, and which only, therefore, required a word from him at once to proclaim.[1] They accused him of only having appointed better ministers because compelled from present necessity, and not because he had altered his policy, and they cited in proof of this assertion, the large stipends which he had bestowed on his late ministers. The viceroyalty of the Duke of Calabria, reminded them in its name of the frauds practised in Sicily, and strengthened the suspicion that the king nourished sinister designs. The excitement, therefore, increased on the 6th, and became still greater, when General Pepe placed himself at the head of the movement; De Concili resigning the chief command to him, as his superior officer, in the same way as Morelli had yielded before. These voluntary abdications were considered a proof of the moderation of a civilized age, and as such were admired in the world; although they were in reality a necessary consequence of a change too easily effected, which had cost neither trouble, risk, nor

[1] *The Constitution of Spain* was in substance as follows:—The sovereignty is to reside in the nation, which being free and independent, neither is nor can be the patrimony of any one person or family. All Spaniards are equally subject to taxation. The power of making laws to be vested in the Cortes conjointly with the king. The Cortes to be triennial. The king not to be present at the debates, and though his ministers may attend and speak, they are to have no vote. The king may withhold his sanction to a law, but if the Cortes pass the same law in three successive sessions, he must be obliged to yield. The executive power to reside exclusively in the king, to watch over the administration of justice, to declare war and peace, under the control of the Cortes, to appoint the judges, and all civil and military officials, to present to bishoprics, under the advice of the Council of State, &c. . . . . *The king not to quit the kingdom without the consent of the Cortes, and if he should transgress this law, to be understood to have abdicated the Crown.* The king not to be permitted to alienate any part of the Spanish territory, or grant privileges or monopolies, or disturb any private individual in the enjoyment of his property, or deprive him of personal liberty. If the interests of the State require the arrest of any individual, he must be delivered over to a competent tribunal, within forty-eight hours, &c., &c. —See Article "Spain," *Encyclopædia Britannica.*

time ; and as there could be neither victims nor heroes, men were forced to respect the usages of established authority.

Towards evening the commotion in the city, and the alarm in the palace, had reached such a height, that the viceroy convoked a council of some few of the generals, several of the former councillors of state, and the new ministers ; the time was so urgent, that the summons ran in these words, " *Immediate and in any dress.*" The viceroy then spoke as follows :—" The king and we, who belong to one and the same country, desire, as far as lies in the power of man, to save our common mother from impending dangers. As long as the constitution was only demanded by a few ardent spirits, the king hesitated to grant it. He could easily have gained possession of Monteforte by arms, and vanquished and punished the Constitutionalists (those who had hitherto been called rebels in the royal councils were for the first time thus named) ; but he refrained, because he shrank from shedding the blood of his people, and he wished to give time and free opportunity for the manifestation of opinions, in order to learn the real desires and the real political wants of the people : this delay, which has been attributed to unwillingness on his part, was the deliberate determination of a wise and benevolent monarch.

" He has, indeed, almost before it was possible to learn the desires of all, promised to satisfy them ; he has raised the camps, and sent the soldiers to their quarters, as in a time of peace ; the road from Monteforte to the palace is open ; the whole family, and even the dynasty of the Bourbons, is in the hands of an armed people, and he neither fears nor attempts to fly. But if their demands exceed the bounds of moderation, and time is refused him for the difficult task of compiling a statute, or they disturb the council appointed for that purpose by the king, they will render the constitution itself imperfect and ill-adapted for its object ; the necessity for reform will then shortly re-appear, and as reforms in constitutional governments bring with them want of confidence, and lead to revolutions, the present difficulties and dangers will recur.

" I demand of you, who are equally attached to your country and the throne, the means to cool this effervescence in the people, and induce them quietly to await the term of eight days for the promised law. While requesting each of you to give

me your opinion, I must remind all, that amidst the embarrassments of your sovereign, sincerity is the greatest proof of loyalty, and that if an unseasonable diffidence restrain your words, you will disgrace yourselves, betray the interests of your king, injure your common country, and offend God."

After having thus spoken he was silent, and the councillors present, either because taken by surprise, or distrustful of the speaker, were likewise silent. The character of the Duke of Calabria was variously reported; he was deeply versed in the secrets of a palace where falsehood reigned supreme; he was likewise the friend of Canosa who was suspected of all the treachery practised in Sicily; but until that time he himself was unstained by crime, and (what was a stronger recommendation) he had suffered from his father's tyranny. These considerations, his plausible language, and the urgency of the moment, induced one of this numerous assembly, on the invitation to speak being renewed, to address him fearlessly in these words:—"In venturing to reply to your highness, I do not consider the vast interests at stake, my own incapacity, nor the danger I incur in taking on myself the office of adviser, but only that in such difficult circumstances, it is my duty to act and speak as I am prompted by my conscience and judgment, as well as to obey the command of your highness; therefore, as my feelings dictate to me, so I frankly speak.

"The constitution is an ancient and long cherished wish of the Neapolitan people, revived in the last thirty years of political misery; it has become a hope since King Ferdinand granted a constitution to Sicily, King Louis to France, and (though reluctantly) King Joachim to us, and by the late constitution which has been given or taken in Spain: And now, since the numerous Society of the Carbonari have made this cry their object and their excuse, it is no longer a mere wish or hope, but a want and necessity. Three years ago, though it was even then vain to oppose the torrent of the popular will, it would have been easy to guide its course; but the late cabinet was blind to danger and deaf to counsel, trusting that the storm would subside of itself, or break out at some distant day; and that they might still boast they had preserved the monarchy uninjured. They therefore allowed matters to reach such a height, that the royal authority has now received

a blow in the most vital point, the sovereign power and the prestige attached to royalty. On the 2d July, Morelli and his small band of followers could have been put down; on the days which followed, Monteforte could have been taken, this fresh attempt of the Carbonari might have been rendered futile, and the revolution postponed; since it was impossible to avoid it, without a change in the system of Government. Until yesterday, we could have repressed it by force, but now, that is past; the voluntary promise of a constitution, the recall of the soldiers from the camps, the fall of the late administration, and the rumours prevalent concerning the palace—rumours which have not yet subsided, make the revolutionary party stronger than the Government; and in civil contests the weak must yield, or perish.

"This present conjuncture is dangerous to the monarchy as well as to the monarch; the Constitutionalists refuse us time to compose a new statute, and demand a foreign statute, that of the Cortes. If the king refuse to-day, he will be forced to comply to-morrow, and meantime his reluctance being always overcome by louder clamour, will still further lower the royal authority and the laws, and will give greater importance to his enemies and to the populace; in these political conjunctures great crimes lie buried; I am therefore of opinion that you should anticipate their demands, by at once satisfying all their present wishes, and by granting the people as concessions, that which they will otherwise seize by violence."

"But is the constitution of the Cortes," asked the viceroy, interrupting his speech, "that best adapted to the Neapolitan people?" "It is vain to ask," answered the orator; "we are now only considering how to allay the revolution, not the reason for making one; it is already made. Those who most loudly call for the constitution of Spain, do not understand its political meaning; it has become their creed, and any other constitution, though better adapted to their circumstances, or even more liberal, would be unpopular. It is a painful necessity when a government has to bend before the violence of subjects; it is painful for us to exhort you to patience, but as we are on the brink of a precipice, the duty of your advisers is to urge prudence, a virtue which the monarch will probably be obliged to exercise, and to yield to destiny, in order to preserve his rights. When we only risk our own lives, bold-

ness may be valour, but when we risk those of others, it is presumption."

Though during this speech, all round had signified their approbation by their gestures and acclamations, the viceroy now asked each separately his opinion; they were unanimous, except in one instance, when the introduction of a word of double meaning in the decree was suggested, which might be made use of to restore the power of the monarchy, when the present crisis was past; but the prince rejected this proposal with indignation, declaring that the consciences of the king and of himself spurned such treachery; then without dissolving the council, he went to his father, and returned to inform them that the king approved the vote of the assembly, and had ordered that it should be reduced into the form of a decree. The prince had been absent so short a time, that it was impossible he should have reported the speeches; those in council, therefore, suspected the king had been present at the discussion, though unseen. The decree, which was immediately drawn up, and was published that evening, ran thus:—"The Constitution of the Two Sicilies shall be the same as that adopted for the kingdom of Spain in the year 1812, and that consented to by his Catholic Majesty in March of this year, always excepting such modifications as the National Representative Assembly, constitutionally convoked, shall consider necessary in order to adapt it to the peculiar circumstances of the Neapolitan kingdom.

"FRANCIS, *Viceroy.*"

This did not, however, satisfy the people, who declared that a law which changed the constitution of the State must be signed by the king, and not by the viceroy. The populace again rose in a tumult around the palace, until the same decree appeared, with Ferdinand's signature, when the insurgents having obtained their wish, the revolutionary party were appeased; but excitement of another kind followed, in sounds of rejoicings, and in cheers for the king, which were repeated a hundred times. Naples seemed another city on the 7th July: the long cherished hope of the people had been fulfilled; tranquillity was restored to the palace, and the satisfaction was general; some rejoicing in the consummation of their hopes, and others at their escape from

danger. Not a single dark spot had sullied the work, for not a drop of blood had been spilt, not a crime committed, nor order disturbed; public and private affairs had been transacted as in times of peace; the courts of law, the exchange, the bank, the races, and the theatre, had continued open to business and pleasure. The fathers and sons of those who had been sentenced in 1799, almost forgetting the injuries they had endured, the blood which had been shed, and their own sorrow, joined in the praises of the king, and gloried in the thought that the freedom just conceded was the consequence of their former sufferings. Though the common people did not understand the political signification of the word constitution, an accidental analogy of sound enabled their untutored intellect to approach the truth. In the midst of the public rejoicings I have described, one of the Lazzaroni asked another of the same class whom he thought cleverer than himself, what could be the meaning of the cry "Constitution?" to which the other replied, "Thou art surely the only man who does not comprehend it; it means the *cauzione* (caution) given us by our king." The word *cauzione* had been often used during the ten years of the French dominion, and was therefore comprehended by them.

The ministers were Count Zurlo, Count Ricciardi, the Duke di Campochiaro, General Carrascosa, and the Chevalier Macedonio. The king selected these men, partly because forced into this choice by the emergency of the revolution, and partly to gratify the camp at Monteforte. For Ferdinand's wishes and that of the revolutionary party coincided, though from different motives; the king believing the revolution to be the work of the Muratists, and wishing to avoid trouble and dangers, chose his ministers among them; while the revolutionary party, who up to that time had been composed of the dregs of society, not finding any men of reputation or merit among themselves, nor any capable of undertaking the highest offices in the State, turned to men of old families, and to Muratists, rather than Bourbonists; as the reign of Murat had been less hostile to liberty than any period of the reign of the Bourbon. Such was the force of this sentiment, that Count Zurlo, who had been an inveterate persecutor of the Carbonari during the reign of Joachim, was chosen minister by

the Carbonari of Monteforte, and was accepted by the king. The news which hourly arrived from the provinces, still more proved the unanimity of the people. Every city, every town, had risen in revolt on the same grounds, and had in the same manner abstained from all violence. The whole kingdom was in arms and in commotion; but, extensive as was the movement, all were unanimous in their aim, and all united in the means for its attainment, and it was, therefore, unaccompanied by any disorderly conduct. This unanimity of action was produced by an equal unanimity in the nation's long cherished wish, while the instrument destined to accomplish the work was the Society of the Carbonari; a society to which a vast number of men of property belonged, who were naturally anxious to bring about reforms quietly, and who were seconded by the indolence and timidity of the Government. The first movements made by the Carbonari, though expected, were not shared in by the people; and it seemed to spread by a rapid growth, rather than burst upon the nation. A peaceable revolution is new in the history of politics, and now that we have seen how it has ended, we cannot but lament the present state of society, when men must either submit to a form of government they hate, or the country must be convulsed by sanguinary revolutions, or (since a change effected quietly is not lasting) suffer a worse fate on the return of despotism.

General Pepe in the camps of Avellino and Salerno, welcomed soldiers, Carbonari, and liberals, from the neighbouring provinces. Though not the author of the revolution, he was anxious to promote it, that he might reap its fruit and glory. Having collected a numerous body of followers, he conceived the idea of a triumph. He wrote to the Viceroy, informing him that he intended in the course of the ensuing days, to enter the city with the troops of the line and a large force of militia, in order to prove that the change of Government met with general approbation, and to strike all who should dream of opposing it with amazement and terror.[1]

[1] General Pepe's account of this transaction is as follows:—"On the morning of the 7th (the day of the proclamation of the Constitution of Spain), my house was full of people from Naples, and it was with a feeling of deep pleasure that I beheld among them the Prince of Strongoli. . . . According to Strongoli, the king and the Prince of Calabria were both extremely anxious for my return to Naples. They

This message revived the perturbation within the palace, and the Viceroy immediately sent messengers to the camp to try and dissuade the General from his design, or to urge him to modify it. Pepe therefore agreed, that on the morning of the 9th, when the constitutional troops were to enter the city, they were to be followed by not more than two thousand Carbonari or liberals; from that day forth General Pepe was to take the command of all the military forces in the kingdom, which he was to retain until the meeting of Parliament:[1] four battalions of militia were to remain as garrison and guards of the palace, and on the following day the remainder were to quit the city, the soldiers for their quarters, the civilians for their homes. This matter was hardly settled when a fresh demand arose: the Constitutionalists in the first excitement, although declaring themselves subjects of the king, had changed the Bourbon standard, revered for its antiquity, and adopted the new and mystic colours of the Carbonari; and they proposed to enter the city in triumph with these unfurled. As soon as this was known, the Government sent envoys to the camp, and it was agreed—a strange combination—that a ribbon of the three colours of the Carbonari was to be attached to the ancient standard of the king.

That day, the 7th July, circulars written by the Duke di Campochiaro were despatched to all the courts of Europe, acquainting them with the political changes in Naples, and in which it was hinted that compulsion had been used towards the king by the insurgents; which hint, when the report was laid before the public, became a cause of complaint against the ministers. But letters from the Marquis Circello of the day before, had already conveyed intelligence of the state of matters, and of the danger, to these same courts; and the compulsion to which the king had been subjected was evident, by the rapid success of the revolution,

said that without my presence there, they would be afraid to remain lest some commotion should take place. . . . I received a letter from the Duke of Calabria, to whom I wrote an answer in the midst of many persons, and as many affairs," &c. &c.—*Memoirs of General Pepe*, vol. ii. pp. 239-246.

[1] General Pepe had received official intimation of his appointment to the chief command of all the forces of the united kingdom, at the same time with the news of the king having granted the Spanish constitution.—See *Memoirs of General Pepe*, vol. ii. p. 238.

by the viceroyalty, the change of ministers, and the well-known character and history of Ferdinand.

On the 8th, the Constitutionalists assembled in the Campo di Marte. The old-fashioned system of discipline in the army had indeed been very defective, but now all discipline was at an end; when soldiers guilty of insubordination were united with licentious Carbonari. All ranks were confounded, none listened to the voice of their officers, and punishment was impossible. Pepe, De Concili, and Menichini were disputing among themselves, and were neither obeyed nor obedient. In that vast multitude there was not a single man capable of taking the lead, or who could bear to be second; modesty and claims founded on merit were alike wanting, and therefore there were neither the materials for command nor obedience. Such was the state of the camp; and in the city, the people being satiated and wearied with rejoicings, began to grow suspicious of evil. They distrusted the old police, and another was appointed; they suspected the governors of the castles, and they were changed; they feared lest the public money should be stolen, and the bank was given over to the custody of the Carbonari. It was rumoured the king meant to fly, and the ships were unrigged and the port guarded. The Carbonari, ever numerous and active, went armed day and night, and were themselves the authors of these rumours, first exciting the suspicions, and then providing the remedies; public tranquillity was maintained, but under the guise of terror; for where the people are in arms in a time of peace, all social order is subverted. In order to raise a new power to govern the State, a Provisional Junta was instituted after the example of Spain, which was to assist the viceroy in ordering and regulating everything, until the convocation of Parliament. It was composed of fifteen members, who were proposed in the camp, but elected by the prince, all men of experience, and able to keep the people in check, friendly to the monarchy, conscientious and honourable, while not one of them had belonged to the camp of Monteforte, or was a Carbonaro.[1]

The 9th, a day of triumph for the camp and of rejoicing for the

[1] General Colletta appears to have forgotten that one of the Junta was General Russo, who was a Carbonaro, and was proposed by General Pepe.—*Memoirs of General Pepe*, vol. ii. p. 247.

people, was full of mortification for the Bourbons, while many felt doubtful of its ultimate results; the day was anticipated with various feelings, some said it would be the end, and others the commencement of the Revolution; some believed it would increase the authority of the king, others that it would utterly subvert it; the timid or malicious spread a report that the moderation of the Carbonari was assumed, in order to gain easy access to the metropolis, which would afford ample food for plunder and slaughter. In the midst of all these conflicting opinions and sentiments, the day arrived, and at the time specified the troops advanced from the camp to the city. When the news reached the palace, into whose inmost recesses adjoining the castle the king had retired, the viceroy, dressed in full uniform, stationed himself with his family in the throne-room, and behind him the Junta, the ministers and courtiers; the only persons belonging to the court not present, being Medici, Circello, and Tommasi. Military sounds announced the arrival of the first troop, and immediately the court went out on the balcony to do them honour, and the royal family, in token of pleasure, waved their cambric handkerchiefs, which had just before dried their tears.

A detachment of the *Sacred Squadron* (as the company which had deserted from Nola was now called) preceded the column, followed by bands of music, and after them General Pepe, who imitated the fashion and gestures of King Joachim in an exaggerated manner; Generals Napoletani and De Concili were beside him; the troops of the line succeeded, among whom were several battalions who had joined the camp the day before, either voluntarily or by command. This first pageant was closed by the superb regiment of dragoons. These men were inwardly conscious of the fault they had committed, and an almost universal feeling of disapprobation tempered the applause; for in the midst of the show the people remembered their broken oath, their insubordination, and the complete subversion of all those qualities which form the soldier's character, and that these offences were held up in triumph, instead of receiving the punishment which was their due.

The militia succeeded the troops of the line; citizen soldiers, supporting the cause of the citizen, they felt an honest joy which communicated itself to the spectators, who responded to their

shouts of "Long live the Constitution and the King!" with "Long live the soldiers!" These mingled salutations in their honour, rose in one glad sound, which was loud and general, and only ceased as a new sight presented itself. This was the priest Menichini with his Carbonari. In clerical attire, but armed as a warrior, and covered with the decorations of the Society, he rode in front of seven thousand Carbonari, plebeian and noble, clergy and friars, worthless characters and good, a confused multitude, without order and without any mark of distinction to denote those who led, or those who followed. This assemblage, indifferent to the applause of others, applauded themselves, shouting, "Long live the Carbonari!" They neither seemed to belong to the military, nor to constitute a band of warriors, nor even militia, but to be a wild and festive crew. As soon as their approach was perceived from the balcony of the palace, the viceroy ordered every one to fasten the badge of the Carbonari to his breast, and he, with the princes of his family, were the first to decorate themselves. The example was followed by all present, and if any one had omitted providing himself with the three ribbons (red, black, and blue), they were given them in the palace, in the form of a star, gracefully arranged by the hands of the Duchess of Calabria. Such was the fear or policy, or rather the duplicity of the royal family.

As soon as the procession had passed, and the troops had been sent to the quarters assigned them, Pepe, accompanied by Napoletani, De Concili, Morelli, and Menichini, went to the palace.[1] They were instantly received, and ushered into the great hall of state, where the viceroy was awaiting them. Bowing respectfully to his highness, who received them with courtesy, Pepe spoke thus:—"When I arrived in the camp of the Constitutionalists, the revolution was already effected, and I therefore determined to direct it for the advantage of the State and the throne. The armed men whom I have just led in parade before your royal highness, with the thousands more who are detained in the provinces, or have been sent back there, are not rebels, but subjects; these weapons, there-

[1] General Pepe relates that none were present at this interview but an aid-de-camp, who accompanied him.—*Memoir of General Pepe*, vol. ii. p. 247.

fore, are not intended to subvert the throne, but to be used in its support. Necessity alone compelled me to accept provisionally the supreme command of the army, as I am younger and far less meritorious than my colleagues, and authority is perhaps as distasteful to me as submission is to them. His Majesty and your royal highness may now end, as I entreat you to do, all our uneasiness, by immediately convoking the National Representatives, and I swear in the respected presence of your highness and of these gentlemen, who occupy the highest rank in the State, that I shall this day descend from my exalted position with far more pleasure than I ascended."

The viceroy replied :—" His Majesty the king, the nation, and we all feel grateful to the army of the Constitution, and to you their worthy leaders. The wish of the public is manifested by the very nature of the change which has followed. The late Government had not the approbation of the subjects, and the throne tottered ; now it is safe, resting on the good-will and interests of the people. The king, who awaits you in his apartments, will declare his own sentiments to you, as I do mine here. Born heir to the throne by a decree of the Divine will, I feel it my duty to study the interests of the monarchy and of the people, and for some time past I have been persuaded that the stability of the former, and the happiness of the latter (as far as is permitted in this world) resides in a constitutional government. My political conviction, as is the duty of a Christian prince, is converted into a religious principle, and I have considered and do consider that I cannot with a safe conscience rule over a people by my own understanding alone, or govern them according as I will, however pure may be my intentions. Acknowledging as I do that I owe the safety of the kingdom to you, as well as the permanent prosperity of my race, and my own peace of mind, my gratitude shall equal the great boon you have conferred, and will not be exhausted or diminished by changes in time or fortune.

" You, General Pepe, must not allow the delicacy of your feelings to disturb your tranquillity ; continue to exercise the supreme authority without reserve; for the generals have testified their approval of your elevation, justified by your singular merits, which have in you anticipated the slow march of years.

"With reference to the Constitution of Spain, now ours, I swear (and here he raised his voice louder than was required), to preserve it intact, and if necessary, to defend it with my blood." He would perhaps have added more, had not his speech been interrupted by the emotion of those present, which overcame their respect, and by cheers from a hundred voices.

The five were then conducted by the viceroy into the apartment where the king was expecting them; meantime the officers of every grade in the army were collected in the War-Office waiting the return of the general, to pay him their respects and swear obedience to the new Government. The king was stretched on his bed, confined there either from his infirmities or feigning sickness. Pepe approached him, knelt down and kissed the hand which had held the sceptre sixty years; then rising, reiterated what he had just said to the prince, though in a more respectful tone. The king replied,—"General, you have rendered a great service to me and to the nation, for which I doubly thank you and yours. Use the power confided to you in completing the work you have begun in a manner so peaceable, that it does honour to the Neapolitans; I would have granted the constitution earlier had its utility and the general wish been sooner pointed out to me; I now thank omnipotent God for having preserved me in my old age to enable me to confer so great a boon on my kingdom." Having thus spoken, he signed to all present to leave the room, and presented his right hand to the general, inviting him to kiss it; the general obeyed and departed, eager to gather the first sweet fruits of his good fortune in the chamber of the minister.

But from the impetuosity of his feelings, and the confusion of mind which usually attends sudden elevation, his face was pale, he hesitated in his speech, and the reception he met with was therefore languid and silent; the transition from a subordinate position to that of command, had been too rapid, his greatness too unmerited, and the injustice of the case was too palpable. The troops of the line meantime, the militia, and the Carbonari were kept under strict discipline in the city; they behaved like veteran soldiers in times of peace, under a strong monarchy. The most timid gained courage, and the Revolution acquired favour with the severest judges; the illumination of the city prolonged the social

meetings and rejoicings throughout the night, and they only broke up when all were wearied with excitement and pleasure.

It was rumoured that the king, feeble and disheartened, tired with the vicissitudes of life, and seeking comfort and amusement in his old age, was willing, for the sake of quiet, to relinquish any of the royal prerogatives required of him, while the Duke of Calabria, who had not yet tasted the pleasures of despotic power, would make no objection to yield a moderate share of liberty to the people, such as might be enjoyed under a constitutional monarchy, and therefore that the protestations and promises of these princes might be fully relied on; but amidst these hopes, the severe lessons of past history intruded themselves, and infused suspicion in the public mind; the king was therefore requested to take a solemn oath to the constitution. He consented without hesitation, and at mid-day on the 13th July, in the chapel of the palace, and in the presence of the Junta, the ministers, and the highest personages of the court, as well as of the people, after the celebration of mass, he ascended the steps of the altar, and placing his hand upon the gospel, pronounced these words in a firm and loud voice: —"I, Ferdinand of Bourbon, by the grace of God, and by the constitution of the Neapolitan monarchy, king under the name of Ferdinand I., sovereign of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, swear in the name of God, and upon the Holy Evangelists, that I will defend and preserve"—Here followed the basis of the constitution, and he then added, "If I should in any way act contrary to my oath, or contrary to any article contained therein, may I cease to be obeyed, and may every act contrary to the same be considered null and void. May God aid and protect me as I thus act, and if I act otherwise, may He demand an account from me."

The form of the oath had been written, but after reading it, the king raised his face towards heaven, and fixing his eyes on the cross, added these words:—"Omnipotent God, who with thine infinite power canst read the soul of man and the future, do thou, if I speak falsely, or intend to break my oath, in this moment direct the thunder of thy vengeance on my head." He then kissed the gospel once more. His white hairs, venerable features, and the recollection that he was the oldest among all the reigning sovereigns of

Europe, inspired confidence in his words. The Duke of Calabria and the Prince of Salerno took the oath in succession, kneeling before their aged king and father, who raised, blessed, and joyfully embraced them, while the tears seen in the eyes of the former, appeared tears of gladness. That same day, and during those which followed, the oath was administered to all in the city and kingdom. The timid, the perverse, and those who had shown themselves most opposed to us, alike took the oath ; it re-assured even Pepe, De Concili, Menichini, and Morelli, and it was only then that the people really believed in the change of Government.

CHAPTER II.

DISSENSIONS AND DANGERS MENACING THE NEW GOVERNMENT.

The new form of Government being thus established, and having gained general approbation as a great and noble work, those who had been its chief promoters began to measure their own merits less by the small effort it had cost them, than by the magnitude of their success. The modesty they had shown at first disappeared, and they openly laid claim to offices and honours. But the Muratist ministers had already bestowed the highest places under the monarchy on Muratists, who again had assisted others of the same party; and thus the ambitious soldiers of Monteforte having risen to power, quarrels and disputes between men who held nearly the same views in politics, were the natural results. A false report that the revolution of Naples had been the work of the Muratists, began everywhere to gain ground. They were indeed the leaders, because, from being a long established party, their fortunes already made, and understanding the character of the people and their habits, they were more inclined to favour the ancient institution of the monarchy, than the innovations of the Carbonari. General Pepe alone, although a Muratist, had adopted the views and principles of a Carbonaro, but though the good intentions and honesty of that general are undoubted, as well as his great talents, he had placed himself at the head of the revolution, without possessing any of the qualities necessary for so great a work; urged on by an ardent desire to benefit the people, as well as the hope of obtaining fame and power for himself.

In some of the provinces, the two Principati, the Basilicata, and the Capitanata, the people established independent governments, and formed a union under mutual conditions. The authors of this scheme intrigued in the other provinces, hoping that they would

follow the example, and that the kingdom might thus be converted into a confederation of states. But these wild democratic ideas were not in harmony with the wishes and interests of the large majority, and, therefore, were dropt soon after the first measures taken by the Government. The impression, however, remained, and the enemies of the revolution spread a report that its aim was subversive; that the Carbonari, having succeeded in their first attempt were preparing a second, and that they were resolved to throw off all restraint, establish Agrarian laws, and destroy or change the religion of the State. Such words or ideas may have proceeded from a few of the low populace, but could not possibly have been followed by any practical result, so long as men of property formed the main support of a revolution, which had sprung up among a people indifferent to religion, and in an age of luxury and pleasure.

Three hundred soldiers of the Farnese regiment menaced their officers, and deserted in broad daylight from their quarters at Piedigrotta. Troops were sent in pursuit of them; they met on the bridge of the Maddalena, where the combat lasted several hours; many were killed on both sides, and all that remained of the deserters were captured. The battle within the precincts of the city, the recent disturbance, and the agitation of men's minds, occasioned a panic; but these disorders were so frequent, discipline so lax, and authority so weak, that the culprits were set at liberty, and left unpunished, after a few days' imprisonment.

About this time, General Napoletani, who had assisted General Pepe in the affair at Monteforte, died of a fever. In 1799, he had been a priest, confessor, and curate, and had been driven into exile; he next became a soldier in the French army, rose by his valour to the rank of a chef-d'escadron, and during the reign of Joachim to that of a colonel and general. While serving in the army he was twice married, and was the happy father of a numerous family. To make his position in the army secure, during the reign of the pious King Ferdinand, he went to Rome in 1815 to purchase absolution; and was soon afterwards permitted lawfully to remain in Naples with the rank of general, and as a husband and father.

The excessive heat of the summer (28° of Réaumur), chance, or

malice, caused a conflagration in the forest of Terracina, and in the woods of Monticelli, San Magno, and Lenola, extending over a space fourteen miles in length, and varying in breadth. The fire spread rapidly on the high land, but more slowly in the woody slopes of Lenola and Falvaterra, and lasted six days and seven nights; nor was it extinguished until it ceased to find aliment, upon reaching the bare hill of Sant' Andrea. Upon visiting the scene of the late fire, it was observed that here and there, a tree or cottage was left standing uninjured, though surrounded by a heap of ashes, and the people looking upon this as a miracle, held the spots sacred, planted crosses there, and hung up votive offerings.

The press was made free; at first a stupid and malignant use was made of this franchise; but ignorance soon evaporated and mediocrity exhausted itself, while calumny was treated with contempt, and wise and enlightened ideas were freely expressed.

The society of the Carbonari increased; numbers, either from fear or ambition, aspired to join them, and all were received who could contribute to their wealth, or add to their numbers. Every tribunal, every regiment, had their *Vendite;* the chief magistrates on the bench, and officers in the army, either petitioned by others, or themselves requesting to be allowed to join, had their names inscribed in the society, though, as new members, they ranked lower than any who had preceded them. Lieutenant-general the Duke di Sangro, himself became a Carbonaro. Victorious, strong in numbers, and no longer careful to conceal their mysteries, the Carbonari prepared to celebrate their rites in a sacred and solemn ceremony. One feast day, therefore, a vast multitude, after distributing the badges of the society, passed in procession through the streets; priests and friars on whose breasts were seen the cross and the dagger, walked first; and with arrogant looks, but keeping strict silence, in a slow and measured step, they reached a church; here a priest, either himself a Carbonaro, or acting under intimidation, blessed the badge, and those who wore it. Though not in the procession, General Pepe was present at the ceremony. So vast a concourse of people in arms, with their mysterious rites, caused a panic throughout the city.

A duke belonging to an illustrious family, and who had wasted first his own substance, and then that of others, was on his way to

prison under a judicial sentence, when, passing along the crowded street Di Toledo, he drew forth the badge of the Carbonari, and waving it aloft with one hand, he called the *Cugini* (cousins) to the rescue. A number of Carbonari hastening to his aid, unsheathed their daggers, and in open contempt of law and justice, liberated this reprobate.

Misdemeanours of a more serious nature were daily committed by men of bad and daring character, who collected an armed populace, sometimes in one part of the city, sometimes in another, but most frequently in the Campo di Marte, and in their harangues discussed the conduct of the Government, while those sentiments were best received which were most dangerous to the public tranquillity. In these nocturnal assemblies, accusations and menaces were hurled against the highest dignitaries in the State, either from malice or jealousy; for neither an unsullied character, virtue, rank, nor good conduct, could shield the most respectable citizens from these attacks. The Carbonari, it is true, were neither stained with bloodshed, nor with the crimes usual in civil disturbances, but they occasioned much terror and disquiet.

Although the flattering hope of peace abroad, and the desire to restrict the expenses at home, made it appear desirable to the Government to dispense with a military establishment, they were, nevertheless, obliged to compose a new army; this was the more necessary as little remained of the old, owing to the immense number of desertions, arising from the usual amount of defection, and to the system of conscription employed in a country which did not enjoy freedom. Some of the battalions were diminished one-half, and the rest disorganized. But the re-composition of the army was prevented by the ambition of the troops of Monteforte, who had been assured by General Pepe, in his boastful manner, that they deserved to be promoted two steps; but that this was rendered impossible by their great number, and the claims of other officers, who would not suffer a preference to be shown to men whom they called deserters. It must here be remembered that the old army had been deteriorated by the presence of several officers of extremely bad character, who had come over with the king from Sicily, and who had been accepted for their loyalty; and by others, equally bad, who had been retained by the treaty

of Casalanza, and because the ingratitude they had displayed towards Murat was a recommendation to the Bourbons. At the request of General Pepe, a decree was issued, ordering that the character of every officer should be examined into before a tribunal composed of generals and colonels, whose sentence was to be afterwards published. Those who had a bad reputation, immediately began to agitate, inciting quarrels, and conspiring together; meantime, the list of promotions was published, all of whom were officers from Monteforte; the discontented spirits then united, and broke out in a mutiny, menacing General Pepe and laying plots against his life; terrified by these demonstrations, he suppressed further inquiry, and stopped the promotions; and that same day those who had been already promoted, and those misled by their names appearing on the published lists, renounced their step in the army, declaring they had not merited it for having accomplished the revolution, since the work had been so easily achieved, and that they were amply rewarded by success; thus, by a necessary act of assumed self-denial, concealing their real but secret disappointment. The forces of the State were thus divided among themselves, when news arrived that a rebellion had broken out at Palermo, which was at first said to extend throughout Sicily.

I have already stated how, in 1815, when the Sicilian Constitution of 1812 fell, it dragged along with it in its fall the constitutions of eight centuries.

The Sicilians, indeed, had not gained much from their free constitution, because, accustomed to royal, feudal, and ecclesiastical serfdom, they rejected the charms of liberty, esteeming the active duties imposed on them by the constitution, a burden rather than a privilege; the statute had not been conceded to their demands, but had been bestowed on them as a gift, and therefore appeared to the people like any other unknown benefit, only a new evil: but as soon as the king passed new, stringent, and ill-timed laws, they began to attach a value to those very political institutions which, when in their possession, they had so little prized. They were the same as those of Naples; but as the Neapolitans and Sicilians drew their wealth from different sources, and differed in their systems of administration, in their customs, usages, and in their civil government, the union was forced, and the new code

was opposed to almost all the social conditions of Sicily. The Government was misled by the examples of the two French kings, in whose reigns the very laws now introduced into Sicily, had disturbed the same interests in Naples; but in the case referred to, the plant soon recovered its vigour, as the graft there in time produced wealth and prosperity; the Neapolitan Government forgot that the legitimate sovereign had not the power nor popularity of the conquest, and that the Sicilians were wanting in that patient endurance, which proceeds from necessity, or from submission to a conqueror. Besides, these laws were taken from the Code Napoleon, a code which, at the command of King Ferdinand himself, had been shortly before torn to pieces as an impious work, and burnt in the square at Palermo by the hands of the hangmen. The people were discontented and rebellious, irritated by past and recent injuries, by the Government forcing unseasonable laws upon them, which, because they did not understand, they believed bad; and by injustice, taxes, and troublesome innovations.

Such was the state of the island in 1820, when General Naselli, a Sicilian by birth, was sent there as governor. Trained in the servile habits of a palace, he had only risen by the favour of the sovereign, and was both incapable and ignorant. The Chevalier De Thomasis, a man of acknowledged talent, accompanied him as assistant, that the well-known incapacity of the principal might be supplied by the second in command; as it is not unusual in absolute governments to confer dignity and the profit arising from a public office on their favourite, while laying the burden and responsibility on those more worthy of the situation. This pair had only been a few days in Sicily, when the revolution in Naples broke out.

Several nobles from Palermo happened at that time to be in Naples, either employed about the Court or for their pleasure; preferring the English constitution of 1812 to the democratic constitution of the Cortes, they expressed their opinion to the viceroy and the king, both of whom yielding from fear to every desire on the part of their subjects, returned ambiguous and general answers, which their petitioners (either intentionally or by mistake) made public, as an implied consent to their demands. Several of these nobles arrived in Palermo just as the news of the Neapolitan re-

volution was agitating the people, who were collected in unusual numbers, and in a state of great excitement, for the celebration of the feast of Santa Rosalia.[1] General Church, the military commander of the island, endeavoured to disperse the mob, but was insulted, threatened, and pursued. General Coglitore, who was beside him, was wounded, and both only escaped by flight. General Naselli had been secretly alarmed for two past days, as he had learnt the events in Naples before the public, and had concealed them even from De Thomasis, imprudently trusting to fortune, and persuading himself some happy chance or other would inevitably arise to restore order; the usual refuge of indolent and ignorant men in difficult circumstances.

The movement spread widely, but without combination or aim. The nobles who had arrived from Naples were joined by others, likewise in favour of the Constitution of the year 1812. They raised the cry for this Constitution in the midst of the tumults, but were treated with contumely, as the Carbonari and liberal party in Sicily were already busy addressing the people on the advantages of the Constitution of Spain. Upon the failure of this first hope, they raised a cry for independence, which was well received, since independence is a welcome sound to all men, and especially to an island people, but still more so to the Sicilians, who had long and justly desired a separation from us. God, the king, the Constitution of Spain, and independence became, therefore, the motto of the revolution of Palermo, and a fourth colour, yellow, the colour of Sicily, was added to the three adopted by the Carbonari. The lord-lieutenant of the island, Naselli, borne along by the current of events, and compelled to act, made and unmade, hesitated between opposite ideas, and always chose the worst. He yielded Castellamare, the only fort of the city, at the request of the people, but immediately afterwards repented this act, and as his authority was not sufficient for its recovery, he commanded it should be stormed. Three times the soldiers advanced to the assault, and

[1] *St. Rosalia*, A.D. 1160. The patroness of Palermo, canonized by Pope Urban VIII. 1626. "On the summit of Monte Pellegrino stands the colossal statue of the virgin saint, looking to the east, over the blue Mediterranean, and seen from afar by the Sicilian mariner—at once his auspicious beacon, and his celestial protectress.—See *Legends of the Monastic Orders*, by Mrs. Jameson, p. 219.

were as often repulsed; the army lost in men and reputation, while the audacity and rage of the populace increased. Naselli, feeling his own weakness, appointed a junta of nobles to the command of the city, who, in their turn, were likewise despised, since those who derive their authority from a falling government are weak as the source from whence they spring, and only assist in accelerating the common ruin.

To subvert all legitimate authority, to ignore the magistrates, to set the laws aside, to overpower and imprison the soldiers, to throw open the dungeons and galleys, to tear down the royal standard, to throw down and mutilate the statues of the king, to burn his pictures, to sack the palace, lay waste the pleasure grounds, and in every way to show a contempt for monarchy, by insulting the monarch, was the work of rebellion in a single day. Many houses were pillaged, others burnt, and several of the citizens put cruelly to death, to gratify the frenzy or suspicion of the mob; and the heads of two princes, Cattolica and Jaci, were cut off, and paraded in mockery through the city. At the sight of these horrible excesses, the faction of the nobles was confounded, and General Naselli escaped half-naked in a boat, followed by the insults of the mob. The people elected a sovereign junta, and placed Cardinal Gravina at its head; it was composed of a few nobles and of some of the lowest of the populace; this tribunal, surrounded by armed bands, governed less like rulers than subjects.

Naselli, De Thomasis, and Church, with a few others, escaped on board different vessels, and reached Naples that same day; to excuse the cowardice of their flight, or to excite pity or terror, they added inventions of their own to the story of the revolution in Palermo, which was serious enough in its reality. The people collected in tumultuary groups and in crowds, and ran about the streets of the city asking one another, "What is the Government about?" "What are they waiting for?" "Neapolitans are wounded in Sicily, while Sicilians rule in Naples." The tears and lamentations of the relatives of all said to have been killed, added to this clamour. Various opinions prevailed; the most violent of the populace proposed that the Sicilians in Naples should be thrown into prison, and retained as hostages, while those still more savage, wished them to be put to death in reprisal. But justice prevailed, and

the party who hoped to excite the Government to immediate and severe measures being forced to succumb, messages were sent to the viceroy, and the rioters dispersed. The persons of Sicilians in Naples were respected, and those who held places of authority about the Court, continued to be obeyed.

The Government wavered between two opposite courses; for they perceived that severity was dangerous, and clemency prejudicial; the army, too, was as yet unprepared, and the discontent at home was not the least of the dangers to be apprehended. As a temporary remedy, two edicts were sent to Sicily, one from the king, and one from the viceroy, urging upon the respectable inhabitants to maintain peace, menacing the rebels with punishment, and promising pardon to whomsoever should, without delay, return to obedience. The Neapolitans considered these edicts a paltry remedy, leaving their wrongs unredressed, and they suspected the good faith of the viceroy, a suspicion which was strengthened by the fact, that in the devastations committed in the palaces and royal pleasure-grounds in Sicily, his apartments and villas had been respected; they accused the junta and the ministers, and demanded the trial of Generals Naselli and Church: while losing all reliance on the Government, they watched their conduct with jealous eyes; but Heaven had still greater calamities in store.

Whilst the constitutional party were thus harassed, the Prince di Cariati, who had been sent ambassador-extraordinary to Vienna, returned, and told of his uncourteous reception there, and the hostile attitude assumed by that Court. Anxieties at home and abroad caused the Government to neglect the reduction of the taxes, although this had been a principal object in the revolution; and they turned their whole attention to the reconstruction of the army. The citizens evinced a bold and determined spirit, the public finances were well supplied, there were plenty of generals, many of whom were not deficient in military habits and science, while every word and act of the viceroy and of the king proved their intention to maintain the constitution; and this appearance of harmony and strength made men of shallow judgment boastful, and raised the hopes even of the least sanguine. Eighty thousand recruits were needed to form an army of fifty thousand soldiers; and as the system of conscription was too

slow for the present emergency, all who had received their discharge were invited by an edict to defend their country; their return was declared a voluntary act, their term of service was not to exceed six months, and they were promised a large claim upon the Government. It was expected that this invitation would bring some help in the present need, but the number of those discharged, who now returned, arrived in such crowds that it exceeded all that had been hoped. Their wives and parents, who are usually impediments, now urged their departure; and domestic life, private business, and even the love of their children, were willingly resigned; when a company was ready to start, a holiday was kept in the city, and prayers offered up in the churches. The municipal authorities, and those who remained at home, took on themselves the charge and burden of the families left behind, and the fields of the absent were, in every place, cultivated free of expense. The volunteers arrived in such force, and so long before they were expected, that the means for their maintenance could not be provided, and as their numbers proved a burden and impediment, many were sent back, and the necessary partiality shown on this occasion, roused jealousy. Besides this, the quarters assigned to those allowed to remain, were confined, clothing and arms scarce, and their newly awakened zeal was but feebly responded to, thus creating general discontent. Suspicions and accusations now first arose against the minister of war.

Meantime the army was increased to fifty-two thousand men, infantry, cavalry, engineers, and artillery; and although in the beginning there was a want of sufficient ammunition, and a still greater want of arms, with hardly any clothing, all was now provided with marvellous celerity. The attention of the minister was at the same time directed to the fortresses. The walls of Civitella had been levelled by the French in 1805, and those of Pescara by the Germans in 1815; the two former bulwarks of the kingdom therefore were useless for defence, and remained monuments of national disgrace, and of the dominion of the foreigner. Gaeta had not had all the injuries repaired caused by the siege of 1806; and Capua was mouldering away by time, and gradually falling into ruins. But the bastions of these fortresses were in a short time repaired and increased, and other fortifications were

raised on the frontiers, so that every ingress to the kingdom was closed up, or put in a state of defence. Chieti, Ariano, and Montecasino were converted into temporary fortresses. The sites for two great camps were traced out at Mignano and Aquila; the first was completed by General Carrascosa, but the last was never commenced, owing to the negligence of General Pepe; and lines of defence, entrenchments, and forts, were planned in Calabria and Sicily.

Besides the troops of the line, the militia were ordered out to be employed as an aid to the former, or to be held in reserve. All men capable of bearing arms, and even the old offered themselves, and were inscribed on the militia; the younger men were called legionaries; the middle-aged, soldiers; and the aged, militia; by a law which determined that the first, when called out, should join the army, the second defend the provinces, and the last the cities and towns. There were in all, two hundred thousand.

But the laws of the society of the Carbonari neutralized the power of this large force; for they raised two kinds of distinction in every regiment, that of the army, and that of the Carbonari; the military rank descending from the highest to the lowest, and that of the Carbonari ascending from the lowest to the highest. A colonel, who commanded everything in the camp, might occupy the lowest position in the *Vendita*, and a subaltern officer, the lowest in the army, was often the highest among the Carbonari. Duties became confounded and clashed one against the other, and discipline was at an end. The eulogists of the Carbonari, from entire ignorance in military matters, thought these evils balanced by the enthusiasm of the Carbonari soldiers; forgetting that prodigies are seldom performed in the heat of passion, which more frequently leads to destruction; and that while the soldier's ardour, when under the restraint of discipline, renders him invincible, if left unrestrained, it only produces disorderly conduct. In their nocturnal meetings, the opinions and actions of the generals were canvassed, and, as is ever the case in an assembly of low persons, men occupying a high position were called traitors, and some of them the foes of liberty. The generals were offended at this censure, and mutual suspicion and discord were excited. The danger increased, when General Pepe, who had neither the

ability nor reputation to sustain the credit or power of a disciplined army, became a Carbonaro, and increased their importance by the popularity of his name, and by his position as commander-in-chief.

The Provisional Junta and the ministers, aware of this state of things, met to consider the remedies, and called the head of the police, Pasquale Borrelli, into council. He was a crafty and ingenious man, who, by long experience, was well acquainted with the nature of political intrigues. He advised them not to suppress the Carbonari, but watch their proceedings, and direct their plans and actions, adding, that he had long used this method with them; and after citing instances of success, concluded by entreating the council not to interrupt or embarrass his well-laid schemes, promising them complete and immediate satisfaction. Among his gifts, was a fluent and persuasive tongue, and he so concealed his ambition to rule the most powerful body in the State, that those present yielded to his proposition, and thus a low trick of the police was converted into a system of government. Clever and eloquent men, who took advantage of the ignorance of the masses, were sent among the people to advocate the cause of unbridled freedom, and to pretend to entertain suspicions of the king, the viceroy, and the chief persons in the State; they thus became leaders of the Carbonari, and the chief movers and guides of their actions. This artifice at first succeeded in restoring tranquillity, but in the end betrayed the country, and was the principal source of the disasters which befell the State when times had changed, and the cause of the constitution was on the wane.

The revolution in Sicily had spread from the city of Palermo to the Vallo of the same name, and thence to the adjoining Vallo of Agrigentum. Vallo or valley is used in Sicily instead of province. There were three principal Valli, dividing the island into three great partitions, which are now divided again into districts still called Valli. The two rebellious Valli excited the remaining five by invitation and menace to follow their example, to which they replied by arms; the ancient feuds between the Sicilian cities revived, and Syracuse boasted of her ancient origin, Messina of her wealth, and Palermo claimed to be queen of the island; fellow-citizens, families, and kindred waged war with one another.

until the affair assumed a domestic rather than political character. These two Valli were alone opposed to Naples; the other five submitted to the Government; the king appointed the Prince della Scaletta, his lieutenant, and General Florestano Pepe,[1] to command the troops, who proceeded to Messina, and after remaining there a few days, returned unexpectedly to Naples.

While the days were thus passing, the revolution in Palermo had gained strength. The Provisional Junta, proud of its authority, had sent ambassadors to Naples to treat for terms, as state with state; whilst at home they made new laws, subversive of the old, raised armies, appointed magistrates, and arrogated to themselves the principal attributes of sovereignty. But the crimes of anarchy tarnished their government; there were acts of violence within the city, inroads into the country, hostile villages pillaged, and murder and rapine everywhere; the bank, where public and private money was deposited, was not safe, nor the libraries, nor institutes of science and charity; the frenzy now raging, aimed at the destruction of everything human and divine. The Sicilian envoys demanded peace, expecting to obtain that by treaty, which they had vainly endeavoured to obtain by rebellion, namely, that the Government of Sicily should be separated from that of Naples; and that the two confederated states should be ruled by the same king, with the Spanish constitution in both countries. Before giving any reply to the ambassadors, a council was held. The dispute between the two states was one of vital importance; it was supported by two armies engaged in a civil war, and by two nations in rebellion; one aiming at the recovery of their ancient and inalienable rights, the other to recover those which, though more recent, were equally just; and both excited by interests of the greatest moment at a time when a new policy prevailed, when the king was offended, the leaders of either side full of pride, and the passions consequent on civil faction many and violent. It is therefore not surprising if the members of council wavered betwixt opposite opinions, if they spoke with hesitation, and were undecided in their judgment. One of those present expressed himself thus:—

"To grant the Constitution of Spain separately to two states, subject to one king, is an unwise step, because in the most im-

[1] General Florestano Pepe, elder brother of General William Pepe.

portant matters which come under the consideration of a government, such as war, peace, alliances, the marriage of the sovereign, or the dismemberment of the State, the free consent of the Parliament is necessary to the royal will; now, if there are to be two parliaments, one may consent and the other refuse: by which shall the king decide? How can the Government act? It is needless to answer these questions, as the present conjuncture proves that a want of harmony must exist between the two parliaments, and disputes must necessarily arise and be frequent between two nations, the character of whose people, now as formerly, differs so essentially.

"Nevertheless a confederation between the two States is possible, provided both can be persuaded to comply with the stipulated conditions, and that the confederation of the two States be substantially an alliance, the terms of which, according to the variations of time, and the interests or wishes of the parties concerned, are to be maintained or abrogated.

"The Sicilian ambassadors demand what it is impossible to grant, and by yielding to their demands, I believe that the Two Sicilies would soon be at war, and would possess a completely separate government. The present troubles prove that a war between the countries would be disadvantageous to both, and nature points still more distinctly to the injurious effect of two separate governments; for she has so placed the Two Sicilies, that in case of a foreign invasion, the kingdom of Naples would form a bulwark to the island, and the island a citadel to the kingdom. Without reverting to more ancient history, let us take that of our own times, when the power of Napoleon defeated so many armies, conquered so many kingdoms, and yet was arrested in its course on the shores of the Faro; and that not by garrisons within the island, nor by fortifications, but by a narrow channel. The wild theories of this age, or, to speak with more truth, our own want of justice towards Sicily, have caused the Sicilians to desire a separation from Naples.

"Let Sicily enjoy all the fruits of liberty; let her reserve the management of her finances to herself; let her have the guidance of her own administration, and carry out her own judicial sentences; but let her laws and army be the same as ours; and let her

be our equal in dignity, and in the respect paid her by the Government, so as not to allow a haughty assumption of power on one side, or jealous dependence on the other, to interrupt the feeling of nationality between the two races. Provide for the real wants of Sicily, which are a total abolition of feudalism, the suppression of the wealthiest monasteries, a moderate and equal taxation, and to relieve the land from the burden of *Soggiogazioni*.[1]

"I therefore advise that the proposals of the Sicilian ambassadors be rejected as impossible and injurious, and that we treat with them only on the true, just, and conciliatory basis I have now stated. By such conduct either we shall put an end to the rebellion of Palermo, or the guilt of its continuance will rest entirely with the Sicilians, and will not be shared (as it now is) with the people and Government of Naples."

The ministers of the crown, however, rejected this advice, and in accordance with their old policy, returned the Sicilian envoys evasive and general answers unsuited to the times, and neither granted nor rejected the propositions. Naples (as is ever the case among real or supposed liberals) loved to tyrannize over others, and treating the offers of peace with disdain, called them presumption, and a second act of rebellion worse than the first. Our pride prevented a reconciliation, and our pride excited new tumults within the island; this insensate folly cost many lives and much injury to property. Palermo and Messina were the cities most hostile to one another, though from their habits and political position they are situated so differently, that had they not been blinded by passion, they might have perceived they had no cause for rivalry. Palermo is the chief city, and Messina the stronghold of the island; both are independent, and yet dependent on one another; but both having long ceased to use their reason on this subject, the inhabitants and their rulers were alike violent and irrational. The king, outraged in his name, his property, his power, and dignity, proposed to inflict a severe and summary chastisement on the rebellious provinces. The ministers, the Junta, and the people, supported him in his resentment, and an expedition of nine thousand infantry and five hundred cavalry, a man-of-war, two frigates, and several smaller vessels of war and

[1] *Soggiogazione*, a kind of mortgage peculiar to Sicily.

transport was fitted out. There were besides, three thousand infantry already in Messina, Syracuse, and Trápani. They were discussing in the royal councils the choice of a commander-in-chief, when the people named General Florestano Pepe, whom the Government accordingly appointed, and even entreated to accept the office, an honour to which he reluctantly consented.

The fleet weighed anchor at the end of August, and reached Sicily a few days later. Two thousand infantry, under Colonel Costa, were sent to explore the interior of the island, to reduce the rebellious villages to obedience, to inspire the loyal with courage, and to prevent the insurrection spreading further. The general himself marched by the shortest road to Palermo with ten thousand men, having added to his own troops several battalions of Calabrese militia, and bands of Sicilian volunteers. The Neapolitans conquered in every rencounter, for though inferior in numbers, they were superior in military habits and skill; but the news of the events in Sicily reached us so slowly, and were so meagre, that the people fearing they were adverse, rose in tumults; but their attention was happily diverted to another subject in the election of parliament.

The people thronged the electoral colleges, as in countries accustomed to the exercise of the rights of freedom; the public zeal was indefatigable, and the test severe. The candidates rather waited for their nomination than made any effort to secure it, and if any one urged the choice of himself, or advised that of another, he was immediately exposed and accused, while his petition or advice became a reason against him. The first meetings of the electors were conducted on the strictest principles of honour, the second, and those which followed, were more relaxed; and as the influence of the Carbonari preponderated in some of the provinces, the most violent members of the society were chosen deputies; but their number was small, compared with that of men of moderate opinions who were returned, so that the first national representation may be said to have been the act of a people already accustomed to constitutional government. Of the seventy-two deputies, ten were ministers of religion, eight scientific professors, eleven magistrates, nine doctors of law, two government officials, three merchants, five military men, twenty-four landed proprietors,

and only two nobles. The electoral colleges were opposed to the ancient nobility, who had often unfairly interfered in the exercise of the rights of voting, common to all. This was, however, both unjust and ungrateful, for the law did not exclude nobles, and the nobility of Naples being only titular, included the names of Colonna, Caracciolo, Pignatelli, and Serra, with about a hundred more, highly distinguished families, who had shed their best blood on the scaffold in the cause of freedom. Though somewhat in anticipation, I must here state, that of the twenty-four Sicilian deputies, a third part were nobles, a fourth priests, and the remaining ten from all classes of society, by which it may be perceived that the Sicilians retained their attachment to feudal and ecclesiastical supremacy.

The elections being closed, the members arrived in the city on the first of October, the day fixed for the opening of Parliament. A rumour had got afloat, that the king would depute the viceroy to take his place; and both artifice and entreaties were in fact needed from the ministers and his son to dissuade him from this intention, and induce him to issue proclamations and dispel the popular uneasiness. There was another report, that the liberals, anxious to prove their servile submission to the king, intended to draw the royal carriage, but this was forbidden by a decree of the police, and thus men's minds were reassured from the fear of a disturbance. The hall of St. Sebastian, destined for the meetings of parliament, was thought too confined for this occasion, and the church of the Spirito Santo was accordingly prepared. The king was expected there at eleven in the morning, and the deputies, with the chief officers of the army and the court, at ten; but before daybreak, the people crowded the magnificent road, and three squares of the Strada di Toledo; for, added to the immense population of the city, were great numbers from the provinces, who had arrived from the remotest part of the kingdom, attracted by interest or curiosity.

Punctual to the hour, the king, preceded by the royal princes and princesses, and with the viceroy by his side, left the palace in great state, passing slowly along the Strada di Toledo amidst the vociferations of the people, who strewed flowers in his way, and, as a symbol of joy and freedom, set birds at liberty before

the king. Amidst these rejoicings they reached the church, where so many spectators were collected, that that vast edifice could hardly contain them; yet the silence was as profound, as if the space were empty; every voice was hushed, either from expectation, or eagerness to read the secret of the king's heart in his countenance; but when they saw him appear serene and happy, the silence was broken by repeated cheers. After bowing to the altar, Ferdinand saluted the people, and seated himself on the throne, with the viceroy in a lower chair on his left, and the great personages of the Court, and General Pepe, standing by his side. Chevalier Galdi, president of the Parliament, with the chief secretary, approached the throne; the first holding the Bible in his hand, and the second the paper on which the oath was written: The king rising, received the paper, and placing his hand upon the sacred volume held it there, while he took the oath in a loud and distinct voice, and then returning salutations to the cheers of the people, resumed his seat.

The president next pronounced a long oration, and the king, from time to time, signified his assent by gestures. At the end of this speech the viceroy rose, and taking a paper respectfully from the hand of his father, read it aloud. It contained the intentions of the king, his instructions to his Parliament, and such reforms in the statute as he considered necessary; stating the limits of the powers of Parliament, and his resolution to maintain the rights of the constitutional monarchy; every word marked a sense of justice and integrity. General Pepe then resigned the command of the army, and received the praises of Ferdinand; the Duke of Calabria turning to the king addressed his father as a son, and while avoiding all allusion to politics or matters of government, spoke of his own gratitude and that of his race to the General, thus implying that the dynasty solely owed its preservation to the Constitution. After this, the king declared the National Parliament of the year 1820 opened, and took his departure. As he rose, the cheers of the people were repeated, and were so prolonged that their applause and joyful shouts continued after he had left the church. But the sky, which in the early morning was calm, had clouded over as the procession first started, and had gradually become darker, until, as the king pronounced the

oath, it was covered with clouds, and heavy rain falling. This accident was afterwards looked upon by the superstitious vulgar as a sign that God, foreseeing what was to follow, and full of wrath at the deliberate perjury of that hour, had suddenly cast a gloom over the brilliant face of nature.

After the convocation of Parliament, the Provisional Junta was dissolved; and the people, who are always ready to accuse their superiors, laid the blame of their sufferings upon them, although the real cause was beyond the reach of human wisdom, or the art of government. When the Parliament met, the king, the viceroy, the ministers, the moderates, and ultras, were all equally eager to ascertain the temper of this assembly, thereby to guide their actions in the conduct of the Government, in providing for their personal safety, or in the prosecution of their ambitious schemes and plots. Those who belonged to the extreme party on either side, found fault with the Parliament; the absolutists called it a meeting of demagogues; the servile, of violent radicals; the ministers, of democratic politicians; and the friends of license, of those subservient to ministers. These animadversions did honour to the Parliament, for where violent passions are excited, just men who take a middle course between two parties are abused by both; liberty was new, and the use of freedom of speech not yet understood; it therefore often degenerated into license; and proud men, or those in a high station, wanted patience to confute their adversaries, and lost their temper. The deputies, indeed, by wishing to follow the example of the English Parliament, confounded two constitutions of totally different characters; one the growth of time, the other newly made, and they imagined that to form an opposition to ministers, was a necessary condition of freemen; they therefore treated them as if they had been their enemies. The public, also, unaccustomed to the language of the tribune, mistook the audacious or scurrilous language of an individual, for that of Parliamentary debate: such was the real or apparent character of this assembly.

Their first care was to change the names of the provinces to the Hirpini, Marsi, Samnitæ, and other ancient names; for it is only natural in a people who have little to boast of in their present history, to revert to the glories of the past, though by thus doing

they only make their degeneracy more apparent. Every day some new proposition was laid before Parliament, to please the multitude; the new are fond of novelties, and therefore not to meddle is the most difficult, but the wisest course in revolutions. They resolved to change the whole social machine, because they asserted servile institutions were unbecoming a free people; and thus the criminal and provincial administrations, with the administration of the waters and forests, were abolished; the administration of the royal domains, and that for the repair of roads and bridges, was gradually passing away; and new judiciary and financial systems were contemplated. A new order of things was thus taking the place of those which had been the result of years of careful labour.

The desire for novelty increased still more when the discussions in Parliament were guided by the momentary verdict of an audience. In the first meetings, several of the speeches and opinions delivered in the house were applauded from the people's gallery; and this popular applause gratified the speakers, but especially the president, because they were most frequently directed to him. From a custom it was soon converted into a right, and was so encroached upon, that sounds, the opposite from applause, and expressive of dissent, were often heard from this same gallery, and were called public opinion, although only proceeding from an ignorant rabble; and thus the breath of popular applause fanned the spark into a flame. Once when the house was considering the terms in which to propose to the king reforms in the constitution, one of the deputies, and a man of considerable talents, happened to let these words escape his lips: "Is this assembly constituted or constituent?" The most shrewd of the deputies, and the popular leaders, caught at their meaning, and repeated them; reform was no longer talked of, but "constituted or constituent?" became the exciting question of the Parliamentary discussions. As opinions were divided, the days passed without coming to any decision, and the king, the royal family, the ministers, and all honest men, took alarm, remembering the Constituent Assembly in France, the Convention, and the atrocious trials, and first sanguinary acts of the French Revolution.

Another source of anxiety arose from the Carbonari, who had

until then been divided into as many separate societies as there were provinces, but were now united into one, under their own laws, with the name of a General Assembly, composed of delegates from the provincial societies. The General Assembly occupied a large building in the city, had its laws, finances, magistrates, and a supreme head, under the name of president. It was so powerful that it was able to assist the Government when applied to, as was frequently the case; for the Carbonari helped in the recall of the soldiers who had been discharged the service, in the arrest of deserters, in the assessment of the fiscal taxes, in the levy of soldiers, and in other political emergencies. They were both an assistance and danger.

The evils in the kingdom were aggravated by General Pepe having retired into private life; for his resignation of the chief command in the army, his appearing without a uniform, and without the state or semblance of authority, was to many, a proof that the revolution had failed. His adherents and some of the rabble became riotous, upon which the Government reluctantly gave him the supreme command of the militia, a new office involving great powers, dangerous to the monarchy and to liberty. The militia, who were already in considerable numbers, were now enormously increased.

At this time Borrelli, the head of the police, who had once been vice-president of the Parliament, and directed the actions of the Carbonari through his agents, having so many forces at his disposal, and perceiving that in the present conjuncture the king was bestowing offices and wealth, but fearing, should fortune change, these might be converted into persecutions and condemnations, determined to ingratiate himself with the princes, and for this purpose employed those arts which are most successful with the timid; first alarming and then reassuring them. He pretended that one Paladini, an advocate and a man of rash and impetuous character, was conspiring, with others, to seize the king, the viceroy, and all the royal family, and carry them captives to Melfi, a strong city in the Basilicata, there to keep them guarded until the revolution of Naples should be acknowledged by foreign potentates. He caused Paladini, and such of his associates as he pointed out, to be shut up in prison, declared that he could produce documents to

prove their crime, and in reward he obtained favours from the royal family; but when, upon their trial, these innocent persons were set at liberty, he insinuated that the sentence was unjust, and caused by the fear the judges entertained of the conspirator. Paladini, who accused him of calumny, published a pamphlet, in which he maintained his own innocence, and declared Borrelli to be the real calumniator, but calamities soon afterwards threatening the kingdom, he did not wish to add his private wrongs to the public uneasiness, and, from patriotic motives, withdrew his accusation, forgiving the injury and the insult. Borrelli, at another time, informed the viceroy that he and the king were in danger of their lives, doubled the guards, increased his measures of safety, and succeeded in giving an appearance of truth to his story. He then presented himself at midnight to the Court, and, with a radiant countenance, assured the terrified princes the danger was past. He played off similar tricks on the king's friends, and thus Medici, Tommasi, Ascoli, and Sangro, were all deceived, believing they owed their lives to Borrelli.

The aspect of public affairs was thus gloomy, when a despatch from General Florestano Pepe arrived with good news, bringing us some comfort; he had several times encountered and conquered the Sicilian rebels, and put them to flight; he had taken their artillery and standards, and driving them back, he had confined the revolution to Palermo, and he and his army occupied the heights above the town, where he could cut off the supply of water from the enemy, but he intended to give them six hours to deliberate; he had fought three battles and gained possession of La Flora, and of one of the gates, called La Carolina, so that the entrance to the city was now open to him; but as the citizens of Palermo were our fellow-subjects, though rebels, he now, out of compassion, waited in expectation of their voluntary surrender. The magnanimity of the general was commended, both because a proof of strength, and because the people always admire bold and generous actions; but the king was dissatisfied, either because, uncertain of the continuance of the present conjuncture, he was indifferent as to the result of the war in Sicily, or because he would have preferred the prolongation of a misunderstanding between the Sicilians and the revolutionary party in Naples. News

daily arrived from Sicily, and the 11th October brought the account of the treaty of peace and the final acts of the revolution.

After the rebels had been driven within the walls of the city, and their hopes extinguished, their leaders were seized with panic, and the low populace having already enriched themselves with plunder, all were secretly desirous of peace, though none dared to avow it, for where the mob rules, extreme opinions alone are praised, and pacific views are rewarded with death. The Prince of Paternò, who, after Cardinal Gravina had lost his popularity, and after the departure of the Prince of Villafranca, had presided over the Provisional Junta, was aware of the general inclination towards peace. Rich and of noble birth, Paternò, though above eighty years of age and gouty, had preserved his courage and intellect entire, and soon observed the disposition of the people ; he accordingly convoked them in the great square, and addressed them in these words :—" People of Palermo, the enemy is at your gates ; we have to rely on his charity for our supply of water ; our provisions are exhausted ; the sword, hunger, and thirst, menace us with death, and the entreaties of our wives, the tears of our children, the warnings of our parents, alike damp our ardour ; nor need we be surprised if in a short time with strength and courage unnerved, we may consider ourselves happy in being allowed to surrender ourselves, our families, our wives, and all we possess to the hated Neapolitans. If there be a spark of valour remaining in you, let us then make a last effort.

" The enemy offers us peace, and as the offer comes from him, it must be for our advantage to reject it. I have obtained one day to consider the answer, that I may consult you on our fate, but I will, in the first place, frankly offer you my opinion ; I propose to assemble all the young men of the city in a band, and send them out to-morrow to meet the enemy ; close the gates behind them so that they may have no escape but in victory, and order them to surround the Neapolitans, and attack them in the flank and rear. Meanwhile the aged and the women shall fire on the enemy from the walls, and none of our men shall quit the battle-field, but conquer or die. I foresee that our numbers will be inferior to the enemy ; we have neither skill nor experience on our side, but courage, despair, and necessity, will supply these deficiencies. I,

at my age might remain within the city, and fight from the walls, but I intend to be in the field, and though unable to carry arms, I will aid you by my voice, my example, and my courage.

" Comrades and friends, before replying to my proposition, take it seriously into consideration, for sudden resolutions are unbecoming where the question at issue is life, honour, liberty, and your future existence as a nation; to-morrow let us assemble in arms at daybreak in this square. If God, if the patron saints and guardians of this city inspire your souls for war, we, under the heavenly guidance, will quit these walls and go forth to fight; though I propose, you must decide, but we shall share together victory or defeat."

Having thus spoken, he did not wait for an answer, but departed amidst the cheers of all present, who immediately dispersed. A great part of that day and the whole night was before them; solitude and cool reflection incline men to prefer repose; each returned to his family, excited and moved by what he had just heard, but none would rest until the young men of their families, swore by the most tender and sacred names to give their votes on the following day for peace.

At the hour fixed on the morrow the square was again crowded, and the Prince of Paternò arrived in uniform, ready equipped for war, but before he could utter a word a universal cry for peace arose. This was what the crafty prince expected; and after enjoining silence by gestures, he spoke to this effect:—" Citizens of Palermo, as you are disinclined for war, we will treat for peace, nor will I insist on my project of yesterday, which now appears to me erroneous, only because rejected by you. The enemy also craves peace; he is possibly ignorant of the state of our city, and of your dejection, but if we delay the treaty he will not be long in learning both. What you most need is immediate action, if you had desired war we must have fought this day, but as peace is what you ask, it must be as quickly concluded. Choose a man of talent and position to negotiate the affair, but more than talent and position, one in whom you place confidence."

The people called out that they chose the Prince of Paternò himself to negotiate for them, but he replied:—" I cannot undertake the office, because the advocate for war cannot at once trans-

form himself into a delegate for peace." This diffidence on his part still more excited the people, who loudly repeated their proposition, and would not allow the prince to speak, until he had by gesture signified his assent. He then said: "As you desire it, I will consent to treat for peace, but on condition that you give me three associates to support the feebleness of my age, and of my powers of judgment; that you grant your confidence and full powers to your four delegates, and that you promise not to repeat in our persons the insults you offered the Prince of Villafranca, who, when sent by you also as an ambassador of peace, you denounced as a fugitive and deserter; for at that time (I name it to your shame) it was dangerous to speak truth to you." Colonel Requescenz and the advocate —— were associated with Paternò, and before they left the city they sent a messenger to General Pepe to announce their approach.

The news was most welcome to the general, for his ammunition was decreasing, his provisions, which pillage had at one time made more than sufficient, were now failing from the disorderly state of his army; his coffers were empty, and his soldiers mutinous from insubordination, and because kept beneath the walls of a city, where they had to stand assaults they were unable to return. The camp was badly situated, the heights abandoned, and yet the city was not invested. The mountaineers, perceiving the tardiness of the Neapolitans, hastened to the defence of Palermo, and our troops descended to attack; other hordes assembled in the rear of the army, the ships were detained out at sea by adverse winds, and were at a distance from the camp, and the conqueror was in greater danger than the conquered. The delegates accordingly met with an honourable reception in the camp, but requested that the terms should be settled on board an English vessel, the "Racer," then in the port. This request being granted, General Pepe himself undertook to negotiate for Naples, and took with him General Campana, and two superior officers. They found the Austrian and English consuls on board the "Racer," as witnesses of the treaty. As there was no attempt at secrecy, no display of ingenuity or diplomatic arts or forms, the whole affair was carried on as a conversation. Unlike a treaty in which the future condition of two kingdoms was pending, the Sicilian negotiators made demands which were acceded to

by General Pepe, who only occasionally paused, doubtful of his own powers, and openly inquired whether there were any impediment in the instructions of his government to his granting their requests, as he boasted that he had not read the despatch which contained them, although divided into thirteen articles, important because explaining the motive for the war, yet so concise that they could not have wearied the most indolent reader.

Peace was concluded on the 5th October. The Neapolitan soldiers, who had been captured during the Revolution, were to be set free; the forts of the city to be surrendered, the rebels to lay down their arms, the king's authority to be acknowledged, and the statues of Ferdinand to be re-erected. It was agreed on the other side, that a general assembly of the deputies of the communities (one from each in the island) was to decide by a majority of votes on a union or separation from the State of Naples. The Constitution of Sicily was at all events to be the Constitution of Spain, and her king the King of Naples. While the future government of the island was yet undecided, the city was to be confided to a Junta of the citizens of Palermo. Opinion was to be left free, the persons of the inhabitants secure, while the errors or crimes committed during the Revolution were to be forgiven.

Hardly had the treaty been drawn up, when two battalions of Neapolitan soldiery entered the city, preceded by the Prince of Paternò, who, by signs to the people, signified his success, and contempt for their opponents. This was partly intended to deceive, and partly true. The people looked on in silent hope and wonder. The castles were found open and unguarded, and received Neapolitan garrisons; the prisoners were set at liberty, many tendered their arms, while all laid them down, and the army was encamped outside the walls. The state of anarchy, which had continued for the long period of eighty days, was at an end.

When the telegraph first announced the surrender of Palermo, the news caused great joy in Naples, but was soon followed by murmurs and tumults. For upon the publication of the treaty, it was discovered that the rebellious city had, by the terms of peace, obtained the same conditions which had been refused when petitioned for by the Sicilian ambassadors before the commencement of the war; and that the Neapolitan army had thus been the

defeated party instead of the conqueror. A despatch also arrived from the city of Messina, addressed to the Parliament and the viceroy, signed by many of the most influential citizens, which ran in these words: "The benefit of a union of the Two Sicilies into one State is only understood by the few, but the Sicilians, as a people, remembering the injuries inflicted by the Neapolitans, and rejoicing in the idea of independence, pronounce in the general assembly in favour of a separation. In that case Palermo will be the metropolis of this kingdom, and the rebellious city will be triumphant. We, because the inhabitants of a loyal city and opposed to her, will be forced to be her subjects. If you suffer this, if you thus reward our fidelity, who will remain faithful to you? Should you, when conquerors, reward rebellion, what city will not rebel?" The Neapolitans meantime blamed the terms of the peace, and hastened in crowds through the streets of the city, abusing its author, and using violent expressions, denoting suspicion and a desire for vengeance. The viceroy joined in this outcry, and the minister Zurlo, the author of the instructions given to General Pepe, sent three messages to the Parliament, to explain that the general had transgressed them, and was therefore alone responsible for his acts. The deputy Colonel Pepe (no relation of the Generals Pepe, and from a different place and family, as well as unlike them in character and disposition) spoke against the treaty in full Parliament, and petitioned that it should be annulled. He proposed that its author (whether General Pepe or the minister) should be brought to trial; and that another general, with fresh troops, should be sent to Sicily to reduce the rebels to obedience. This motion was adopted by the Parliament, and accepted by the viceroy, and the orator's harangue obtained for him favour and popularity, soon afterwards followed by disasters.

General Pepe was recalled, but was rewarded by the king with the grand cross of St. Ferdinand, accompanied by the praise and thanks of the viceroy. Whether this favour was real or feigned, it is difficult to say, or whether it proceeded from a fear of his name, or to please the people of Palermo, or because the want of harmony with Sicily in the present state of Naples was advantageous to the policy, or gratified the resentment, of both princes. General Pepe, in a letter to the king, which he printed and pub-

lished, refused the honours bestowed on him, because he alleged his share in the convention of the 5th October had been disapproved of, and therefore that he did not deserve to be rewarded. This honourable conduct gained him universal admiration. General Colletta was sent to Sicily in his stead; and upon his arrival at Palermo he raised the camp, dissolved the provisional government, forbade the use of yellow ribbons, and prohibited all symbols of the late revolution. He next obliged all the villages which had rebelled to take the oath to the Constitution of Naples, and to elect deputies to the general Parliament. Colletta was preceded by a reputation for severity, which he well merited, and which he increased in Sicily. He restrained the army and the populace, and, though sincerely desirous of as liberal a form of government as circumstances would permit, he abolished what was falsely called franchises, as he considered the impotent attempts of modern innovators more injurious than the acts and demolitions of the French Republic; for those bold men stood in the van of the Revolution, proved their principles by their deaths, and may be excused their errors on the plea of their inexperience; but the modern innovators, deaf to reason in prosperity, cowardly and yielding to every stroke of fate, possessed nothing but the vices of liberty—restlessness, disorder, and suspicion. Colletta gained the affections of some of the Sicilians, and was obeyed by all, which enabled him to promote the interests of both kingdoms as far as circumstances admitted. The island was thus restored to tranquillity, and the indignation of the Neapolitans appeased; Borrelli and Church were set at liberty, and no further inquiry was made into the authors of the convention; an inconstancy of purpose proving the weakness inherent in popular governments. The deputies elected for the two Valli, learning that the Austrian army was on the eve of moving against Naples, and that the Constitution was about to fall, refused, on various pretexts, to accept the honourable office conferred on them; and the opposition to the Neapolitan Government, which was at first said to extend throughout Sicily, then to be confined to two provinces, and lastly to one city, was reduced to nine persons, who, though boasting themselves proud and resolute, were in reality cowardly and cunning.

Affairs abroad meantime assumed a more threatening aspect;

for the principal courts of Europe, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, expressed their disapprobation of the new Government in Naples. France refused to acknowledge it, England was silent, and though Spain, Switzerland, the Low Countries, and Sweden, had formally recognised the Constitution, they could not be depended on in case of danger. The hostile kings were known to be on the point of meeting to consult on the affairs of Naples in a congress at Troppau. Another German army was said to be descending the Alps, and French and English ships of war arrived, dropped their anchors, and daily increased in numbers, in our bay. Prince Ruffo, and Prince Castelcicala, the ambassadors at Vienna and Paris, refused to take the oath to the constitutional monarchy ; while Prince Serra Capriola, ambassador to Russia, wrote privately to the king: "Your Majesty commands me to take the oath to the new State of Naples, but there is a report current here, that rebellion and not your free will has imposed this change upon you. How ought I to act, who am as averse to disobey your commands as to injure your interests? I can only send your Majesty my oath by this private letter, which you may produce or destroy as you think fit." The king sent a messenger to the Parliament, informing them of the conduct of his three representatives ; and, while praising that of Serra Capriola, he removed the other two from office, but bestowed on them honours and pensions.

No new ambassador was sent to Vienna, because that court had signified none would be accepted. The Duke di Canzano succeeded Prince Scilla in Spain, and Prince Cariati Castelcicala was sent to Florence, where he was received in his private capacity, but not as ambassador. Prince Cimitile was sent ambassador-extraordinary to Russia, but visited Vienna on his way, and then proceeded to England, whither he went as minister. All three, when taking leave of the king, received his approbation, his orders, and advice ; the Duke di Canzano, who, no longer young, was tired of public life, and wished to escape business, being the father of a large family, and neither ambitious nor rich, asked the king to allow another to go in his stead ; but after he had petitioned several times, he received this answer : "Canzano, the affair stands thus, either you must go or a Carbonaro ; do not force me to an unwelcome choice, but accept the office. I will furnish you with

letters for the Court of Spain, written with my own hand, and I will send messages proving my great confidence in you. Tell the king, my nephew, that I am well, and that my illness was only feigned, to enable me to resign the cares of government during the present conjuncture." The ambassador yielded, and departed with his numerous family, satisfied and grateful. Cimitile also was anxious to avoid accepting the place of ambassador, as he had taken no part in the various revolutions of the kingdom, and preferred a life of retirement; he told the king candidly, that though he would obey his sovereign as a loyal subject, one so full of years would rather not be exposed to the difficulty arising from a disputed policy; and that as the father and support of a numerous family, he did not wish to bring his sons into trouble, and hear himself reproached by them, for inordinate ambition. But the king, interrupting him, tried to encourage him by kind words, and by what appeared to those who heard him, ingenuous protestations of good faith. Cimitile, therefore, also returned from the palace reassured and satisfied.

The aversion felt by foreign powers to the present state of Naples, was secretly mitigated by motives of policy; for as long as the people of Europe continued to maintain all manner of ideas respecting what they considered their rights, the first war might endanger every throne in Europe. No royal family had so strong a motive for war, or had an army as well prepared as that of Austria, who already possessed a vast dominion in Italy, which the other sovereigns did not wish to see increased. For this reason, and to allow some vent to the military ardour of his troops, the Russian Emperor sent a large army southwards, which, to the alarm of all the sovereigns of Germany, was to pass through their territories. Prussia, although third in the field, was likewise preparing for war. Such prodigious armaments roused the jealousy of France and England. On the other hand, the liberals throughout Europe applauded the revolution of Naples, and while justifying its principles, menaced the security of thrones. Italians, French, a few Prussians, and one Russian, presented themselves as champions for Neapolitan freedom, while two Englishmen of distinction, besides offering their personal aid, proposed to raise four regiments of volunteers. The wealthy mercantile houses of London and Paris did not hesitate to grant loans to our exchequer; foreign

generals, who were prohibited fighting for us, gave us their advice upon the defence of the frontier, and instructed us theoretically how a people might resist organized armies; while scientific men from all parts of the world secretly communicated to us their discoveries in new instruments of war and in strategy. This political crusade (as it may figuratively be called) made monarchs uneasy, and this uneasiness was increased by the character of the Neapolitan revolution presenting liberty under a new aspect, since unstained by crime; and calculated to excite admiration in all beholders, because not the product of despair, or the companion of guilt, or itself a source of evil, but leaving property untouched, respecting law and religion, and, in short, a gain without any loss. The disgrace to our army of the desertion of a hundred and twenty-seven soldiers at Nola, had been converted into an honour, by their success, and by the sanction of public opinion; so that the armies of other nations admired their conduct, rulers trembled on their thrones, and the existing constitutions of Europe were menaced with immediate change. As the mere fact of such an event having been suffered to occur, was in itself a serious peril, and the attempt to repress it equally perilous, the sovereigns were desirous, without coming to a war, to restore the constitution of Naples to a form better adapted to those of the rest of Europe, and thus preserve their authority, and the prestige of monarchy, and avoid the scandal and the danger of such an example being followed by other nations. France, to whom the continuance of peace was all-important, expressed her willingness to mediate for the settlement of terms, by which the Neapolitan Government might, by a reform of the statute, assuage the reasonable fears of foreign potentates. She undertook the office just at the right moment; for the armies of the allied sovereigns were ready, though they still hesitated, delayed, either by the supposed greatness of the danger they incurred, or from a sense of injustice in thus attacking a peaceable and unoffending people; while the balance was yet, therefore, pending, every argument thrown in the scale for peace or for war, had great weight.

Everything might at that time have been easily arranged, as the Parliament was actually engaged in the consideration of reforms; but just then the Carbonari became unruly; and General William

Pepe, trusting in their boastful language, and in the demonstrations at a review, was seized with such a fit of presumption, as to desire war, and believe that peace would be fatal and dishonourable. Of the three factions of which the Parliament was composed, one was ultra liberal, strong in numbers, and still stronger in the support of the people's gallery, though wanting in men of ability and eloquence; the second was composed of men indifferent to the government, anxious about the future, silent, desirous of good, but timid, and never acting on their own suggestions, yet important when the votes were counted, because most numerous; the third were men of moderate opinions; and the finest elocution and most exalted sentiments were to be heard from their benches, since among the small number of whom that party was composed, Poerio, Borrelli, and Galdi ranked highest for eloquence, and Dragonetti and Nicolai for learning. Free discussion was, however, prevented by terror, for the Carbonari exercised a secret influence, which became such, that no deputy ventured to oppose their demands, however unreasonable. While the speeches from the tribune, therefore, were elevated and free in their tone, they were in substance base, and subservient to the will of the people.

To this may be attributed the rejection of the offered mediation of France, and that the proposed reform of the statute, instead of drawing the tie closer between the people and their king, threw them wider apart. Other and more serious errors were committed, which I shall mention as they occur, all tending to make a reconciliation impossible, and war certain. The most important reforms to be laid before the king (the disputed question of constituted or constituent having been dropped) were three; namely, the number of deputies to be increased by two-fifths, and the council to be reduced by two-fifths, with the rule for the guidance of Parliament, and the obligations of the king, in the choice of councillors. But the clauses by which the Parliament was to consist of one chamber, the king (in certain extraordinary cases) to be obliged to sanction the laws proposed, and a permanent deputation to be formed, to watch over the execution of the laws,[1] with other articles

[1] One of the clauses of the Spanish Constitution is, that there should be "a permanent deputation, or committee of the Cortes, composed of seven members, appointed by the whole body, before a prorogation or dissolution, whose duty is to

equally obnoxious to the monarch, because encroachments on his prerogative, were confirmed.

The finances were impoverished from the great expense of an army and armaments increased to twice their former complement, while the revenue was diminished by the abolition of certain taxes, or by others having been lowered, and by the want of punctuality in the receipts from Sicily, owing to revolutions and financial embarrassments. The hope of recovery was faint, for the threat of an invasion by a foreign army had lowered our credit; our necessities were great, and the debt for the payment of money to Austria and to Prince Eugene was accumulating; both of which were disgraceful compacts, agreed to in the Congress of Vienna With the decline of the finances, public works and institutions of charity were neglected, and all the veins of public wealth were dried up; the complaints of the people increased, and with them incitements to turbulence, while the fears of the king, the activity of the police, and the preparations for war were hourly greater. Ferdinand accordingly determined to quit the kingdom, and wrote privately to the kings assembled at Troppau, asking their assistance and advice; their answers reached him towards the end of November.

The letters from the three sovereigns contained an invitation to meet them at the Congress at Laybach, there to settle the political state of Naples. But, as by the terms of the constitution, the king could not leave without the permission of Parliament, and he feared, if asked, it might be denied, and if not asked, his departure would have the appearance of flight, Ferdinand, the viceroy, and the ambassadors from the allied sovereigns, met in secret council. One of these last thought it would be enough to show the letter from the Congress, and to evince a determination to obey its injunctions, and that such high-sounding names and opinions, backed up by such vast power and resolution, would intimidate the Parliament and people, and cause them to change their tone; forgetting that where the danger is at a distance, the least valiant are often the boldest. The viceroy, more timid, and at the

watch over the executive, and report any infringement of the Constitution to the next Cortes. It also belongs to them to convoke an extraordinary meeting of the Cortes in the cases prescribed by the Constitution."—See Article "Spain," *Encyclopædia Britannica*, p. 506.

same time more experienced, advised a milder course, and it was decided that the Parliament should be informed of the despatches from Troppau, accompanied by a message from the king, couched in terms which should neither be subservient nor defiant.

Doubts and delays succeeded this simple proposition. The king placed no confidence in his ministers, and had no partisans in the Parliament or people; he suspected his guards, and had always the phantasm of the Carbonari before his eyes. The more he trembled, the more he longed to depart, and yet feared to express the wish. Frequent consultations were therefore held in the palace, but without any resolution being adopted, and the people began to suspect what was going forward. At last, by the advice of his son, the king resolved to send a gracious message to Parliament, expressing his desire to accept the invitation of the allied sovereigns, that he might make himself a mediator of peace for his people, and invoke the consent of these monarchs to our liberty, or (whatsoever might be the fate of the existing constitution) secure another statute, which should confirm the national representation, liberty of person, a free press, the independence of the judiciary power, and the responsibility of ministers; he likewise added, that in every event, the revolution of July should not be charged against them as a crime, and concluded by requesting that four deputies should accompany him to the Congress as advisers and witnesses.

On the morning of the 6th December, the viceroy read the letters from Troppau and the king's message to the ministers, and consulted with them on the manner of notifying it to the Parliament, and proclaiming it to the people. One of the ministers proposed a slight amendment, but the prince replied, he could not alter the composition in any way, because it was not the king's own, but that of the foreign ambassadors. It was determined to use flattery or persuasion to the majority of the deputies, and to gain the remainder through those Carbonari who were in reality agents of the Government. Two of the ministers, Ricciardi and De Thomasis, who were least obnoxious to the Parliament, went unofficially to the chamber, and showed the paper to eighteen of the deputies (all who happened to be present), and finding them not opposed to its contents, begged them to support it publicly by

their vote on the morrow. The rest of the day was spent by each of the ministers separately, in gaining over the other deputies, and by the evening they thought they could rely on forty affirmative votes, while the rest were doubtful. At the same time, they provided for the defence of the palace, and for the tranquillity of the city, for, uncertain of success, they were determined to obtain their object either by force or stratagem. Those among the ministers, who had been accustomed to the exercise of unbridled power, were indignant at the license natural in a time when too much liberty had been conceded, and when the people were yet new to freedom; others again were displeased at finding themselves surpassed in the debates, by the eloquence of practised orators; and all of them were anxious to make the statute more favourable to the monarchy and less so to the people. But, meantime, the purport of the message was revealed and discussed in the nocturnal meetings of the Carbonari, and the danger to which the Spanish Constitution, their work and the basis of their operations was exposed, was manifest; they, therefore, swore to encounter any danger of revolution, rather than suffer one iota of the law to be changed. That same night, they sent messengers, letters, and orders to the provinces, and prolonged their sittings, until a resolution was passed in the General Assembly, not to separate as long as the danger lasted; all the other *Vendite* followed their example. The secret agents of the police among the Carbonari, perceiving it was vain to attempt to restrain the general excitement, exaggerated the king's aversion to a constitutional government, while vaunting the liberal inclinations of the viceroy, his loyalty, benevolence, and friendly disposition towards the Society, so much so, that he himself might almost be called a Carbonaro; they thus persuaded their hearers that the departure of the king, and the whole power being placed in the hands of his son, would be advantageous to the cause. This was the first real service these pretended Carbonari rendered to absolute monarchy, as they had hitherto laboured in the cause of constitutional monarchy, and more frequently for their private ends or ambition. The city, meantime, was in a state of great excitement, amidst these various movements on the part of the king, of the Carbonari, and of the people; and was divided between the hopes of the well-disposed, and the fears of the bad.

The following morning, the deputies were assembled in Parliament; the Carbonari were in the galleries, and the people were crowding the hall and vestibules, when the ministers arrived, and read the despatches of the Congress and the message of the king; after delivering them into the hands of the president, they begged for an immediate consideration of the matter, and withdrew. In their presence, the people had preserved strict silence, but no sooner had they left, when a loud shout arose for "*The Constitution of Spain or death!*" As this clamour burst out again and again, and time and quiet were needed to form an opinion, the discussion was postponed till the following day.[1]

Meantime, the city became more and more agitated; for, on perceiving hostile preparations in the palace, where the guards were doubled, and that the guns of the castle were pointed upon the town, numbers hastened to the Parliament to beg for aid and vengeance; they arrived just as the crowds who had been present at the reading of the king's message were leaving the House, burning with indignation; and the meeting with this infuriated populace, fanned their rage into a flame. The king's message, which had been placarded on all the corners of the city, was torn down, the people flew to arms, civil war seemed inevitable, and was only delayed until they could learn the decision of Parliament. Night drew on, and fearing lest more messages or edicts might be placarded, the walls were watched by torch light, whilst the people ran in crowds about the streets, shouting, "*The Constitution of Spain or death!*" Repose, silence, darkness, and all the privileges of night were invaded; the Carbonari aiming at a more formidable movement, despatched messengers and letters into the provinces, to excite the revolutionary party of the 6th July, and sent envoys to the deputies of the Parliament, signifying their desire to pre-

[1] A message was sent by the Parliament to ask the advice of General William Pepe, who, perceiving in the letters of invitation from the three kings not a confirmation of the constitution, but a determination to change it and restore the despotic power of the king, answered: "The partisans of an absolute monarch, weak and disheartened, can undertake nothing against liberty; yet the most fervid Carbonari let him lead them like schoolboys." He added, if they desired, he would confine the king and the royal family in the palace at Caserta, and disband the royal guard their sole force. But he had only been consulted to throw dust in the eyes of the Carbonari. —See *Vita di Guglielmo Pepe, per Francesco Carrano*, pp. 98-99.

serve the constitution of Spain inviolate, but to allow the king to depart.

Daylight presented a more alarming sight, for the city was crowded with armed people from the provinces, who had arrived in the night from the adjacent villages, and with others who, with marvellous celerity, had come from the more distant provinces of Avellino and Salerno. Though the excitement continued as great, however, the noise subsided, from the tension of fear and expectation in the people; some of the deputies, as if it were their last hour, performed the rites of religion, others made their wills, but not one hung back in the hour of danger. They had to pass through the midst of the people between the vestibule and hall of meeting; there the delegates of the Carbonari repeated the warning of the previous day to each deputy, displayed a dagger, and menaced them with death. The message was then discussed.

It contained two important clauses; the proposal for a change in the constitution, and for the departure of the king. The first to speak was the Deputy Borrelli, who, as a studied orator and lawyer, accustomed to view both sides of a question, was able to clothe the visionary ideas of the Carbonari with something like logic and reason. He maintained that the Parliament having been constituted according to the Constitution of Spain, the deputies only held their office by that statute, to which each had sworn obedience; that they could not, therefore, change it without acting contrary to the instructions of the people, and the authority of the laws, and violating the sanctity of their oaths. As to the departure of the king, he pointed out the advantage of having a monarch who would support his own rights, and those of his people, in the congress of monarchs; that so pious a king, the descendant by blood and by his virtues of Henry IV. and St. Louis, could not be supposed capable of breaking his word, or of perjuring himself on the holy sacraments, or so base as to degrade the dignity of his crown, or so rash as to expose the family he left behind him to the dangers of war and to the hatred of the people. He cited an edict of the 1st May 1815, by which the Bourbon king, whilst the fate of Murat was yet uncertain, had promised the Neapolitans a free constitution; an edict, indeed, unknown to the people, but the orator quoted the very words, and assured them it had been

published in Messina, but revoked when the sudden fall of Joachim made it unnecessary to resort to additional incentives to persuade the Neapolitans to return to their allegiance. Borrelli was followed by other speakers, who took the same line, and it was decided to reject the offer of any new constitution, but permit the king to depart, provided he took a second oath to the Constitution of Spain, and promised to support it in the Congress.

It was observed with surprise, that of every possible course, the Parliament had chosen the worst. They might have accepted the message as it was, and by their ready acquiescence in a new constitution, have strengthened the claims of the people, and the difficulty of a breach of promise on the part of the sovereign; or they might have wholly rejected the message, and retained the king as a hostage and prisoner: and if they subsequently accepted the statute presented to them as a reform of the Spanish Constitution, while forbidding the departure of the king, they could have secured fresh guarantees, prepared the way for more reforms, and while war would have been less easy, peace would have been more expeditiously concluded: this would have been the wisest resolution, considering the time and circumstances. By an opposite course, by insisting that they would have no other constitution but that of Spain, yet leaving the king free to depart, they lost the opportunity of obtaining advantages, then in their hands. But the deputies were not free agents in the course they adopted, but were terrified by the menaces of the Carbonari, and inexperienced in revolutions, they feared the perils which were nearest, and acted as if the present hour were to last for ever.

The decision of Parliament had not yet been proclaimed, and the pusillanimous king, frightened by popular tumults, believed his guards, servants, and even the crews of the French and English vessels in the harbour his enemies, and only thought of flight; he accordingly drew up a new message to the Parliament, contradicting the last, swearing to maintain the Constitution of Spain, and even exceeding the hopes of the people, by declaring that if he could not preserve their rights and those of his crown in the Congress, he would return to Naples in time to defend them by the sword. He recommended the viceroy, the ministers, the Parliament, and the people to prepare for war, and not to yield to delu-

sive hopes of peace, before the sovereigns of Europe had consented to our constitution. He repeated his request, that four of the deputies should accompany him, assist him with their advice in the Congress, and bear witness to his good faith.

After the publication of this final message, and of the decision of Parliament, suspicion was lulled, and disturbances ceased. The address which informed the king of the vote of Parliament, likewise contained the thanks of the House for his resolution to secure the liberties of the people, as well as frequent reminders of the sanctity of his oath. The deputies excused themselves from acceding to his request of being accompanied by representatives of the people; not, as they asserted, in contempt of the royal invitation, but because his wisdom did not need advisers, nor his good faith witnesses. This paper was presented to the king with great ceremony by twenty-four deputies, of whom one, Borrelli, repeated its substance, and in stronger language even than the address itself. The king, who had already repeatedly assured them in his messages that he would justify the confidence reposed in him, answered, "I go to the Congress to fulfil that which I have sworn; I leave my beloved son with pleasure as regent of the kingdom, and I trust that God will grant me strength to fulfil my intentions." After this, the same deputies presented him with the proposed reforms of the Spanish Constitution, and their choice of the councillors of state for his approbation; when the king promised to take the matter into consideration. The following day, accordingly, he appointed the councillors, but taking advantage of his royal prerogative, he expressed his disapprobation of that law which imposed an obligation on him to select them from each of the provinces. As to the reforms, he affirmed that time was wanting for the examination of so grave a matter, as it appeared to him dangerous and indecorous, without due deliberation, to pass a law which would have a permanent effect upon the kingdom.

He then hastened his departure, after writing to his son as follows:—"Although I may have often explained my views to you, I now put them on paper that they may be the more deeply impressed on your memory. In the grief I feel at quitting my kingdom, I am consoled by the thought that I shall, while at Laybach, provide for the tranquillity of my people and the rights of my throne. I

am ignorant of the intentions of the allied sovereigns, but I know my own, of which I now inform you, that you may receive them both as royal commands and paternal injunctions. I propose in the Congress to defend all that occurred last July ; I shall steadfastly insist on the Spanish Constitution being maintained in my kingdom, and I shall demand peace. My conscience and my honour are alike pledged to obtain thus much. My age, dear son, seeks repose, and my spirit, weary of vicissitudes, shrinks from the idea of foreign war and domestic discord ; let my subjects have peace, and after thirty years of tempests, let us drop our anchor in a safe harbour. Although I confide in the justice of the allied sovereigns, and in our ancient friendship, yet I think it right to state that in whatever position it shall please God to place me, I shall remain firm to my resolution expressed in this letter, and unmoved by the persuasions of flattery, or force. Engrave these words on your heart, oh, my son ! and let them be the rule of your government, and the guide of your actions. I bless and embrace you."

The regent, as a proof of his father's sincerity, read this letter to several of his ministers and confidential advisers, and as its substance passed from mouth to mouth all were reassured, and prayers were offered up for the success of the king's journey, and the fulfilment of their wishes. Thus followed by blessings, he embarked on board an English vessel, on the morning of the 14th December, with his wife, the minister of his household, his equerry, and a few attendants ; the Duke del Gallo, who had been appointed ambassador to the Congress, waited his arrival in Florence. The ship (the " Avenger") was the same which, after the battle of Waterloo, had conveyed the Emperor Bonaparte a prisoner from Rochefort. That vessel and an English frigate by accident or carelessness, ran against one another in the darkness of night, and were so injured that the frigate had to return to Naples to be repaired, and the ship went to Baia. The city was much concerned at the danger and fright of the king, and the royal family hastened to visit him, nor were delegates from the Parliament, the communes, and the army slow in following their example. The king remained on board, and received them all with courtesy ; he remarked to the delegates from the Parliament, that he hoped the accident of that night, and the short delay of a few days, would be the only mis-

chance to which the vessel of the State would be exposed. They were surprised to observe that though safe and free on board an English man-of-war, he wore as a decoration the tri-coloured ribbon of the Carbonari, which had been generally laid aside, or only worn by the most enthusiastic members of the Society.

Among others, the Duke d'Ascoli went to condole with the king; he was an old friend, his companion in his pleasures and in the hardy diversion of the chase; and while sharing his sovereign's good fortune, he had been faithful to him in adversity: after congratulating Ferdinand on having overcome the dangers of the past night, he added, "Good fortune often goes side by side with ill, and without this accident, I could not have found an opportunity to speak with your Majesty, except when it would have been indiscreet to ask a question. You depart, and we remain, without a guide or example, uncertain what line to follow. How shall I behave? How act amidst these civil commotions? In kindness, and as a reward for my tried and faithful service, let me hear your wishes, and I shall regulate my actions accordingly." The king replied:—

"Duke d'Ascoli, I could have excused such a question from any other, but not from you, who have known me from my childhood. After my oath, my promises, and the tempests in which I have been tossed, my great age, and the necessity I feel for a quiet life, how can you imagine that I wish for a war with my people, and for fresh troubles and changes? . . . I go to the Congress as the intercessor for peace, I shall beg, I shall obtain it; and then return to enjoy the affection of my subjects; you who remain here will maintain the peace of the country, and, if duty wills it otherwise, you will prepare for war." At these noble words Ascoli shed tears, expressed his approbation of the king's conduct, kissed his hand, and departed. These words of praise, however, proved fatal to him, as the king, suspecting him of a liberal tendency, on his return from Laybach, and whilst still in Rome, decreed the exile of his friend.[1]

After two days the vessel, being ready, sailed with a favourable wind, and was followed by the prayers of the people; but their in-

[1] The day after the departure of the king, the 14th December 1820, Pepe heard in the house of Prince Henry of Prussia, that it was the fixed resolution of the allies to annihilate the liberty of Naples.—*Memoirs of Pepe*, vol. ii. p. 19.

dignation for the attempted counter-revolution of the 7th December had not yet subsided; the ministers were accused of having proposed, and the guards threatened for having supported, the king's message. General Filangieri, who commanded them, publicly requested his dismissal from the army, as, without any fault on his part, he saw with regret that his services were unpopular, and himself suspected. But the regent refused to consent; the people commended the modesty of the general, who was already a favourite for his distinguished services in war, and for the memory of his father, while his conduct on this occasion increased his popularity. The conduct of the guards was also praised, and it was declared they had only done their duty in protecting the king during the disturbances. All their rage therefore was concentred on the ministers, who were severely animadverted upon in Parliament, and threatened with punishment; but soon afterwards four of them were pardoned, and in the end all. Meantime, at their own request, they had been dismissed, and before his departure the king had appointed in their stead the Duke del Gallo, the Duke Carignano, the magistrate Troise, General Parisi, and the Marquis Auletta, who were all men advanced in life and highly respected.

Meantime the fate of Naples was under discussion at Laybach, and, trusting to the promises of the king, we relaxed our preparations for war; the Parliament was dissolved at the end of January, the Carbonari, who were under the direction of the secret agents of the Government, had ceased to act, the ministers were inclined for peace and were passive, and there appeared to be no cause for disquiet throughout the kingdom. But not so in Italy; that unhappy land, where the people, though free in thought and words, are servile and indolent when called upon to act, and therefore, in every political event, furnish matter for scandal rather than give proofs of strength. As soon as the news had arrived of the first successful movements in Naples, the whole peninsula had been agitated; and as the revolution spread after the success of the first attempts, Piedmont prepared to give her support, while Rome,[1] and other petty states, would have likewise risen, had they been assisted by Neapo-

[1] An attempt to proclaim the Constitution of Spain was made in February 1821, in the province of Ascoli in the Pontifical States. Pius VII. published a bull against the Carbonari, which caused considerable but groundless alarm in Rome itself.

litan troops or proclamations. But the Government of Naples declared that, satisfied with their own success, they did not intend to interfere with other states; and that as they owed the reform in their constitution to the unanimity of the people, and the voluntary consent of the king, they disdained the course usually followed in revolutions. As a proof of this assertion, they appealed to the cases of Pontecorvo and Benevento, two cities belonging to the Pontiff in the heart of the Neapolitan territory, which having rebelled, and adopted the Constitution of Spain, demanded their re-integration into the kingdom, but had been refused; they then aspired to be admitted as confederates, offering money, arms, and soldiers; but being again refused, they only asked protection. The Neapolitan Government replied, they could not treat of matters appertaining to the Roman States, except with the sovereign Pontiff—a useless, or perhaps worse than useless, act of forbearance, since it was not even acknowledged as such by the princes of Italy or the Congress.

About this time a crime was perpetrated, which, though occasioned by private revenge, spread general alarm. Giampietro, who lived in Naples, had been a barrister when young, a warm and sincere partisan of the Crown, and attached to the Bourbons. He had been exiled by King Joseph, but recalled by Joachim, yet he boldly opposed the French kings. In 1815 his party triumphed, but he was mortified at the ingratitude of the Government, which gave him no employment. Two years later he was appointed prefect, and afterwards, as I have mentioned, Director of Police —offices which, in themselves obnoxious, gained him many enemies in difficult and troubled times. Many of the Carbonari were imprisoned or banished by his orders without trial or defence—an iniquitous practice confounding the innocent with the guilty, but which is considered necessary, and even just, under an absolute government. After the revolution of July, the men he had persecuted came into power, and, surrounded by a few friends and a numerous family, he retired into private life and obscurity. One night, some armed men, calling themselves officers of justice, entered his house, and the leader ordered Giampietro to follow him; although the order was given in a tone of authority, the voice faltered, and the eagerness of the speaker was more that of a man about to commit a crime, than the collected

manner of one about his business or duty. His comrades meantime studiously avoided the light, and concealed their faces from the family and attendants. The wife and a young daughter were the first to suspect the truth, when all in the house, as was natural to their age, sex, and condition, burst into tears, and embraced the knees of the assassins, who were only the more resolved, fearing lest their cries should raise an alarm. The unhappy father was torn from the eyes of a tender wife and nine children, and stabbed almost on the threshold of his house by forty-two blows with the same dagger, as the ruffians passed the instrument from one to the other to mutilate the body.

When the crime became known, the city was struck with terror, which was increased by a false report that a paper had been found nailed to the forehead of the corpse, with the words "*Number One*" written on it. Twenty-six victims were named, and as every one suggested different names according to their own imaginations, many of the citizens were alarmed by the formidable list. The terror was still farther increased by hearing that the murder had been concerted in the nocturnal meetings of the Carbonari, and by observing the silence and inaction of the magistrates, not because they approved the deed, but from fear. The Chevalier Medici, who was frequently mentioned, fled on board ship to Civita Vecchia, and thence proceeded to Rome; where his name, his danger, his flight, and his account of the revolution of Naples, threw discredit on all concerned in it, since his hearers could not be aware that he was in great measure the inventor of these tales, and not an impartial judge. Count Zurlo, who was unpopular, and likewise threatened, sought an asylum upon a French frigate anchored in the port, where he was received with kindness and respect. Others of less distinction, who were neither menaced nor sought after, but either from fear, or in the hope of finding food for their ambition amidst the general ruin, fled; such was Lieutenant-general the Duke di Sangro, who, after taking the oath to the Constitution, and accepting honours and stipends, deserted the cause. Not satisfied with abandoning it himself, he carried with him his son, a mere boy, and lieutenant in the army, who had conducted himself well until then, and at first refused to obey, but was finally obliged to submit to his father's will.

CHAPTER III.

DECLARATION OF WAR—MOVEMENTS OF THE TROOPS—DISPERSION OF THE ARMY—THE AUSTRIANS ENTER NAPLES.

The long expected news from the king at length arrived, which told of his successful journey and perfect health. Ferdinand boasted that his dogs had beaten the setters of the Emperor of Russia in the chase, but did not make any allusion to public matters. These letters, although containing nothing of interest, and deficient in royal dignity, were communicated to the Parliament to dispel the suspicions of the people, which had been excited by the king's protracted silence. Letters from the Duke del Gallo stated, that he himself had first been stopped at Mantua, and next at Gorizia, and that he had been prevented joining the Congress; official, as well as private despatches, likewise arrived with the information that the German army had quitted the line of the Po. The fears of war were re-awakened, the friends of the Revolution bestirred themselves, and the regent called a council to consider the means of defence. A fresh and new source of discord now arose among the generals convoked, for, though agreed in opinion, they disputed for priority of idea. General Carrascosa was appointed to lead the first corps, but either irritated by the accusations heaped on him, or from prudence, he refused, with an affectation of modesty. General William Pepe was placed at the head of the second, who, presumptuous and confident of victory, asked for command; the first accepted his appointment with reluctance, and the second with readiness. Lieutenants-general Ambrosio, Filangieri, Arcovito, Roccaromana, and Pignatelli-Strongoli were with Carrascosa; Pepe had no lieutenants-general, because his equals were offended at his promotion. The two generals were made independent of one another, while both were dependent on the Prince Regent, at the head of whose staff was General Florestano Pepe. The

first corps was to defend the frontiers of the Garigliano, the second the Abruzzi. But these armies existed only in name, for no troops were forthcoming, because the means of war, clothing, provisions, hospitals, arms, and men, were yet unprovided. Everything had been neglected.

Naples was roused from this shameful state of inertia, by other letters from the king, written on the 28th January from Laybach. They reached the regent on the 9th February by the hand of the Duke del Gallo, whom the king had summoned from Gorizia, to inform him of the decision of the allied sovereigns, to make him the bearer of his despatches to Naples, and to charge him to advise his son, the Parliament, and the people, to submit to their fate quietly and with resignation. Ferdinand had insisted on Del Gallo being present at a meeting of the Congress of the Representatives of the Great Powers, to witness their concord, and their determination to maintain established order. He had therefore seen how the Austrian ambassador, Metternich, presided over the ambassadors of Russia, Prussia, France, England, and the Italian princes; how Prince Ruffo, the same who had a short time before been dismissed from office by King Ferdinand, was seated among the ambassadors, and gave his opinion as representative of the kingdom of the Sicilies; and he had heard them declare that the three sovereigns of the Holy Alliance were resolved to resort to arms; a proposition to which France yielded assent, England offered no remonstrance, and the rulers of Italy applauded. All this Del Gallo related to the Neapolitan Government, while the king's letter ran as follows:—

"Most dear son, you well know the sentiments by which I am animated to promote the happiness of my people, and the motives for which alone I have undertaken so long and painful a journey, in spite of my great age, and the season of the year. I perceived that our country was menaced by fresh disasters, and I was resolved that no consideration should prevent me making the attempt, dictated to me by my most sacred duties.

"From my first interview with the sovereigns, and from the time I was informed of the deliberations which took place in the Cabinets assembled at Troppau, no farther doubt remained on my mind as to the manner in which the Great Powers regard

the events which have occurred in Naples, from the 2d July to this day.

" I find them irrevocably determined not to permit a continuance of the present state of things, the consequence of these events; they consider it incompatible with the tranquillity of my kingdom, and the security of neighbouring states, and therefore have resolved to use force, if persuasion be not enough, to produce an immediate change.

" This is their resolution, declared to me by the sovereigns, as well as by their respective plenipotentiaries, and which nothing will induce them to renounce.

" It is beyond my power, and I believe beyond human power, to obtain any other result. There is, therefore, no doubt as to the alternative in which we are placed, nor as to the only means which remains to preserve my kingdom from the scourge of war.

" If the conditions upon which the sovereigns insist be accepted, the measures which follow will be guided wholly by me; for I must inform you, that the monarchs exact certain guarantees deemed necessary for the moment, to secure the tranquillity of neighbouring States.

" With regard to the system which is to be substituted for the present, the sovereigns have only acquainted me with their general views on the matter.

" They consider that without wishing to restrain my liberty in the choice of the measures which I shall adopt, it is of the utmost importance for the security and stability of neighbouring States, and therefore of all Europe, to impart to my Government the stability it so much needs. They sincerely desire, that surrounded by the most honest and able men in my dominions, I should consult the real and permanent interests of my people, without losing sight of that which the maintenance of peace in Europe requires, and that a system of government should emanate from my care and labour, such as may for ever secure the repose and prosperity of my kingdom, and at the same time render the other States of Italy safe, and relieve them from all cause of uneasiness, which may have been occasioned by recent events in our country.

It is my desire, most dear son, that you give this letter all the publicity it ought to have, that no one may be deceived as to the

dangerous situation in which we are placed. If this letter produce the effect which the consciousness of my paternal intentions, as well as my trust in your enlightened views and upright mind, and in the loyalty of my people, allow me to hope, it will depend on you to maintain public order, until I can acquaint you more explicitly with my will and intentions regarding the organization of the administration.

"Meanwhile, I embrace you with my whole heart, and send you my blessing, while signing myself your most affectionate father,

"FERDINAND."

The Russian, Austrian, and Prussian ambassadors, who waited the return of the Duke del Gallo to Naples, to notify the resolutions of the Congress to the Regent, met that same day, and proceeding to the palace, presented the letters of the sovereigns. Although the ambassadors were three, only one spoke, and their letters were copied *verbatim* as a proof of their entire unanimity. They declared that the revolution in Naples, by the first secret conspiracies, by the means employed, and by the end attained, was alike adverse to the political systems of Europe, and threatened the security of the Princes of Italy, disturbed the peace of all, and both in the fact itself, and in its example, was to be deprecated by the rulers of every people. But in order to avoid acting hastily, they had consulted the wisdom and experience of the king of Naples, and had judged it necessary to place an Austrian army on the first line, with a Russian army in reserve, to approach the kingdom as friends, if the people returned to their former obedience, or as enemies, if they persevered in their obstinate determination; and that whether for war or peace, a German army was to remain temporarily there for the protection of the kingdom, of law, and of justice. The regent replied, that he would consult with the Parliament. A few hours later, the French ambassador signified to the regent, that his Government had consented to the resolutions of the Congress of Laybach, and the English ambassador declared that England would remain neutral in the present contest.

The danger was near and serious. The regent summoned the Parliament to meet, and on the fourth day, although so hastily

convened, the deputies assembled, and the chamber was opened. He gave a rapid summary of the decisions of the Congress, and adding, the Duke del Gallo would inform them of all the details, promised to remain faithful to the nation and his oath ; and entreating them to be prudent, cautious, and firm, he departed amidst the plaudits of the deputies and of the people. It was observed that when reminding them of the danger, and repeating his oath, his voice faltered, as if choked by some sudden emotion. The Duke del Gallo then related the detention and violence to which he had been subjected on his journey; his futile efforts to reach Laybach ; how at last he had been summoned there by the king, who commanded him to attend the meetings of the ambassadors, but prohibited his offering any remonstrance, as he was sent for only to listen and then depart for Naples in all haste ; and, when arrived there, to persuade the Neapolitans to be resigned to their fate, and maintain peace. His story was briefly told, after which he read the king's letter to his son, with the letters of the three sovereigns, and the notes of the English and French ambassadors ; he then gave an account of the conferences held in the palace on the evening of the 9th, he informed his audience of the hostile disposition shown by the Courts of Italy, and without either offering advice or endeavouring to influence those present, he declared his confidence that the ministers would obey the decrees of the regent, and would support the decisions of the Parliament ; and, finally, reminded them of the superior advantages, in war or in peace, which, from their alliance, the great powers possessed over them, and then took his departure. As he left, the people raised a cry for war, but the Parliament determined to postpone until the morrow the discussion of so serious a question.

During the remainder of that day, the citizens assembled in knots in the city, while the Carbonari met to deliberate on the approaching dangers and their remedies. Although there is always as great a variety of opinions in political questions as there is a variety of minds and interests among men, yet, in the present conjuncture, there were only two, and the people's resolution was unanimous. Some were of opinion the king had acted under compulsion, and that his letter had been forced from him, as it appeared impossible that a Christian prince, who prided himself

on his piety, should thus violate his solemn promises and repeated oaths before the holy sacraments; others, more severe, affirmed that the king's religion consisted only in superstitious observances; that his conscience would be satisfied with a mental reservation while taking the oath, or an act of penance afterwards, and recalled the number of promises and treaties he had already broken, and the oaths he had forsworn. War appeared to some just, to others necessary. Such was the general state of opinion, when Parliament met on the following day in the presence of a large concourse of spectators, who looked on in silence, as the importance of the question at issue, and the consternation which reigned every where, repressed the usual loquacity of the people.

The first to speak was the Deputy Borrelli, but he, and all who succeeded him, were surpassed by the oration of Poerio, both in force of reasoning and eloquence. He demonstrated that the concessions made by the king to his subjects in the preceding July, had been voluntary, and that after the popular triumph (for it was a triumph and not rebellion) had subsided, and when even the appearance of a political disturbance had vanished, his freedom of action could not be doubted; and still less so, when the king repeated his promises on board an English man-of-war, when he arrived at Leghorn, and when at Laybach he made no protestation against the force, to which (it was said) he had been subjected. The orator proceeded to point out the injustice of the decisions at Laybach, and the illegality of foreign intervention, which endangered political liberty throughout Europe, and concluded like the other speakers, by giving his vote in favour of war; and the Parliament accordingly declaring their sovereign to be detained a prisoner by the other sovereigns, his freedom violated in foreign lands, and his letter written under compulsion, decreed war. These assumptions, which were neither true nor believed in, were adopted to avoid the disgrace and danger of being treated as rebels. A deputation of members presented their resolution, with an address to the regent who signed it, and it was then proclaimed by acclamation and promulgated as a decree. This bold decision was received with pleasure by the large majority of the people, as even the lowest, and the least courageous rejoiced. General William Pepe saw before him certain triumph; the Carbonari, who incurred most

risk, likewise rejoiced, and their joy seemed at once to convert the rash daring of a petty nation who thus ventured to confront the armies of Europe, into a virtue. Adversity and ruin itself appeared glorious. The foreign ambassadors and those who were watching the progress of the revolution, even men of the greatest discernment, believed in the permanence of a state of feeling which was in reality only produced by a momentary intoxication. The Prince of Salerno, the king's son, asked permission to serve in the war; and the same request was preferred by the Duke d'Ascoli, the old friend of Ferdinand, by young Partanna, the son of the king's wife, and by Niscemi, the son of the prince of that name, who was with the king at Laybach; their example was followed by the members of the royal household and of the Court, by the favourites of the monarch, and by men devoted to the monarchy. The services of all were gratefully accepted.

It is important to explain what was the condition of the country at this period, when war appeared inevitable. The hopes of the revolution had failed, or were failing, and the revolutionary party felt they had been deceived; public confidence was exhausted, the people disabused, the Carbonari demoralized, their followers betrayed, or, under the guidance of the crafty agents of those in authority, the king, antagonistic, and volunteering to lead an enemy's army into the kingdom; and the regent, his son, in his father's confidence, and subject to him, yet at the head of the Neapolitan army. The generals disputing among themselves, the officers disobedient, the soldiers insubordinate, the finances impoverished by the withdrawal of foreign loans, and by loans at home being slow in payment and difficult to obtain; the fear of invasion great, and the fear of the king's vengeance still greater, while mutual suspicions had arisen between the army and the people. In the midst of all these dangers, it was remembered that the revolution was now a fact, and irrevocable. The decision of the Parliament in favour of war, and the public rejoicings which followed, were neither a proof of the wisdom nor the valour of the nation, of its hopes nor its despair; but arose from that delight in applause which most easily excites the warm-blooded people of the Two Sicilies. But when the excitement was past, the timid began to despair of safety, the indolent were carried along with the tide of

public opinion, the captious called all sounds of liberty indiscreet, while the self-interested supported the regent, that they might secure him as a leader in good fortune, and a protector in case of failure. Amidst such a variety of motives all tending to private advantage, the public interest was neglected; for the acts of public officials, whether ministers, members of Parliament, officers of the army, or Carbonari, all the props of the new government, were, like the men themselves, disunited and weak. Yet some few persons, though men of discernment and experience, continued to hope in time, in the preparations for resistance, and in negotiations with the enemy and with the king. The intentions of the hostile kings were now evident; they objected less to the results of the revolution in Naples than to its apparent causes; the power of the Carbonari, the mutiny in the army, and the example of Spain. To alter names, to restrain license, to revive the power of the monarchy, to grant some privileges to the people as concessions, which had been obtained by force, appeared conditions which alone could make peace possible.

In order effectually to resist, or appear to possess the means of resistance, it was necessary to prepare a plan of campaign. The regent accordingly convoked the most distinguished generals of the king in council, and addressed them in these words:—"The war which in our last meeting was doubtful, is now certain. At that time, difference of opinion was useful in giving a motive and spur for the investigation of truth, but would now lead to our ruin; for a small army and nation can only hope by being united in will and action, to resist armies and nations ten times more numerous and strong. You know what our country demands from us in this emergency; I need not tell men of the highest honour what honour exacts. For myself, I beg to inform you, I, with my brother, the Prince of Salerno, will be your companion in the hardships of the war, and will share your future destiny." He paused, and all present joined in applauding his resolution, the more so, as the disputes between the generals were for the time suppressed or concealed. They had obtained authentic information that the force of the hostile armies in Italy consisted of seventy thousand Austrians, of whom fifty thousand were ready to march upon the frontiers of Naples; that Austria was preparing fresh reinforcements, and that

the Russian army was slowly advancing, while Prussia only refused to act, because a war in Italy, against liberty, would have been a dangerous experiment for her.

Our army was forty thousand men, of whom twelve thousand were in garrison in Sicily, and it became a measure of prudence and necessity to take the militia into pay, in order to increase the number of soldiers, and give a national character to the war. It was decided to recall four thousand men from Sicily, to be joined by seventy battalions of militia from the provinces, and form a camp upon the frontiers, of thirty-two thousand veteran troops, with forty-two thousand of the new levy, whilst the remainder should be held in reserve. The want of sufficient implements of war was discouraging, for as long as the hope of peace lasted, the means of defence had been neglected, so that the amount now required far exceeded all ordinary means of supply, and it appeared as if it would be impossible for human ingenuity to remedy this deficiency. The advanced age of General Parisi was thought to unfit him for so arduous an undertaking, and General Colletta, who had been recalled from Sicily was substituted for him in the ministry of war; but Parisi had really nothing of old age but years and experience, for he was young in intellect, and, when urged on by ambition, indefatigable in the public service; unlike one who had already enjoyed, and was now loathing the empty pleasures of greatness. At the same time, the Chevalier De Thomasis, ex-minister of marine, was appointed minister of the interior, in place of the Marquis Auletta, who asked to be allowed to retire, on the plea of his great age.

The next object to be considered was the plan of campaign, in which two important questions were discussed; whether to engage the enemy on the frontier, or to carry the war beyond the confines of the kingdom; and what would be the enemy's point of attack within the kingdom. After the advantages of carrying the war into a foreign country had been examined, it was resolved that, considering the soldiers were new, most of them civilians, discipline imperfect, and that our army was defective in the art of war, they would fight to most advantage dispersed in small detachments within the country, and aided by their knowledge of the locality, and thus be trained to war; besides, such a

course was most in accordance with the avowed principles of the Neapolitan revolution, to avoid even the appearance of invading others, to wait in patience until attacked, and not to go to war for ambition, or the hope of conquest, nor even when urged on by just resentment; but only in defence of their rights, country, home, and life. It was therefore agreed that the war should be a defensive war, and the Parliament having been informed of this resolution, immediately passed a decree, which was signed by the regent, declaring that we should not regard the Austrian army in the light of enemies, unless they crossed the frontiers with hostile intentions.

The second question was longer under discussion, and more difficult to decide. The weakest part of the frontiers is that lying between Ceperano and Sora, along the banks of the Liri, but it is protected by the Abruzzi, consisting of three provinces amidst the heights of the Apennines, between the rivers Tronto and Sangro. These mountains protrude into the Pope's territory for a distance of a hundred miles along the frontier beside the Liri, so that we can descend their declivities into the valleys of the Tiber and Teverone, and menace Rome; and thus an army, marching towards the Liri by the road of Valmontone and Ceperano, would have their flank exposed to the enemy, and would be easily cut off from their base. It was therefore conjectured, that the German army would attack the Abruzzi as well as the Liri. Our second corps was extended in the first line, our first in the second as a reserve, and they communicated with one another by the high road of the Abruzzi, through the Valley di Roveto, so as to be able to present all their forces to oppose the enemy whatever point of the frontier he might attack.

We depended chiefly on the light troops, which were the most active and well-trained battalions in our army, best adapted for the alpine ground of the Abruzzi, as well as to act in conjunction with the raw troops who had been so recently levied. General Pepe was to lead ten thousand veteran soldiers, and twenty thousand new men; General Carrascosa had eighteen thousand of the former, and twenty-two thousand of the latter; four thousand, selected for their training and discipline, were to remain in garrison in the city, and as guards in the palace, or to be used as a

reserve in case of need.[1] General Pepe at the head of the militia, reported that out of thirty-six thousand men from the Abruzzi, twenty-four thousand were provided with uniform and arms, and were ready to commence the campaign; but the council, not wishing to exact too much from the zeal of these provinces, only accepted the same number as from other parts of the kingdom, and united them with soldiers from Calabria (the native province of the general), and with the regiments of Dauni and Hirpini, formed by him in 1818, and who had been his associates in the Revolution of the 6th July.

The roads, the paths, and the valleys which lead from the Roman States to the Abruzzi, were protected by strong military works; the Liri was likewise fortified, the defiles of Itri were made impassable, a fortress was erected in Montecasino, and a great camp formed at Mignano, and another at Cassano; two forts were built at Pontecorvo and Mondragone, and a double *tête de pont* on the Garigliano. While these operations were advancing upon the frontiers, other lines were prepared behind the first. The second line was formed along the course of the Volturno, and of the Ofanto, at whose sources the city of Ariano is situated, then converted into a fortress. Naples was included in this line, which, although unable to defend itself, formed an important barrier to the kingdom, as it was proposed to demolish the three lesser castles, which no longer serve as impediments, but rather afford shelter to an enemy, and are citadels against the people; to enlarge the bulwarks of Sant' Elmo, so as to enable it to contain four thousand soldiers; to send off arms, gun-carriages, the arsenal, and all the *matériel* of war to Capri and Messina, and the regent to retire with the troops, his family, the Parliament, and the council, carrying with them the public archives and record of the monarchy, and thus relieve the city from the dangerous privilege of being the seat of Government. Should Naples be taken, the loss

[1] In the account given by Carrascosa, Pepe had, in all, little more than seven thousand men, with twenty-four battalions of militia, who did not all arrive in time to fight, and were some of them deficient in numbers; in fact, he states that seventeen battalions of militia did not contain more than ten thousand men, and though Pepe daily sent to ask for reinforcements of regular troops, they were promised but never sent, Colletta having succeeded Parisi as Minister of War.—*Vita di Guglielmo Pepe, per Francesco Carrano*, pp. 106, 107.

might be a cause of regret, but would not be irreparable, and the metropolis would prove a troublesome acquisition to the enemy, as eighteen thousand men would hardly suffice to keep so enormous a population under restraint, and at the same time return the fire from Sant' Elmo, and repulse the sallies of the garrison.

The third line was to occupy the ground between Cava and Ariano by Sanseverino and Avellino, and a camp was already chalked out in the vicinity of Montefusco, where the enemy would have to encounter more opposition from nature than art; for there the mountains do not follow in the continuous line of the primitive chain, but are scattered promiscuously in groups, as if they had been thrown up by earthquakes, so that grotesque forms, torrents, and ravines meet the eye at every step.

If this line were lost, the order of retreat was to be changed, and the army to be divided, and march in detachments by different roads into Calabria behind Spezzano and Belvedere, which were strongly fortified. Another defence was prepared upon the heights of Tiriolo, a steep and lofty mountain of the Apennines, which descends to the Ionic and Tyrrhenean Seas; and, finally, a great camp on the shores of the Faro was to receive the army, which was to cross into Sicily; and whence, after they had recruited their strength and increased their numbers, they might return and again try the fortune of war. This last camp was to include the fortifications which had been erected by the French in Calabria, and the English in Sicily, during the ten years in which they had stood facing one another in a hostile attitude, and which yet remained to commemorate their reciprocal attacks.

Those learned in the art of modern warfare may, perhaps, detect an error in the erection of so many forts, the number of troops in garrison, and the detached positions of defence. It is therefore necessary to explain the intentions of the council of war for this campaign. Only one among the generals, General William Pepe, was able to discover zeal and invincible courage in our troops; but the rest, who better understood the character of the Neapolitan, and were less intoxicated by dreams of greatness, who remembered that the army was new, and discipline imperfect, thought it probable that our men might be struck with dismay at the novel sight and sound of battle; and as the enemy was advancing by

rapid marches towards the kingdom, and our troops would therefore have to be trained during the war, it was important to gain time; it was therefore thought advisable that he should be detained by a succession of sieges, and be forced into continual petty fights, by which his numbers would be diminished, while our men would be gradually accustomed to the hardships of a campaign. Another reason for this resolution was, that this being a national war, we could not hope for the triumphs of Austerlitz or Marengo, but to conquer by the slower method of a people in arms. Strong places were required to afford them the opportunity of surprising the enemy, which would at the same time be a support in battle, and afford them shelter in case of defeat, and from whence they could reciprocally aid one another, and act in concert upon some fixed centre of operations. These centres were Civitella, Chieti, and Aquila in the Abruzzi, Montecasino and Capua in the Terra di Lavoro, St. Elmo in Naples, Ariano in Puglia, and Tiriolo in Calabria; in all of which numerous troops were collected, who, when required, were to sally forth to scour the country, or be posted on the mountains to alarm or menace the enemy.

Other means of defence were prepared; every village on the enemy's line of operation was to be surrounded and protected by the civic guards; before they were surrendered, all the necessaries of life, provisions, and *matériel* of war were to be removed to places of security; the neglect of this order was to be punished as a crime, and, where obeyed, it was not to occasion any loss, for the State promised an equivalent in compensation. Guerilla bands were formed. The fleet was sent to cruise off the shores of the Adriatic and Tyrrhenean Seas, for the protection of the coast bordering the roads of Emilia and Terracina; but privateers were not allowed, as it was considered a barbarous kind of warfare; and this was the more honourable to Naples, since it was rumoured that the Germans were preparing such in their ports of the Adriatic. To these preparations, by order of the government or council, General Carrascosa added several regulations for harassing the enemy, and for guerilla warfare. After the plan of the campaign had been settled, the legions were ordered to their several destinations, and messengers and telegraphic despatches were sent to order the instant departure of seventy battalions of militia; the regent meanwhile

sent instructions to the commanders of the two corps d'armée for their conduct during the war, in conformity with the plan already described, and added the following general remarks:—

"We are resolved to remain on the defensive, because best adapted to the nature of the country, and most befitting our righteous cause. But as the passive neutrality of the Pope, and the occupation of his territory by the enemy, gives us an equal right to cross the frontiers of the kingdom, and take possession of the best positions for defence, you are left entirely free in your strategical movements.

"You will respect the Papal Government; the people of the districts you occupy must be treated with entire justice; you will not permit the smallest robbery on the property of the inhabitants; you will insist on your soldiers paying a fair price for provisions; and you will take care that martial law, which must naturally be established in the military occupation of a country, shall alone be applicable to the soldiers under your command. If any act of the sovereign Pontiff should oblige us, at some future time, to alter our system, we, with the National Parliament, will make it public, and you will receive due warning of our resolution.

"You will maintain a constant communication with the general commanding the other corps, with the head of the staff, and with the minister of war.

"Your powers are restricted within the limits of the present instructions. But as in war much depends on the circumstances of place and time, the generals commanding each corps d'armée may deviate from the rules here laid down, provided they state their reasons for so doing, and send immediate information to the general of the staff, as well as to the minister of war, and to every general or commander whom this sudden movement may concern."

"FRANCIS."

Meantime the two armies, provided with heavy artillery, were marching towards the frontier. All the troops started in high spirits, but the guards gained most admiration for their gallant bearing, rich uniforms, and their shouts of liberty, and vows of fidelity. Before the departure of each company, the regent passed them in review, and spoke words of encouragement and

command, exciting the soldiers by threats and promises; his consort fastened the tri-coloured ribbon to the ancient standard, and informed them that they were embroidered by her own hands, and by those of the princesses, her daughters. At the same time, several battalions of militia started in the provinces, and it seemed rather necessary to curb their enthusiasm, than urge them forwards, and that the volunteers enrolled would exceed the required number: boys unable to bear the weight of ordinary weapons, carried those better adapted to their age, and marched gaily along; while many women, who were sisters, or mothers, as well as the fathers or uncles of those serving, though unable from their sex or age to carry arms, relieved the fatigue of the soldiers, by taking their burdens on their own shoulders. But that which appeared like patriotic zeal, was in a great measure the consequence of fear of the Carbonari, who in every community excused themselves from the labours of war, and threatened and urged on the more peaceable inhabitants, driving them towards the frontier.[1] Whatever the motive, however, this warlike demonstration was great and noble, and gained for us the admiration even of the enemy. Meantime arms, military accoutrements, provisions, and clothing, were provided with marvellous celerity; and the works on the frontiers were ready by the day that the fleet was despatched to cruise along the coast.

The hopes of all were high, and we only needed a few more months for the discipline of the army and for peace negotiations; it appeared as if the enemy, whether from hesitation, or from delay in the formation of his plans, meant to grant us the time we required; when two events occurred, which made his intentions more manifest. A detachment of Germans arrived from Norcia at Arquata, a Roman village on the frontiers of the kingdom, but where the boundary line is imperfectly marked, from the absence of rivers or mountain wedges, and where its windings are so intricate that the traveller finds himself alternately in the Neapolitan and Roman territory. These soldiers, therefore, by

[1] Who will believe that forty-eight thousand militia and legions took up arms out of fear of the Carbonari? . . . There did not exist an officer or a subaltern, who was not a Carbonaro. The first to march were the Carbonari, and foremost of all their chiefs.—*Memoirs of General Pepe*, vol. iii. p. 129.

chance crossing the boundaries, were warned off by their guide, and retired in haste, taking another and more circuitous road, which was steep and difficult, but within the Roman States. Some days later, several Neapolitan soldiers, while cutting wood, entered the States of Rome near Rieti, and falling in with the enemy's posts, were thus addressed by the German captain:—"You may return in safety to your camps, but if we respect the Neapolitan frontiers and the villages which, although Roman, are occupied by you, do you respect the ground occupied by us." These two facts were told in the camps and circulated throughout the kingdom.

The German army of forty-three thousand soldiers assembled on the borders of the Abruzzi, had their advanced guard posted at Montalto and Nocera to reconnoitre the enemy; their second line occupied Fermo, Camerino, Tolentino, and Macerata; and their third line or reserve, all the country from Foligno to Ancona. They had one legion at Rieti, and another at Terni and Spoleto; one battalion at Albano, and one at Frascati; a regiment at Civita Castellana, another at Rome, a squadron stationed as a vidette on the road of Valmontone at Ferentino, and a small detachment of cavalry between Velletri and Cisterna. The army was thus ranged in line facing the Abruzzi; and *en échelon* in the direction of the Liri. The enemy's intentions were yet uncertain. The king of Naples was in Florence, and was expected at Foligno, while, under the protection of German arms, he hovered around the confines of his kingdom, trusting less to war than insurrections. Meantime the inaction of these troops made the way to peace easy, and the only thing yet remaining was to consult Parliament, as the regent did not venture to exercise the prerogative of sovereignty without their knowledge, fearing, in those troubled times, the jealousy and displeasure of the people; but persuaded by the minister of war, he augmented the preparations for defence, while the negotiations for peace were daily advancing, and the general plan, the terms and plenipotentiaries were about to be named, when we read in the Gazette of Naples, that on the 14th February, General William Pepe had promised the Prince Regent to defeat the Germans at Rieti on the 7th March.

The 7th March was near, and the rash promise was only too true, as appeared by another article written in the Abruzzi,

and which had been sent by the General to Naples for publication. The fact was this, that either because he was firmly persuaded of success, or because he was urged on (as he afterwards declared) by letters from some of the most ardent of the Carbonari and members of Parliament, who considered liberty in danger since the Government was inclined for peace, he had resolved to attack the Germans on the morning of the 7th, nor could the advice or entreaties of some of his subordinate officers, nor the decree of Parliament, which forbade us to be the first to break the peace, nor the orders of the regent to the same effect, nor the condition of his army, turn him from this rash resolution; yet some of the veteran regiments, and several battalions of militia, were at a distance from the frontier, and desertion had commenced, and was every day increasing in his camp. He, however, continued inflexible, forgetting what a serious responsibility he incurs who makes the first attack, and that, should it fail, it might cause the death of thousands, and a change of Government. On the evening of the 6th, he sent a despatch to the minister of war, containing an edict of the king dated Laybach, which in insidious as well as menacing language, informed his subjects that the armies were to be disbanded, and that the people were expected to return to their obedience; besides this edict, General Pepe sent another despatch with the order of the day of General Frimont, in which the German soldiers were reminded of the laws of discipline, duty, and honour, which were to be maintained in the approaching war, and of punishments and rewards. General Pepe reported that these two despatches had reached his camp, and ended by saying that he meant to give them a worthy reply in battle on the morrow. And this, without explaining how, with what troops, or what hopes of success; he neither asked the assistance of the other corps, nor consulted with its commander; he did not even appear to anticipate the possibility of defeat, and therefore did not concert the means of retreat, nor did he communicate his intentions to the officers commanding two of his own legions, stationed at Ascoli and Tagliacozzo. To attack the enemy, to take a number prisoners, and send them in triumph to the metropolis; and thus to fill the mouths of fame with his name, if only for a day,—such were his dreams of felicity.

These despatches from General Pepe reached Naples at midday of the 8th, and confirmed the fears which had been excited by the Gazette of the previous day; and the more so, as the fate of the battle which made war inevitable and peace impossible, must have been already decided, and was yet unknown to us. The Parliament and the public were informed of the fact on the same day; a few wild hopes were raised, and a thousand well-grounded fears; the suspense lasted until midnight on the 9th, when Major Cianciulli arrived in Naples, who had been an eye-witness of the affair, and had been sent by the general, though without his credentials. He stated that General Pepe had, on the 6th, ordered two legions to advance along the right bank of the Velino, towards Antrodoco, and another along the left; that the two roads not running parallel, the columns had been separated by a wide interval, as well as by the river: that on the morning of the 7th, without waiting for aid or until the rest of his troops could arrive, he had descended the mountains of Antrodoco, and attacked Rieti, where the Germans, who were prepared for defence, as soon as they perceived his hesitation, and the slow advance of the attacking party, sallied from the city in three columns, and charging the front of our line with one, our flank with another, had kept their third in reserve, ready for any emergency. Our troops, composed of young men, wavered,[1] our first column gave way, the second refused to advance, and both lines were thrown into disorder. A superb regiment of Hungarian cavalry then approached us at first slowly, then at a quick trot, and finally at a gallop; as our militia perceived this gradually increasing danger, unaccustomed as they were to war, they were seized with a panic and fled, dragging along with them by their impetus and example, several companies of veteran soldiers; all order was now at an end, sounds of treachery, and the words, "sauve qui peut," were heard on all sides, and the field was cleared. General Giovanni Russo vainly endeavoured to rally the fugitives, and advanced with his little troop to the encounter of the enemy, but after a short conflict was forced to retire. The confusion continued throughout the night. Antro-

[1] Our young bands resisted valiantly for six hours against an experienced and well commanded enemy, whose cavalry was several times driven back.—*Memoirs of General Pepe*, vol. iii. p. 171.

doco was abandoned; General Pepe had followed the fugitives, and the messenger who related the affair, believed the Abruzzi lost: Such was his story.[1] But soon afterwards it was repeated from mouth to mouth, that the general himself, from want of skill in military matters, terrified at this unexpected turn of events, had also fled, that he had passed rapidly through Aquila, Popoli, and Salmone, and that neither the necessity to take food nor repose could stay his onward course, driven forward by the stings of remorse and by the recollection of the 6th July.[2]

He reached Naples before any of the other fugitives, and demanded and obtained (such was his assurance and such the weakness of the regent) leave to re-form and resume the command of the second corps d'armée; but public affairs always becoming worse, he concealed himself, and finally took his passport for America, embarked, and left the country.[3] The column that was to have attacked Rieti by the left bank of the Velino, perceiving the disasters which had befallen the right, fled to the mountains; the two legions at Ascoli and Tagliacozzo, ignorant that the war had even commenced, remained in their camps; but after three days they learned by public report what had happened, and made a hasty retreat; and upon hearing of this disastrous affair, and seeing the traces of their comrades' flight, these soldiers likewise fled

[1] Major Cianciulli said to me that not one word Colletta makes him relate was true.—*Memoirs of General Pepe*, vol. iii. p. 171.

[2] General Pepe reached Aquila on the 8th March, and gave instructions to Major Albini, who commanded a battalion of militia there, as well as to another officer of militia, Colonel Valiante, and wrote letters from that town. After placing a garrison in the castle of Aquila, and after the 10th, he advanced to Popoli. Finding it impossible to hold the Abruzzi with so small a force as he had then remaining, he gave orders for a retreat, passed the night at Salmone, and reached Isernia on the 13th March. From thence he wrote to the regent to ask permission to return to Naples, and confer with him on matters touching the war; . . . upon this Carrascosa sent him the king's regiment of infantry, but too late to be of any use.—*Memoirs of General Pepe*, vol. iii. pp. 173-181.

[3] Pepe reached Naples on the 15th March; on the 16th, he received a visit from Arcovito, president of the Parliament, and immediately afterwards from General Colletta, who expressed his sympathy for his misfortunes, promised to support his projects, and went with him to the regent. Colletta transcribed the decree signed by the regent, relative to the corps Pepe was charged to organize, but they had just received intelligence of the Piedmontese revolution, of which Pepe was not aware.—*Memoirs of General Pepe*, vol. iii. pp. 113-120.

in fear. After the general's departure there was none left to command, and all fell into disorder; each thought the enemy was at his heels, and each hoped as they proceeded to find aid or receive instructions how to act. Thus the whole army was in flight, and the Abruzzi abandoned without defenders.

It was a melancholy sight to behold arms and standards scattered about, and guns overturned and broken, because a hindrance in flight. The embankments, trenches, and works which had cost so much thought and labour, destroyed or abandoned, everything disarranged, and the army which had so lately been a terror to the enemy, now their laughing-stock. The Germans suspecting ambuscades from this sudden flight, kept a strict watch in their camp; reassured, however, by the solitary state of the frontier, they advanced on the 10th to Antrodoco; but although they found the city depopulated, and the batteries and cannon abandoned or overturned, they proceeded slowly, and did not reach the heights of Aquila before the 14th. The gates of the fortress there were open, and the place deserted, while the country people around sent deputations with gifts to the conquerors, who took possession of the city.

Such was the state of the Abruzzi, when the regent, informed of the disasters of Rieti, called a council on the morning of the 10th at Torricella, the quarters-general of the first corps, in order that the decisions of those assembled should be at once executed.[1] The Prince Royal Don Leopold, General Carrascosa, commander-in-chief of the first corps d'armée, and chief of the staff, General Duke d'Ascoli, and General Fardella, were in attendance; the minister of war, who had been sent to communicate the important affair of the Abruzzi to the Parliament, was not present, but as his advice was asked, he gave it in these words:—"I would leave three battalions of veteran soldiers and six of the new levies to guard the defiles of Itri; I would strengthen the camp at Mignano with eight battalions of regular troops and ten of militia;

[1] The regent had turned a deaf ear to the reiterated demands of Pepe for arms, ammunition, clothes, and money, but, the very day of the disaster at Rieti, promised immediately to send two thousand pikes, and sent to purchase muskets at Corfu and Malta: but his agents returned without them, having been refused by the English governor.—*Vita de Guglielmo Pepe*, per Francesca Carrano, p. 112.

I would send the remainder of the first corps, of nearly twenty battalions of soldiers of the line, and at least ten of militia into the Abruzzi, by the road leading to Solmona and Roveto; this movement would help to collect many of the scattered troops of the second corps, would re-assure the doubtful, and would revive the courage of those who have been intimidated. With so large an army, General Carrascosa might regain the posts abandoned by General Pepe, which I do not yet believe occupied by the enemy, since he had no intention of attacking us, and was himself taken by surprise, and must therefore be uncertain as to our condition. We could thus reach Aquila before the arrival of the Germans, drive them from the frontiers, and give time to reanimate the spirits of the people, on whom we must chiefly rely for carrying on the war. I pledge myself in due time to provide food, clothing, money, means of transport, and everything else required, that nothing may be wanting for the success of the proposed movement. Hours are always precious in war, but now minutes are of importance."

This despatch was read to the regent and the generals in council at Capua, before they proceeded to Torricella, where Carrascosa was stationed, and it was approved of and applauded by all present. When discussed at Torricella, however, Carrascosa voted against it, as he feared the flight of one corps might serve as an example for the other, and reverted to his first idea, that the enemy would aim at the Liri. He argued that if that part of the frontier were left unprotected, the metropolis would be endangered, and as he believed the loss of the Abruzzi to be irreparable, he proposed to withdraw the army behind the Volturno, which was the second line laid down in the plan of campaign. The regent and the other members of council, who had shortly before agreed with the minister of war, now with despicable weakness consented to the views of the general, and to the withdrawal of the first corps d'armée; orders to this effect were that day given, which were executed on the following. The works at Itri were accordingly abandoned, Gaeta was prepared to stand a siege, the bridge of the Garigliano demolished, and the fortifications destroyed, while the camps at Mignano and Capua were burnt, along with the guns, carriages, and everything which might impede a precipitate flight.

Meantime the Parliament having learnt the disasters of the

Abruzzi, and their hopes of liberty disappearing, decreed an address to the king, couched in abject and submissive terms, and in the first lines of which they endeavoured to exonerate themselves from any concern in the acts of the Revolution. This alteration of tone is too common with assemblies of the kind, which are bold when safe, but timid in danger, useful to advise a government in times of peace, but incapable of ruling the State amidst tempests. This address, and a letter from the regent to the king, exhorting him to consider the welfare of the kingdom, were conveyed to Ferdinand by General Fardella, who was deputed to carry the message and to plead for Naples. The regent hesitated between future and present dangers, for he feared the vengeance of his father and the allied sovereigns, as well as the desperation of the Carbonari. But the Carbonari themselves were more alarmed than any, and while some hid themselves, others prepared a place of concealment; all, except the leaders, who having long been in the service of the police and the regent, now redoubled their exertions, obeying and forestalling the wishes of the king and his son, and betraying or still further involving their deluded comrades. In the camp, the generals mistrusted the soldiers, and the soldiers the generals, and both perceiving the impossibility either of conquering or of obtaining terms of peace, suspected real virtue, while excusing crime; in the midst of this abject behaviour on the part of the principal actors, wisdom forsook the Government, which neither led nor ruled the State, and the fate of the nation lay in the hands of the enemy.

The camp had long been diminished by the desertion of the soldiers, and crime had increased with disorder. The regiments of Dauni and Hirpini, the leaders in the revolution of the 6th July, were the first now to disperse; their example was followed by those who had been called upon to serve a second time, and by the rest of the soldiers. Several companies of the guards occupied the entrenchments of Montecasino; the commander of the garrison observing the approach of the enemy, was preparing for defence, when his troops mutinied, and threatened his life, obliging him to fly, while they delivered up the fort to the enemy. The guards had already declared their resolution not to oppose the enemy, as he was the ally of their sovereign; and when General

Selvaggi, as if proud of their conduct, with the utmost effrontery announced this guilty deed to the other generals, they kept it secret; either hoping to persuade the guards to change this shameful resolution, or that they feared the force of bad example with the encouragement it would give the enemy, or that (at least the world suspected as much) they dared not face the perils they would have brought on themselves by its avowal, and the punishments which must have followed. For the same criminal reasons, the deserters were pardoned by the generals and by the civic magistrates, who thus made a base barter of crime and infamy for their own future safety. The consequence of their conduct was, that the soldiers, no longer either under the restraint of duty or fear, committed great excesses, attacked their comrades, who were still faithful to their standards, menaced those officers who hindered their desertion, and killed several of them, wounded many more, and fired at their generals and at their commander-in-chief, Carrascosa.

But great as was the destruction of the army, it was not entire: for a part being yet on the right bank of the Volturno, the river was an obstacle to the flight of many. A great number arrived in Capua, and there, crossing the stream, but finding the gates closed, those who were discontented began to reproach their commanders, and refusing to obey them, were on the point of breaking out into open mutiny. The generals thinking it would be wisest to separate those who were only disaffected from the mutineers, commanded that all desirous to depart should leave, after being disarmed, and they then threw the gates open. Those who remained were exposed to fresh troubles and danger, while those who departed were suffered to go unpunished and unmolested; it was therefore only natural that the majority should take advantage of this offer. At first only a few, who were most daring, left, then more, and at length all; the example and the disgrace became so common that the shame was lessened, and restraint at an end. Had the generals rather (after the example of the best days of Rome) raised an altar in the midst of the camp, and had the leader, with the standard unfurled, called on the faithful to join him, generals, colonels, and officers of all grades, would undoubtedly have hastened to obey, and would thus

have inspired the soldiers, and spread the example of honour: But they wanted even the virtue prompted by despair, and where it was shown, the instances proved too rare to sustain the falling Government, or retard its ruin, and only led afterwards to severe punishments, imprisonment, exile, and death. Only a few officers remained true to their banner, who were confounded at this desertion; for the instantaneous dissolution of the whole army, appeared less the work of man, than a catastrophe of nature; it was so vast and so irreparable. The defences which had been prepared, the lines of operation, the proposed withdrawal of the Government from the metropolis, and every other great scheme for the maintenance of our liberty, had vanished with the army; to prostrate the nation at the feet of the enemy, to recommend it to the mercy of the king, and to save themselves, was all that was thought of, either by the public at large, or by private individuals. The enemy was meantime advancing. The king (the history of whose conduct was unfolding itself in an alarming manner) maintained a hollow silence, and it was said he had been absolved from his oath by the benediction of the Pope; these news were still further confirmed, when we were informed that he had hung up in the church of the Madonna dell' Annunziata at Florence, a very rich lamp of silver and gold, as a votive or sin-offering for his perjury, bearing the inscription: *Mariæ Genitrici Dei Ferd. I. Utr. Sic. rex Don. d. d. anno* 1821, *ob pristinum imperii decus, ope ejus prestantissima recuperatum.* It was also related as a fact, that in the midst of all the public misery, he was bringing with him some enormous bears from Laybach, the gift of the Emperor of Russia, to improve the breed (as he said) of the bears which inhabited the forests of the Abruzzi. The return of the Prince of Canosa was announced, as well as that of other men of infamous character, who had been disgraced by the atrocities perpetrated in 1799, and who now wore the new cockade of the Bourbons, with the motto, "Long may the absolute rule of King Ferdinand I. continue." Such was the miserable state of Naples, when news arrived on the 17th March of the revolution in Piedmont.[1] The police and the regent were alone

[1] Victor Emanuel, King of Sardinia, had promised the Piedmontese a new code of laws, to be published in the spring of 1821. His subjects, however, accused him

acquainted with this event, but carefully concealed it until the 21st, when the fortresses were in the possession of the Germans, and the city occupied by them, as had been agreed to when the Parliament was dissolved and the army dispersed. That glorious success in Piedmont, which, had it occurred a few weeks sooner, might have been the salvation of the kingdom, became a source of regret, when it was remembered how vast a force had been wasted on the attack of Rieti, and that had the enemy been alarmed by fresh apprehensions for Piedmont and Italy, in the midst of his present hesitation concerning the war with Naples, how grateful proposals of peace would have sounded in his ears, and the rage of the king might have been restrained. Those who entertained wild notions of liberty, indeed, might have recovered their courage, and been roused to return to their former audacity, but they might also have been overawed by the firmness of the ministers, or the urgency of the case; it pleased Heaven, however, so to dispose events, that the hopes of our kingdom, and of many kingdoms, should be ruined by weak counsels, by the errors of a few short hours, and by accidents of fortune.

Meantime the news of the Piedmontese revolution, although it only reached King Ferdinand and General Frimont after that of the action at Rieti, excited in them so much apprehension, that they redoubled their threats and treachery, eager to accelerate the termination of the affair of Naples. The king ordered Admiral Correale, who commanded a man-of-war and other vessels in the Adriatic, to place himself under the command of Paolucci, the captain of an Austrian frigate, and without shame at this humiliation, he consented to obey an enemy and inferior officer. The advanced guard of the Germans demanded of the Neapolitan Government the cession of the fortress of Capua, as well as of the

of delay, and some demanded the French, and others the Spanish Constitution: others again aimed at a kingdom of Italy, or at least that Lombardy should be joined to Piedmont A revolution was attempted under the conduct of Count Annibale di Santa Rosa, and in which Carlo Alberto, the Prince of Carignano, and heir-presumptive to the throne, was supposed to have been implicated. King Victor Emanuel resigned the Crown, and was succeeded by his brother, Carlo Felice, and with the assistance of Austrian and Russian troops, dispersed the Constitutionalists, or terrified them into submission, and Carlo Felice assumed the title of king. —See *Gualterio Rivolgimenti d'Italia.*

other fortresses of the kingdom, and the forts of the capital; all were basely surrendered, in the hope of earning favour by obedience and submission. It was agreed that the German army was to occupy the city on the 23d March.

Two battalions of the guards, with the garrison of the fortress of Capua which had been surrendered, returned on the 21st to Naples, and marched at mid-day along the Strada di Toledo, proud of their treachery, and uttering loud cheers for the king, while displaying their contempt of the Carbonari; in proof of which they tore the tri-coloured ribbon from their standard, which they had received as a gift from the royal princesses, and trampled it under foot: two other battalions waited ready to enter the city on the 23d, in advance of the enemy, and to celebrate his triumph. The first was quartered in Castelnuovo, but hardly had they entered, before a trifling dispute occurring between a soldier and a fisherman, they closed the gates, and ranging themselves behind the parapets, began firing promiscuously on the people; a man, a child, and two women were killed, and five more persons of either sex, and of various ages, were wounded. A serjeant of the civic guard, who unfortunately happened to be in the castle on duty, was attacked by this mutinous soldiery and stabbed in a hundred places. Their frenzy was not stopped by all this slaughter, and the excitement became great within the city where the danger of popular disturbances was imminent, and was only prevented by the civic guard, who nevertheless had been specially aimed at in this attack; but who always prove themselves worthy of praise, because alone indefatigable in duty, and without a stain on their loyalty. The royal guards escaped the punishment due to their crimes, because the Constitutional Government had no time to institute a trial, and they received praise and recompense under the absolute government of Ferdinand, who always rewarded those crimes which proved useful to himself, or were in harmony with his wishes.

Disastrous as was the present moment, worse was in store. The chief authors of the revolution of the 6th July, the timid and the cautious, took their passports for America or Spain, and left the country; others hid themselves, and the regent helped all by his advice and by gifts. Time will, ere long, prove whether he was the most amiable or the most politic of princes.

The ministers were dismissed, and the king, by a decree, dated Florence, chose others in their place. The Parliament hesitated how to act, and sometimes assembled in small numbers, and then again dispersed, until the halls, which had so lately been crowded, were wholly deserted. The Deputy Poerio, whose zeal only increased at the sight of the general ruin, collected a few deputies, not above twenty-six, and, on the 19th, he moved, and persuaded this shadow of a Parliament to pass, a resolution, which I here copy, word for word, as a record to his honour in future ages:—

"After the publication of the social compact of the 7th July 1820, in virtue of which his Majesty was pleased to consent to the existing Constitution, the king, through his august son, convoked the electoral colleges. Nominated by them, we received our writs according to the form prescribed by the same monarch. We have exercised our functions conformably with our powers, and with the oaths tendered by the king and by ourselves. But the presence of a foreign army in the kingdom obliges us to suspend our functions, and principally, because, according to the information received from his royal highness, the late disasters which have befallen our army renders the removal of the Parliament impossible, as in any other place, being without the concurrence of the executive power, it could not work constitutionally. While announcing this unhappy circumstance, we protest against the violation of the nation's rights; we wish to preserve these rights and those of the king unimpaired; we invoke the wisdom of his royal highness and of his august father, and we commit the cause of the throne and of our national independence into the hands of God, who rules the destinies of kings and of the people."

After this protest, the parliamentary documents were conveyed into a place of safety, the deputies divided, and the hall was closed. Thus was a great act of violence in the political history of modern nations accomplished by the sovereigns of Europe, against a weak and inexperienced people. Other nations likewise had to succumb, and the haughty spirit of monarchy triumphed; but the time will yet arrive (as uncurbed power is sure to overstep the boundaries of prudence) when these same potentates will tyrannize over less powerful kings, whose unworthy triumph will be converted into well merited lamentations, until the spurious power assumed by

the present reigning houses leads to their own destruction, and the true governing force of society, the political liberty of the people, be allowed its free development. Great will be the reward of my labours, if I can persuade mankind of the impotence alike of revolutions and tyrannies in these days, and that the only change likely to be permanent is the establishment of political liberty, towards the completion of which the people, as well as kings, ought to turn every action and every desire.

On the 23d of March 1821, the German army entered the city, took possession of the forts, encamped in the squares, and placed guards there, as if they had been in the midst of enemies. There was no demonstration of public rejoicings, either as a form, or by the populace; nor was there any appearance of sorrow, as those who mourned over the present state of things feared to show their regret, or because every other feeling was absorbed in that of wonder.[1]

[1] It has been said, "that the original and necessary fiction of the indivisible unity of States, has practically developed itself into a system of mutual insurance among kings," and this was never better illustrated than in the present instance, when Naples, at a moment of extreme weakness, had to contend against the combined powers of Europe, and yielded, as might have been foretold, almost without a struggle. The juxtaposition of Naples against Europe is thus described by Carrano in his *Life of General William Pepe:* —"An army composed of Muratists and Bourbonists, discipline weakened by the infusion of political parties, the best battalions in Sicily, and the generals of the two corps d'armée at variance, the chiefs of the Carbonari more influential with the soldiers and militia than their own officers, Carrascosa disliked by the Carbonari, the best generals with Carrascosa, and inclined to come to terms with the king; General Pepe inferior as a general, yet placed at the head of an army, because his boldness and sincerity had gained the confidence of the people; the regent deaf to his entreaties for aid when most needed, yet promising aid when too late, and the militia consisting of raw troops, exposed without cloaks or shoes to the snows of the Abruzzi, in the heart of winter; opposed to them General Frimont, with an immense army of forty-nine battalions and forty squadrons, in excellent discipline, formed in five divisions; a large garrison in Ancona, protected by the fleet coasting along the Adriatic; the army advancing by land welcomed in Romagna and Tuscany by weak princes, and unopposed by the people of these States, while having a strong reserve in Bologna, with the armies of Russia and Prussia in their rear."—*Vita di Guglielmo Pepe*, per Francesco Carrano, pp. 105, 106.

BOOK X.

REIGN OF FERDINAND I.

1821—1825.

CHAPTER I.

STATE OF THE KINGDOM AFTER THE FALL OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT.

The Constitutional Government being at an end, and the general consternation which at first prevailed having subsided, men began to comprehend the causes of this portentous ruin. The first was, the ease with which the revolution had been effected, so that new men had not time to rise into notice, and the conduct of the State, therefore, had been confided to men who had earned their title to distinction under a former government. These men were all Muratists, useful in governing the people, but whose habits and opinions were either opposed to, or far from approaching the extent of freedom conferred, by the Constitution of the Cortes. Had they themselves been the authors of the revolution, it would have found a support in the experience and wisdom of a number of gallant men, who would have proclaimed any constitution rather than that of Spain, and who would have left more power to the monarchy, and placed the people under greater restraint. The statute would have thus been framed more in conformity with that of the present political state of Europe; terms of peace would have been less difficult to obtain, and war more honourable, although defeat might, perhaps, have been more disastrous. The powers of Europe, indeed, would have been reluctant to witness the revival and success of a faction they had struggled against for twenty years; but forced to a disagreeable alternative, they would have appreciated the difference between the monarchical and almost despotic character of the

Napoleonic period, with the ultra-liberal, dangerous, and total change aimed at by the Carbonari; to which must be added their turbulent and inconsiderate choice of the statute of Spain, defective from its intrinsic errors, and impossible to introduce into both kingdoms, while Sicily was averse to it, the king hostile, and with a corrupt and fickle people, unprepared for so much freedom.

Another cause was the increase of the Carbonari. That society, after gaining their end, should have dispersed, or while changing their vows and rites, have restricted their numbers and remained concealed; but they spread more widely, and throwing off all disguise, gave the crafty agents of power facilities to know, and afterwards to rule, their actions, and thus to betray them. Secret societies which spring from a desire for liberty, and are in themselves a kind of freedom, so long as they are intended to oppose existing governments, become the instruments of servitude as soon as they are used in their support.

A further cause of defeat was the frauds practised by the king and regent, and by the whole royal family; for nothing could appear more like sincerity than the duplicity of these princes; a dissimulation begun from fear, and continued from policy.

Another was the state of Europe: the Holy Alliance, and with it the necessary adhesion of France, and the selfish acquiescence of England. If the world had not been thus circumstanced, the revolution of Naples, by gradual reforms, would have succeeded; it would have corrected its own errors, and modified the excess of power on one side, while increasing the power on the other; for it contained within itself two strong elements of success and permanence—the universal dislike of the past government, and the universal desire for change.

Such were the causes which plunged the State into ruin, with a few of less importance, which, without these primary causes, would have had no influence, or would have soon subsided. Among them were the fiery and headstrong character of General William Pepe, the double dealings of the Deputy Borrelli, and the mistakes of General Carrascosa, the frequent acts of license on the part of the people, the vacillation and weakness of the ministers, and the cowardice of the Parliament. Possibly without these agencies, which I have called secondary, the State might have fallen, but

it would have fallen less rapidly and more honourably, leaving some hope to Italy, in place of shame and humiliation. The warm advocates of revolution contrasted this doom of hopeless ruin with deeds recorded in ancient history, and with the prodigies of modern Greece, forgetting that the virtues of a barbarous nation are incompatible with an age of civilisation, and that in our wars the armies and people were not situated like those of Saguntum and Alessium, Scio and Missolonghi, where the people were goaded on by extremity to deeds of ferocity and horror, however prolific of that valour which is the offspring of despair.

The verdict of the people on the fall of the Government was still less charitable, as they attributed it to nothing less than treachery, and believed themselves betrayed by the generals and the Parliament, laying no blame on the king, and little on the viceroy. Numerous meetings were held, composed of the lowest and most perfidious of the members of secret societies, of soldiers disgraced by flight, of cowardly liberals and reformers, timid deputies, and base or servile officials, where the cry of treason was repeated, in order to conceal the turpitude of their own crimes. Thus no name, however distinguished for virtue and services, was safe: calumnies such as these will continue to be repeated by malicious persons and the vulgar, and to be believed in by all who place confidence in their assertions, until speech is free, and the historian shall unfold the true cause of true events.

After the sources of this calamity had been discovered or suspected, men began to inquire into the extent of the ruin which had befallen them. During the nine months the Constitutional Government had lasted, the schemes of the ministers, the talent displayed in parliament, the wisdom of the council of state, with all the real merits of those in power, had passed unobserved, lost in the noise and anxieties of internal discord and war. But in the lull which succeeded the restoration of tyranny, lamentations arose for those good laws which had been annulled almost as soon as made, and for that national felicity, which had hardly been understood before it was destroyed.

Not to interrupt the thread of my narrative, I have hitherto abstained from mentioning those laws which attracted no notice at the time they were enacted, and I have thus postponed all ac-

count of them until I had reached that period when they were first comprehended only to be regretted.

The ministers and the Parliament had pledged themselves to remodel and reform the institutions of the State. The Duke di Campochiaro, who was minister of foreign affairs, showed skill in the management of foreign courts, but skill was unavailing where all the material force was on the other side: he could obtain nothing, and therefore resigned office. He was succeeded by the Duke del Gallo, who was a wise and faithful adviser, but equally unsuccessful. In the great questions of State which arose, whether when he was accompanying the king to Laybach, or in his reports to Parliament, or when consulted by the ministers, he always spoke in favour of the most liberal and bold measures. He was, however, the victim of calumny, that blind and rabid monster, the offspring of the mob, and the plague-spot of Italy.

Count Ricciardi, the minister of Justice, had already distinguished himself during the reigns of Joseph and Joachim. The codes in general required no reform, and it was hoped that a more tranquil time would arrive in which to discuss each separate law; he meantime endeavoured to provide for the present wants of justice. Aware that the Carbonari were an obstacle in his path, he twice proposed the suppression of the society, but in vain, for the timidity of the princes, the fears and partialities of the members of Parliament, and the number and power of the Carbonari, were all opposed to this measure. He next proposed the recomposition of the magistrates, as some among them were unfit to act under a new order of things, since they were either wedded to the past, or too advanced in years, or had been selected by favour, without merit, at the time when the Bourbons first returned to Naples. Having proved the necessity for reforms, he showed that no injustice would be committed, as the magistrates had always been removable at the king's pleasure, which had hitherto been a defect in the law, but which might now be turned to advantage. He therefore proposed to reform that part of the Constitution which gave the Council of State the power of appointing the magistrates, and suggested that this power should be conferred on the ministers, leaving the council the alternative of choice. Although what he proposed was for his own advantage, the just reasons he

alleged, his honesty of purpose, with his well-known rectitude and probity, silenced all suspicion and envy. Subsequently, in the appointment of the new magistrates, or in the promotion of those already appointed, he showed himself fair and liberal, and as correct in his judgment, as could be expected from man. His proposal to institute juries is still more to the honour of this minister; the measure, having been the long-cherished hope of our fathers as well as of ourselves. He did not forget any of the objections urged, both on general grounds, and as applying in particular to the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, but he proved their futility. He proposed that juries should only be used in criminal cases, reserving a more expeditious mode of trial for lesser offences, while providing that the delinquent should neither incur injury nor danger from this exception. His idea of juries was taken from the French and English laws, but he adhered most closely to the American. Above all, he desired that the law should favour the accused, a partiality which, if not strictly accordant with the rules of equity, is beneficial, because setting an example of charity towards our fellow-men, and more conducive to morals than inflexible justice. The Magistrate Troyse succeeded Count Ricciardi as minister, and although an old man, and one who had long served under a despotic monarchy, he trod in the free steps of his predecessor, and even went beyond him; thus proving that, in early life, he had unwillingly acquiesced in the errors of an absolute government.

The minister of the interior laboured to reconcile the administrative institutions of the past with those belonging to the new statute. Two great obstacles stood in his way; public opinion and his own private wishes; for the public accused the minister of attachment to the practices of absolutism, while he believed the leaders of the revolution favoured too great an extension of municipal freedom. The accusation on both sides was well founded; and the character of Count Zurlo, trained in the sophisms of the law tribunals, in ministerial prevarications, and, under despotic rule, increased the want of confidence, and the discontent; the more so, as his department in the Cabinet was the field of controversy and intrigue. To him succeeded the Marquis Auletta, who, conscious of his own inability and unwilling to act, was glad to retire, and

was followed by the Chevalier de Thomasis, who had both knowledge and capacity, but owing to the short period in which he held office, to his attention being occupied by the cares of war, and to the State being near its fall, he effected nothing worthy of record.

The treasury was well supplied in 1820; but after the revolution of that year, some of the taxes were abolished, the *rentes nationales* were diminished, want increased, credit was destroyed, and the coffers of the exchequer were emptied. Loans were asked, and would have been obtained, from houses in London and Paris, had not the minister of finance put an end to the transactions, because he considered the conditions too hard. This minister was the Chevalier Macedonio, who had, at all times, been attached to his country and the Government, and thoroughly understood the theories of political economy; but he was guided by maxims which often fail in peaceful times, but still more frequently in periods of revolution and war. Macedonio was succeeded by the Duke di Carignano, ignorant of the science of finance, an enemy to a free State, and who only cared for his private interests. When the necessity and danger increased, and a foreign loan became impossible, he had recourse to a loan within the country, but under conditions which pressed hard upon the exchequer, and still harder upon the creditors, who received bills which could not circulate, because they represented credit instead of cash, since, in such desperate times, there was only a distant hope of payment. The loan became a forced tax, a source of vexation, and furnishing material for police interference, while, at the same time, it was made an instrument of their power.

Another evil arose from the National Bank stopping payment; for in the increased embarrassments of the exchequer, with the former spoliation still in the recollection of the people, and an incapable minister, in whom they could place no reliance, the depositors hastened in crowds to withdraw their money, and discovered a deficit of five hundred thousand ducats, which had long existed, though kept secret. The funds likewise fell, not from want of good faith in the Government, nor unwise laws, but from the distressed state of the finances, the want of confidence in the minister, and the instability of the new Government.

I have already described the measures for the army and for

the war, because, unlike other measures of the Government, they did not at the time escape public notice. But I must now refer to such of the military regulations as were permanent. The regular army was to consist of thirty thousand men in times of peace, and of fifty-two thousand in war. The militia of a hundred and forty thousand troops, divided under the heads of civic guards, soldiers, and legionaries; the first were to defend the cities, the second, the provinces, the last, the kingdom. The proportion of infantry, cavalry, sappers, and artillery were to be the same as in every well-appointed army, and adapted to the political condition of the Two Sicilies. The regiment of guards was to be maintained, but none to be admitted into it but as a reward for service, and it was never again to be employed as an instrument of despotism, or to endanger liberty; for the desire for distinction, whatever some may say, is a necessary ingredient in the character of the soldier, and, as it has its origin in equality, is in accordance with the genius of the age. The soldiers of the time were to be raised by conscription, the militia to be drawn by lot, and their service regulated according to circumstances; as the old laws were still in use, the minister of war proposed a wise statute, founded upon them, but this proposal did not meet the approbation of General William Pepe, who insisted on the provisional Junta adopting another and inferior statute. The Parliament would have corrected these errors, if the urgency of the war had allowed the delay necessary to complete reforms. Arms, clothing, ammunition, barracks, and hospitals were got ready. There was a deficiency in muskets, and, during the existing league of European governments, it was impossible to procure them by purchase; therefore the home manufactures were encouraged and increased; they supplied as many as were at first needed, and would, in a short time, have furnished an abundant supply. All the fortresses were restored and strengthened; and new forts were raised on the frontiers and in the interior, too many for a war conducted on scientific principles, but hardly sufficient for a war to be carried on by the people.

New laws regulated the military schools, the promotions, and rewards for service or wounds, as well as the pensions for veterans and invalids; ministers and princes could no longer exercise

favouritism, and every act deserving praise, and every service, had its reward.

All this was the fruit of the labours of three successive ministers; but the greatest merit is due to Carrascosa, for almost all was effected in his time. A law to provide for the widows and orphans of soldiers, and another for the quartering of the troops was the work of Parisi; Colletta did not propose any new law, but carried out those already in existence, and provided for the wants of the army, and for the war in a time of distress. He hoped by his regulations to restore discipline, but he was not allowed time to bring his ideas to maturity.

The Chevalier de Thomasis was minister of marine; an accomplished statesman, and acquainted with the theories of law and philosophy, but ignorant of military matters; his talents, however, helped him to attain, in an incredibly short time, that which, with others, is often the result of long experience. He laid before Parliament his ideas respecting the benefit which would accrue to the State, by an increase of ships of war and commerce; he explained to the House the actual condition of the navy, and proposed reforms and improvements with a saving of expense. Thus, while his general character had already gained him the general esteem, naval men, especially, spoke in high terms of his judgment, in matters which immediately concerned their profession.

The department of marine was afterwards united to that of war, and when the army was preparing for defence, a considerable fleet was fitted out and sent to cruise at sea, to the astonishment of all, who wondered at the rapid performance of the work with such scanty means. In the laws just described, the merit due to the Parliament was shared by the ministers, but in those honourable labours which I am now about to describe, that body acted alone. The law of primogeniture still continued in the Two Sicilies; it had not been abolished in Naples by the French kings, who voluntarily or from necessity imitated the Emperor Napoleon; nor by the Bourbon king, who retained all the old laws in support of absolute monarchy; and although it had been abolished in Sicily by the Constitution of 1812, it had been immediately afterwards restored by a decree of that Parliament; so that the ill weed was in full vigour in the united kingdom. It was, however, suppressed by the law of 1821,

and entails broken. The Deputy Arcovito brought in the measure for this beneficial law.

By other laws proposed by the Deputy Natale, the feudal system was abolished in Sicily; for neither the example of more enlightened nations, nor the wisdom gained by experience, nor the conduct of the nobles, nor even the political constitution of the year 1812, nor similar decrees in 1816 and 1817, had been able to abolish it until 1821. That system which had so often ceased to exist in name, but never in reality, was finally eradicated by the new laws, the same which under the kings Joseph and Joachim had wholly put an end to that barbarous institution in Naples. Time was wanting for this second experiment, for the constitutional government was soon afterwards itself destroyed, and feudalism returned to its primitive condition in Sicily. I am also of opinion, that the means which were efficacious in Naples, were not forcible enough in the island; where feudalism is more powerful, and where the feudal lords are more revered, the people less convinced of the utility of reform, and the Government with neither the youthful vigour which followed the conquest of Naples, nor the imposing aspect and material force of a foreign power. But whatever may have been the success of these laws, they were, at least, well-intentioned.

A third law of the Parliament regulated the administration of the communes and provinces. The extreme severity of the French laws, which we had adopted under the Decennium, and which had been continued during the succeeding reign of the Bourbon, had produced an idea among the people, that liberty depended on their abolition; the new law, therefore, bore the impress of the general feeling, and to avoid all interference of the Government, their administration was confided to the municipal officers. This was a serious error in an age when morals were far from pure, and in a country where there is not a city or town which has not its great man; a position not earned by real merit (which would exercise a useful influence), but by habit or force. The king objected to the law, but as the Government was inclined to increase the liberty of the people, and the Parliament to lay it under restraint, this law, like the rest (had circumstances not changed), would probably have been revised and converted into a wise and beneficial measure.

Though the finances were frequently examined into, only a few temporary ordinances were passed, and no law for their regulation. The circumstances of the times, the approaching war, and the fear of making any change in a part of the administration on which all the rest hung, and where an error, or inadvertence, or even a good law, if ill-timed, would produce serious evils, were reasons which ran counter to the proposal of an improved system of finance. It was therefore postponed until the following year, when the Parliament hoped to enjoy greater security, and when there would be less cause for public anxiety. Meantime they were preparing a diminution of the taxes, economy in the army, a separation of the provincial coffers from the exchequer, and it was resolved that the independent administrations of the funds belonging to public institutions, of which they had lately been deprived, should be restored; while the receipts and outlay of the public money was to be made known, by the publication of the accounts and balance.

The benefit which was expected to arise from these measures was never attained; and it soon became necessary to withdraw a million of ducats from the Bank of Discount, and to sell fifty thousand ducats of annuities upon the rents belonging to the State. The forced loan proved of little advantage, and the sale of the State property of none. Sicily owed almost half a year's taxes to the common treasury, and six hundred thousand ducats had to be paid to Prince Torlonia in Rome, for the loans in 1816, which had been borrowed for the expenses incurred at the Congress of Vienna. Besides these, the engagements entered into with barbarian powers were all fulfilled; so that upon a calculation of these sums, it will appear that nothing or but little, in this time of emergency, could have been expended by the Government upon the State: yet they continued to repair fortresses which had been abandoned from time immemorial, and to increase the store of arms, while conferring some advantages on the people by the diminution of the tax on salt, and by employment upon the fortifications, which brought them in fresh profits. During the period immediately following that of the Constitution, an account was given in of the state of the finances during the year 1821, when it was fabulously asserted that the poverty of the State, the debt which had increased from only eight hundred thousand ducats (which it had been under the

French kings) to five and a half millions, the increase of the taxes by one-third, as well as the distress and misery in private families, proceeded from the disturbances and the frauds committed during the late revolution; thus laying to its charge all the expenses incident to the Congresses of Laybach and Verona, the royal extravagance during these journeys, the gifts lavishly bestowed in return for the restoration of the kingdom, and the maintenance of German garrisons during four years, besides the constant outlay of money upon spies, upon the police, and upon prisoners of State and the prisons. When these iniquitous falsehoods are exposed, they will only disgrace their authors.

There yet remains to mention the efforts made by the Parliament to meet the exigencies of war, and to excite the zeal of the citizens; they rewarded valour, encouraged hope, and not only commended brave actions but good intentions. In this work, none were found so ingenious and so indefatigable both by word and deed as the Deputy Poerio; his virtues, while they increased his reputation, were unfortunate for himself, because fruitless at the time, leading afterwards to imprisonment, exile, to much suffering, and almost destitution.

In my account of the conduct of the ministers and of the Parliament (the two acting bodies in the State), the reader must bear in mind how many patriotic virtues they displayed among their numerous errors, and that a great and permanent good was springing up amidst these temporary evils. Therefore, after the fall of the Constitutional Government, all equally lamented the loss of liberty, and were alike sufferers in the tyranny which followed.

Even the bad found themselves victims of treachery, fraud, and persecution; indifference itself was not safe, and men learned to repent having done too little; while the recollection that their virtuous resolutions came too late, now deservedly added to the stings of conscience and to their misery.

CHAPTER II.

RESTORATION OF THE ABSOLUTE MONARCHY.

The certainty of an approaching although unknown calamity affected both the metropolis and the kingdom, where all were uneasy, and in consternation: there were none who were not aware that in the last nine months, either from cowardice, enthusiasm, or ambition, they had done or said something which implied their approbation of the late government; and none, who amidst so much civil discord, could hope that he had not a detractor or enemy; the king they had offended, was by his nature deaf to pity, and inclined for vengeance, and he was now roused to fury; he was supported by a powerful foreign army; morals were deteriorated, the age corrupt, and the danger and terror were general. The first flight of the most notorious Carbonari had been followed by others; and among those who remained, some were wandering over the kingdom, others concealed themselves, and others again appeared more openly than was consistent with prudence, eager to prove their innocence; but all inwardly trembled.

Meantime, the king at Florence, was consulting the Prince of Canosa with regard to the future conduct of his government. Canosa, as I have already mentioned, had been exiled in 1816, and had sought shelter in Tuscany; he met the king at Leghorn on his way to Laybach, and received no sign of royal favour, but when he met him again on his return, the king chose him minister for his kingdom, and agent of his tyranny. In the Congress of Laybach, the sovereigns, anxious to respect the oaths of King Ferdinand, and to maintain appearances, while expressing their disapprobation of the Revolution of 1820, declared that the king had been under compulsion, and, therefore, that his acts of that

time were invalid; they proposed to punish the leaders of Monteforte, but only a few of them, and none with death; they urged the guilty to fly, and assisted them in their flight, in order to avoid the obloquy of their condemnation; they remodelled the statute of 1820, and while passing strict laws for the future, they were lenient to the past, and buried the faults of subjects and rulers alike, in silence and clemency.

This mildness was displeasing to Canosa, who first excited the anger of the king, and then advised him to petition the sovereigns at the Congress to use greater severity. Several despatches were accordingly written in the form of petitions, which were sent to Laybach in the name of the king, but with the signature of his minister; they did not succeed, however, in changing the lenient disposition of the sovereigns; but after the conclusion of the affair at Rieti, and of the Piedmontese Revolution, when these potentates felt themselves secure, while exasperated against the people, and when again petitioned by the King of Naples, they consented to leave him at liberty to act as he pleased. Canosa rejoiced at thus being relieved from all restraints upon his tyranny, and laid down the following maxims by which the Government was to be guided:—

To punish every crime, and take vengeance for every offence committed during the long reign of Ferdinand; to draw up a list of the late delinquencies, of all committed during the five previous years, or during the ten years of the reigns of the French kings, or under the Constitution of Sicily, or during the Neapolitan republic, or at the time of the first rebellion in the year 1793; to punish with death, prison, and exile, all opposed to an absolute government; the form of a trial to be set aside, as too slow, and the punishments to be summarily executed, and left to the arbitrament of the judge; the treaty of Casalanza to be annulled, as well as all previous compacts, whether in the form of treaties or pardons; and to seize this opportunity to deliver the kingdom from the enemies of thrones.

Canosa was the more resolved on accomplishing his design by a fresh insurrection which broke out, confirming his assertion that the power of the monarch (by which he understood the tranquillity of the kingdom) could not be secured solely by lessons of afflic-

tion or disaster, still less by those of kindness and clemency, but only by death, or by disarming the rebels. When the disasters of Rieti were known, with the dispersion of the troops, and the approach of the German army, the Carbonari in Messina, strong in arms and wealth, and who were many and daring, hoped to be able by their own unassisted strength to defend the Constitution to which they had sworn; they were the more confident, as the garrisons of the city were their associates in the project as well as in the danger. The troops in that Vallo were commanded by General Rossaroll, a fanatic in the cause of liberty, of a sanguine disposition, and extreme in all he undertook. On the 25th March, the leaders of the Carbonari went to him, and obtained his promise to lend them the assistance they demanded, and they then concerted with him the plan of operations. Rossaroll was to lead the enterprise, as the Carbonari were willing to follow him as their chosen leader, and the soldiers to obey him as their commander; and as the greater number of the population and all the forces in the island were either Carbonari or soldiers, the affair appeared easy, success certain, and it was expected that the first movement would start a second, and more would follow; for to direct the march of revolution is like guiding a vessel amidst a tempest, when all hope must rest on the excellence of the ship, and of the pilot. After their plans had been discussed and settled, the conspirators passed the word in the night to the Carbonari of the city, and, excited either by ambition or hope, according to the peculiar temperament of each individual, all waited with impatience for daybreak, the hour fixed on to commence operations.

The day dawned, and disturbances began which, in a few hours, broke out into open rebellion; the royal standard was torn down, and the banners of the Carbonari raised in its stead; while the king's statues were overturned and broken to fragments. The lieutenant of the island, the Prince della Scaletta, had his life threatened, and was obliged to fly, the magistrates were terrified and hid themselves, and all the power was in the hands of Rossaroll.

Reminding the people by an edict of the words of the king's oath: "If I act contrary to my oath, or to any article contained therein, may I cease to be obeyed, and every act contrary to the

same shall be null and void;" he declared this revolt of the people and the soldiers lawful, and, after proclaiming his intentions and those of the Carbonari, he expressed his confidence that they would be supported by the Sicilians, blessed by God, and approved of by the world. He gave his orders, as a general, to all the garrisons in Sicily to meet at Messina, and he and the Carbonari sent messengers to the cities within the island, and to the neighbouring province of Calabria, urging them to rise in arms. But from want of foresight on his part, and from want of discipline in his followers, the necessary provision for the war, and for the guidance of the masses, had been neglected; the movement, therefore, though extensive, was a mere anarchy; but the affair was reported to the king in Florence with all the exaggerations of fame, at the very time when he was consulting with his minister as to the conduct of the future government.

The Sicilian cities, invited to rise, refused the aid demanded of them; some of the messengers were intercepted and thrown into prison; others, more prudent or less faithful, disobeyed their orders; the soldiers, either because not informed of the commands of Rossaroll, or from receiving counter orders from their own officers, did not stir. The excitement subsided; a great many of the citizens of Messina armed in self-defence, or to keep the peace; the rebels took alarm and immediately dispersed, each only thinking of his own safety, some flying, and others hiding themselves. After a short and precarious success, General Rossaroll was obliged to embark as a fugitive for Spain, where he engaged in the war there, but that failing, he fled to England after the fall of the Constitutional Government, and thence to Greece, not to seek an asylum or repose, but to fight again for the cause of freedom. On his arrival at Ægina he fell ill and died, leaving three sons destitute, and amidst the troubles of Greece, while yet too young to enter the army.

The king having decided on the course he meant to pursue, began his government through his ministers. He provided for his own security by disarming the citizens, punishing with death all bearing weapons of any description, disbanding the militia, and prohibiting any assembly of persons, even for the most lawful and commendable ends; such as the university, schools, and lyceums.

He next passed a law revoking all the laws of the hated period of the Constitution; the fears of his subjects in this instance proving his best allies in the recovery of his despotic power; for his commands were hardly needed for the destruction of the liberty they had acquired during the past nine months, as they voluntarily returned to that servitude to which they had been so long accustomed.

Generals Rossaroll and Pepe were condemned to death without trial, simply by a proclamation of the police; a large reward was promised for the arrest of the most noted of the revolutionary leaders at Monteforte. These condemnations or proscriptions reminded men of the most ferocious times of the past. Several juntas were formed, composed of the vehement partisans of absolutism, called Juntas of Scrutiny, because intended to scrutinize the lives of all the officials of State, and of the highest and most influential citizens. The judges and their verdicts struck all with terror.

Not a day passed without the bell of justice being heard, and the public being invited to solemn prayers; a signal, and a melancholy act of solemn devotion, used with us to denote that a sufferer is about to be led out to execution. Those accused of bearing arms, or who concealed any badge of a society, were tried by courts-martial. In the midst of these scenes the Prince of Canosa, minister of police, arrived in the city: he had resolved, before any edicts or reports could acquaint the people with his presence, to announce himself, and therefore ordered the revival of an atrocious exhibition long forgotten by the old, and unknown to the young, called the *Frusta* (the Scourge). At mid-day, in the populous Via di Toledo, a large detachment of German soldiers were seen, drawn up in military array; next to them stood the assistant of the executioner, who at intervals blew a trumpet, and a little behind him more Germans, and several officers of police, who surrounded a man naked from the waist upwards, his feet bare, his wrists tightly bound, and with all the badges of the Carbonari hung round his neck; he wore a tri-coloured cap, on which was inscribed in large letters "Carbonaro." This unhappy man was mounted on an ass, and followed by the executioner, who, at every blast of the trumpet, scourged his shoulders with a whip made of ropes and nails, until his flesh was stained with his blood, and his agony was

shown by his pallor, while his head sank upon his breast. The mob followed this procession in silent horror. Respectable citizens fled, or prudently concealed their pity and disgust. If any asked the meaning of the punishment, they were told the person flogged was a Carbonaro, a gentleman from the provinces (and a gentleman he appeared to be both in face and person), who after being scourged, was to suffer the penalty of the galleys for fifteen years; and this not by the sentence of a magistrate, but by the order of the Prince of Canosa, minister of police, who had just arrived in the city.

On the following two days, two more scourgings were witnessed, as terrible as the first, though the Austrian soldiers did not attend, either from horror or shame at the scene. No other took place in the metropolis; but the *Intendente* Guarini, at Salerno, desirous of imitating Canosa, caused a tailor to be scourged, who was reputed to be a Carbonaro and liberal, an old man, the father of a numerous family, and who in this instance had only been guilty of having failed in respect towards the *Intendente*, by remaining sitting at his work, when that magistrate was passing by in state, with an escort of bravoes and clients. The courts-martial were most severe in the province of Avellino and Puglia; but the police displayed most activity and were most tyrannical in the Basilicata; numerous crimes were perpetrated from the spirit of party, or to satisfy revenge, in Calabria; while in the Abruzzi, and the Terra di Lavoro, the German commanders, suspicious of the people, and surrounded by evil-disposed persons, imprisoned so many of the inhabitants, that it was necessary to devise a shorter form of procès, and to appoint a special magistrate to try them. Thus every province was afflicted in a different way.

Hitherto the sufferers, although noted Carbonari, were all of low origin, and obscure persons; but suddenly the circle of the persecuted was enlarged; for when Canosa perceived the state of the city, the dissensions of the citizens, and the cowardice and endurance of the people, he wrote to the king he could punish without risk, and received in answer, "Punish." Upon this he arrested General Colletta, General Pedrinelli, and the Deputy Borrelli, whose services of the past nine months were not sufficient to appease the deep-rooted hatred of the king. Soon afterwards

other Generals, Arcovito, Colonna, Costa, and Russo; besides the Deputies Poerio, Pepe, and Piccoletti, and the Councillors of State Buzzelli, Rossi, and Bruni, with magistrates, and men distinguished for their virtues and their acts, were thrown into prison. The police had the cunning industriously to spread a report that there were many more destined for punishment, mentioning them by name, that they might leave the country, as they desired their escape, rather than a trial by which they might have been acquitted. Not that iniquitous judges were wanting to condemn them, but they were afraid to incur the odium of such manifest injustice, while their victims could not escape punishment in the present league of the European police, as the fugitives were sure to undergo persecution wherever they might chance to be; and by voluntarily quitting the country they incurred the suspicion of conscious guilt and of crimes, and must thus have to endure the double penalty of exile and infamy. It was thus that General Carrascosa was forced into flight. But when this trick was discovered the emigration ceased; and, as it was impossible at once to punish by trial all who had been denounced, a list of names was made out, and the opportunity alone was wanting to complete their vengeance. It is possible that fame, always ready to traduce those in authority, may have exaggerated the numbers, but four thousand are said to have been noted down for destruction in this volume; and that pages were always added, by the labours of the Junta of Scrutiny. The military junta was the most bloodthirsty, where strict inquiry into the general conduct of the prisoner was substituted for direct inquiry into the question at issue; the President, General Sangro, interrogated them thus: "Have you at any time been a Carbonaro? Have you at any time deserted? Have you committed any other crime against the king and State?" These questions were the more unblushing in him, as he himself had been a Carbonaro in 1821, and had deserted, with his son, from the standard to which he had sworn. The indignation of the prisoner often overcame his prudence, and made him answer in a way which confounded and shamed his interrogator. The judges, and their assistant juntas, therefore, changed their mode of trial, and carried it on by secret inquiry, which left them more at liberty to put vexatious questions to the prisoner.

Spies and informers multiplied, and this infamous office, because securing the protection of the Government and emoluments, was sought after in an age of danger and depravity. One of these wretches, on leaving a church crowded with people, was stabbed in the side by an unknown hand; at the approach of death he confessed what persons were lying in prison under false accusation; he died, but without any benefit to those he had declared innocent. Another spy (a certain Avitaja) when conferring as usual with the minister Canosa in the depth of night, started up, and staggering to his feet, called out for assistance. The only aid at hand was the minister himself, who hastened to him, but only to catch the dying man, who leaned his head on his breast and expired. Such horrible tales circulated among the people, and added to the gloomy aspect of the times.

By a new law, the Catechism which until that time had been used in the churches was included in the books interdicted by the Pope, and was committed to the flames; and all who retained copies were menaced with heavy penalties. The book had been composed in 1816, by the order of the Government, and had been extracted from the ethical works of Bossuet; but as in these times it appeared dangerous to reckon the defence of one's country and patriotism among the duties of the citizen, and it being resolved that the Neapolitan was not a citizen, but a subject, that he had not a country, but a king, the volume was condemned and proscribed. Deeds followed menaces. Several persons received domiciliary visits in the night, and many of the prohibited books were collected, their possessors dragged to prison, and the volumes laid on a pile in the Piazza Medina, where they were burnt by the hands of the executioner, whilst the public crier proclaimed their infamy. They were the Catechism, the Christian Doctrine, the Social Duties, Voltaire, Rousseau, and Montesquieu. Warned of this danger, those who had libraries destroyed a great many books, even the most harmless, and instructive and profitable works. A year later, in addition to the censorship, so heavy a duty was laid on foreign books, that they were prevented entering the country. The class of booksellers became impoverished, and in a petition to the minister Medici, in which they represented that the heavy taxation diminished the profits to the Exchequer,

they requested him to abolish this law; but he declared that the object of this tax was not financial, but to keep the people ignorant, and that their arguments therefore convinced him of the utility of maintaining the new law; an effrontery which proved the demoralization of the age and of the man.

In the midst of this affliction and terror, the king made a magnificent entry into the metropolis, and was welcomed by rejoicings prepared by flattery and fear. In the addresses of the magistrates, of the municipal officers, and of the University and academies, the justice and clemency of Ferdinand were extolled, mingled with congratulations on his return; they called him the father of his people, and in their eulogies they exonerated him from his breach of promise and perjury. Immediately upon his return, while providing for the wants of religion, he conceded the care of public instruction to the clergy, restored their ancient possessions and wealth to the Jesuits, and presented other monastic or religious orders with gifts and pensions. Example followed these decrees, for the king, with the royal family, the courtiers, and ministers, frequently and devoutly assisted at the ceremonies of the Church, however vulgar and ordinary. Precept and example were not considered enough, and rewards and punishments were added; depriving all of their offices who evinced a spirit of latitudinarianism, and bestowing employments and favours on all those who fulfilled the rites of the Church with ostentatious piety; religion, therefore, which with our fathers was a matter of conscience, became now one of interest, hypocrisy and fraud; the lowest condition to which the human mind can be degraded.

Some of the soldiers and Carbonari of Monteforte had fled, but others remained without any attempt at concealment, and indifferent to the consequences; nor could they be persuaded to depart either by the wiles of the police, or by seeing the last actors in a revolution of which they had been the first, thrown into prison. The king wished to avoid their trial, that certain facts degrading to the royal dignity, might not be exposed to public discussion, and to the chance of being registered in their procès, but as he could not overlook their greater offences without forfeiting the power of punishing crimes of an inferior nature, he, as a last

experiment, issued an edict on the 30th May (his name-day), proclaiming a pardon for all offences committed during the Revolution, except those of the soldiers and Carbonari who had been encamped at Monteforte. The eagerness of the king to rid himself of them, was a greater inducement to them to remain, until his rage and the policy of his Government getting the better of his sense of shame, all were seized in one day, and shut up in dungeons, while the edict and pardon were cancelled; and thus the trial of Monteforte commenced.

The causes and the consequences of this severity daily increased. Many of the liberals, from a spirit of disaffection, or to shield themselves from the persecutions of the police, wandered through the provinces, and as most of them had shortly before been men of wealth, or influential officers in the army, or chiefs of the Carbonari, they had followers, friends, adherents, money, and arms; were well acquainted with the country, and possessed the means for a long and sanguinary struggle. Captain Venite, Captain Corrado, Major Poerio, Colonel Valiante, and others of rank and reputation, continued in arms in the country, and lodging most frequently in small villages, but sometimes even in the cities, though in open rebellion against the Government; they obtained complete power over the people, but exacted no money from them, as they were only intent on rescuing the cause of liberty. Captain Venite, with his followers, one day after celebrating the sacred rites of the Carbonari, attacked Laurenzana, a large city of the Basilicata, and laid siege to the prison, in order to liberate one of the Society; but he prevented the escape of the other prisoners, not desiring to have such men associated with him, nor to give liberty to those guilty of crimes. Such was the character of the Carbonari, and of the times. Venite having being successful at Laurenzana, attacked the dungeons of Calvello, another city, in the night, and released Fra Luigi of Calvello, a friar, and also a Carbonaro. Finding himself at liberty, though in the habit of a Franciscan monk, he asked and obtained arms. A man was standing apart who was bound, because he had endeavoured to hinder the Carbonari when on their way to attack the prison, and he was thus detained less as an enemy or even opponent, than from precaution. The friar, however, turned upon this unhappy wretch, and to prove his fierce spirit was unabated

by the sufferings of a prison life, he murdered him by stabbing him in many places.

In Aversa, Bishop Tommasi, an ambitious man, and ardent partisan of despotism, forgetful of that charity which is enjoined by his holy office, played the part of an informer on political offenders, accused them, instigated the Government to punish, and even punished them himself. Through his agency one Mormile, a priest, was imprisoned; he was the support of his family, and highly respected in his native place; his relations hoped by constant supplication and their tears to soften the rage of his persecutor; but one day, wearied with their prayers, he said, in reply, "So long as it shall please God to retain me bishop of Aversa, so long shall Mormile remain in prison!" This speech was addressed to a youth of the name of Carmine Mormile, who was entreating for the pardon of his relative, but was immediately silent, and departed with the rest of the family. The bishop was in the habit of driving in his carriage for recreation towards evening, and young Mormile, aware of this practice, lay in wait for him in the public square, a few hours after these savage words had been uttered; on seeing him appear, he called to him by his name, and discharged a pistol, which he had concealed in his dress, at the bishop's breast, exclaiming, as Tommasi expired, "Now thou art no longer bishop of Aversa; may God prove the truth of thy words!"

The Society of the Carbonari in Palermo, which had been insignificant in 1819, but had increased after the successes of 1820, and had now become more numerous, although persecuted in 1821, held nocturnal meetings in grottoes in the district of Santo Spirito, about a mile distant from the city. The police having received information of their practices, surprised them one night (when only fourteen were assembled), armed and decorated with the badges of the Society. They had been denounced by five of their associates, who from malice, or to provide for their own safety, had betrayed their place of meeting, their plans and intentions; and thus these fourteen were taken by surprise, and many arrests followed. Those who were still at liberty hoped for safety in a general insurrection; they passed the word to the branch societies in the island, kept themselves concealed, and wandered in the woods,

waiting the opportunity for an outbreak. But the Government having obtained information, or suspecting their proceedings, increased in severity, and passed measures of security or precaution. The German garrisons occupied the forts of the city, the Neapolitan soldiers were held ready in their quarters, and their officers, who were themselves faithful to the king, suspecting their own troops, watched them with uneasiness. The police were more active and arbitrary than ever, and thus amidst real causes for solicitude and doubt the days glided by.

Iniquitous laws, iniquitous acts, cruel and unjust rulers, the violent and criminal passions of the people, and no restraint upon conscience, produced serious and frequent crimes, by which whole families were destroyed, while hundreds satiated their private vengeance. This was not confined to the lowest orders, but was participated in by those high both in birth and station. Tales were related every day of rebellious or murdered priests, of priests who were assassins of the police, and of officers in the army, who considered it an honour to be employed in the police; besides *Intendentes* and commanders of provinces persecuting innocent persons, and magistrates giving secret information, and then enacting the part of iniquitous judges in cases where they were themselves the accusers.

Amidst so many instances of horror and misery, the number of condemnations by courts-martial and by the magistrates increased. The youth Mormile whose crime was not deliberate, but committed in a moment of passion, wandered about the neighbourhood of the city, without shelter, and was seized on the third day, and executed on the very spot where he had satiated his rage. The assailants of Laurenzana and Calvello, overcome by a numerous detachment of soldiers, some of them traitors, and all betrayed, were seized, tried, and condemned to death, to the number of sixty; and the first executed was the friar of Calvello. Captain Corrado had died in fight; Major Poerio saved himself by flight, and Colonel Valiante was imprisoned. The rebels of Palermo were tried; forty-three punished, and nine executed. Seventeen more were executed in Messina, and thirty-eight condemned to irons; twelve others were executed in Lanciano. The trial of Monteforte meantime proceeded, and other trials for the revolution

of the year 1820 were expedited. The trial for the murder of Giampietro, related in the ninth Book of this work, terminated by the condemnation of three to death, and seventeen to the galleys and imprisonment. It was proved that the crime had been concerted in a meeting of Carbonari, and had been perpetrated by some members of the society, who had been chosen or drawn by lot; it being their practice to select agents unknown to the proscribed person, to execute their atrocities, in order to accustom them to obedience, and to lose all traces of the crime: the murderers of Giampietro were, therefore, men of the lowest description, and the reason assigned for his having incurred the displeasure of the society was, that, when director of the police, he had indiscriminately and severely punished the Carbonari. At least eight hundred perished in the year 1822, either executed, or fighting for the desperate cause of freedom, which was now contrary to law, and treated as infamous. Yet they had refused, the year before, to join in a well-organized and glorious war; and all this suffering was courageously borne by men who had shown themselves effeminate and timid in the camp; for to bear death with fortitude at the hands of a tyrant is the unhappy virtue of the Neapolitan, acquired by being too long accustomed to witness executions, and by the applause that kind of suffering elicited.

In the events and trials here described, the accusers themselves had shortly before been liberals, and the companions of the Carbonari; they who had assisted in their deeds were now witnesses, judges, and secret persecutors, arming themselves to oppose the liberal party; they had not changed because they repented their former views, but in order to save their lives, or to gratify their ambition or thirst for gain. The learned Canon Arcucci, who, in a time of prosperity, had been an ardent writer in favour of the Carbonari, now a fugitive, wrote and printed letters in Latin, addressed to the Pontiff, with letters in the vulgar tongue to the king, confessing his own fault, expatiating on the crimes of the Carbonari, whom he had just before held up to honour, and imploring for that pardon, which he obtained. Some revealed the names of their comrades, and others boasted of having perjured themselves to the constitutional government, a boast which, whether true or false, was equally discreditable. Such were the Neapolitan people after

thirty years of political convulsions, tyrannical government, and unjust laws, and such they still continue, to their own misfortune and to that of Italy.[1]

The calamities of nature were added to the political calamities just described. Whirlwinds, by which immense tracts of land were laid waste, and persons injured or killed; lightning which on the same day, though at different hours and places, killed six persons; Pizzo, notorious as the scene of the death of Joachim, was for several hours flooded by the waves of the sea, which had been raised by a furious wind, and three men were drowned, while the city was covered with stones and sea-weed; Vesuvius, which had been long quiet, emitted flames, ashes, and lava, at various times; the greatest quantity was thrown up in October; but, although covering a vast extent of country, the injury was trifling compared with what followed, when the shower of ashes and stones, agglomerating into a hard mass by the moisture, devastated the most fertile fields. In the city of Vasto, many houses fell, but as the movement began slowly, the inhabitants were able to escape, though the ruins covering fruitful lands, added to the mischief already done. In Calabria, in the Abruzzi, and in Sicily, frequent earthquakes shook the buildings and swallowed up many of the inhabitants. Thus the year 1822 was filled with gloom.

But either from indifference about disasters which only befel others, or from motives of policy, the king and his family

[1] Lady Morgan in her work on Italy writes thus:—"Had this Revolution not been disturbed by the unprincipled interference of foreign nations, it would have led to the happiest consequences. . . . The ill success of the late effort, so far from affording an argument favourable to the views and crimes of invading despotism, is an additional proof of the inhuman selfishness of the invader. What is to be said of a government which reduces the great majority of the people to a slavish insensibility to national degradation, to a perfect indifference to national honour—a government which renders the subject too ignorant to comprehend the cause of his sufferings, and too listless to seek their removal? Yet to restore such a government was the avowed object of the late crusade. Taking the Neapolitan population as a whole, it possessed sufficient energy and virtue to have produced and maintained a constitutional system, but for the unprincipled interference of foreigners; and be the Carbonari few or many, conspirators or organs of the national will, their intentions were favourable to the interests of the species; their purposes, too, were already effected without violence or bloodshed, . . . when the spoiler came upon them, and the common enemy of liberty, whether in Naples or in Spain, in France or England, hurled them back centuries into barbarity and ignorance."—Vol. ii. pp. 237-249.

passed the time in amusement; celebrating birthdays and name-days, or receiving foreign princes; for that year, the King of Prussia and his sons, and the reigning Duke of Lucca, came on a visit to Naples, and soon afterwards the ex-empress, Duchess of Parma, widow of Bonaparte, arrived in a Neapolitan vessel. The interest she excited was owing to that connexion which she alone had the ingratitude to forget or despise. That same year, likewise, the colossal statue in marble of the king, attired as a warrior, the work of Canova, was exposed to the public gaze, and was inaugurated with a solemn ceremony in the building of the Regii Studii.

Ferdinand lavished titles, dignity, and wealth, on the Austrian soldiers quartered in the kingdom. General Frimont was created Prince of Antrodoco, and received 200,000 ducats with a letter from the king, expressing his gratitude and that of his family, for the recovery of his kingdom. All this took place at the very time that the Neapolitan army was disbanding, and while the king was refusing his own subjects the rank, honours, and stipends, they had merited in war or by long services; thereby violating the terms of the Convention of Casalanza. Not venturing to break a treaty guaranteed by the Emperor of Austria, the king sent to inform the imperial ambassador, Fiquelmont, of his intentions, who immediately replied, that his Majesty could act as he pleased, and that it was even a political duty to destroy that treaty; which was accordingly annulled. By this act all suffered alike; those who had been absent from Naples during the Revolution of 1820, and those who had opposed the revolution, as well as those innocent of all participation in the affair; yet, while the king himself felt no scruples in this breach of promise, the emperor was silent, and the ambassador, Fiquelmont, even boasted of it; so lightly did they esteem the sacredness of oaths.

The office of minister of police was changed to that of director, and the Prince of Canosa, who had been minister, was appointed councillor of state, with enlarged powers. Three of the ex-deputies, Poerio, Pepe, and Borrelli, and three of the generals, Colletta, Pedrinelli, and Arcovito, were sent prisoners to Austria, and there confined in the distant cities of Gratz, Brünn, and Prague. Prince Metternich declared that the severities practised in Naples were

without the knowledge of the Austrian Government, whilst the Neapolitan Government declared that they were ordered by the Austrian Minister. They thus threw the shame of their iniquitous deeds on one another; but in after years, when the same crimes were repeated, they both gloried in these acts of injustice, and called them political wisdom. The tribunals were restored, to get rid of persons in bad odour, and to afford employment to partisans; and the army was reformed in order to cashier the Muratists, or only retain those of least capacity, or those who after the change in the fortunes of Murat, and after he had fled and been executed, had accused and slandered him with the utmost bitterness, to ingratiate themselves with the new Government; and by an assumption of hatred towards him, conceal their own real offences and disgraceful conduct during the wars of Italy in 1815.

The finances were daily more drained for the pay of the guards, and of the remnant of the old army, for the formation of a new army, for the high pay of the German troops, and for sums needed for the maintenance of the State. The Campo di Marte, to which the people were attached as a recollection of Joachim, was sold; a debt of sixteen millions of ducats was contracted with Rothschild, a wealthy Hebrew and banker, celebrated in our days for the loans by which he has assisted kings, and in return has earned the title of Baron, and been created a knight of several orders, while being the principal means in Europe to support absolute governments and to ruin states. This sum was, however, soon exhausted by necessity or want of management, and the Government again turned to Rothschild to demand a fresh loan; but as the friend of Chevalier Medici, Rothschild replied, that he would not trust more money without first being secure of their honest intentions; and that he could not feel confident of this, unless the ministry of finance were confided to the Chevalier Medici. The king, however, was averse to this proposal. The embarrassments increased, the pay of the German troops was stopped, and General Zoller, their commander and the friend of Medici, headed the remonstrance. A council was held, and the king being reminded of the condition made by Rothschild, answered; "And if Chevalier Medici were to die, would the State likewise die?"

His repugnance was, however, forced to yield to necessity, and

Chevalier Medici, who was an exile in Florence, received letters from Rothschild, promising him a restoration to favour; the decree from Naples, creating him minister, soon followed, accompanied by numerous congratulations both sincere and interested: he well understood his power, and the bond by which it was held; and insisted on a change in the present Cabinet, that he himself should be empowered to treat for loans with Rothschild (an act of prudence as well as gratitude), and that the Prince of Canosa should be banished from the kingdom. These two influential men were enemies, and thus fortune made them alternately ministers and exiles. The king only resisted in the case of Canosa, but urged and vanquished on all sides he finally yielded everything; he recalled his former ministers, chose others either attached to Medici or not opposed to him, and banished Canosa but with a large pension, and marked proofs of the royal attachment. The hopes of the people rose, for they believed the king had altered his views, whilst in reality he had only outwardly changed the objects of his favour. The loan with Rothschild was immediately concluded, and soon afterwards another and another loan, always with advantageous terms for the Jew; so that the national debt, which during the reign of Joachim yielded an interest of eight hundred thousand ducats annually, and had risen to one million seven hundred thousand before the year 1820, when it remained stationary during the Constitutional Government, reached five millions and a half in the three years from 1821 to 1824. All were disgusted and tired of reading in the preamble to the decrees for every fresh loan and new tax, that the king was forced to this measure from the extravagance of the reigns of the French kings, and in consequence of the Revolution of 1820; thus insulting the people, who were paying in gold for their own chains.

Medici quitted Florence for Naples, while Canosa returned to Pisa, his old asylum. As I have, in the course of this History, given various anecdotes respecting him, I shall here relate all that remains to be told, hoping that his present condition will only end with his life. When in Pisa during his first exile, he became enamoured with Anna Orselli, the daughter of a rag-merchant; and on his second exile (having meanwhile become a widower), he made her his wife; to escape the disgrace

of this marriage, he left Pisa, and proceeded to Genoa, accompanied by his wife and her mother. The father did not follow, and though invited by his son-in-law with the promise of a large sum of money if he would forsake his humble calling, he refused, nor would he accept any gifts from him ; declaring his abhorrence of the conduct of the female part of his family, and of his daughter's late marriage with one above her in station, and who was badly spoken of in the world ; adding, that his present poverty was more honourable to him than greater luxury, which would only remind him of his shame. He therefore continues to reside in Pisa as a poor rag-merchant, and Canosa, ashamed of his mother-in-law and wife, and with five young children, lives in Genoa, only visited by persons of disreputable character, banished from the country where his maxims of government still reign supreme, from his own family of respectable sons and connexions, without friends or admirers, and surrounded by only a few worthless associates, and yet devoured by ambition, and the desire (which may God frustrate !) of further vengeance.

The hope of a better government was fast fading away ; for the public expression of joy at the return of Chevalier Medici, with the hatred towards him still inwardly cherished by the king, which was so intense that he never looked him in the face when they met in council, convinced that crafty old minister he must resign his popularity if he wished to gain the confidence of his master ; an object he could only obtain by persecuting the fallen. Hundreds were therefore deprived of their employments, the number of prisoners increased, as well as of those confined to the penal islands or sent into exile ; the trial of Monteforte was accelerated, and the judges reproved for their dilatoriness, and urged to be more expeditious in future. To the astonishment of the people, all the maxims of Canosa were retained by Medici, and it became doubtful, when comparing their evil deeds, whose were worst.

Under the new Ministry a law first came into force, which had been dictated by the king a year before, but had remained in abeyance, and been forgotten, either at the desire of Canosa, or for some political reason. As amidst the number of arbitrary acts recorded in the four years contained in this book, this is the only

act bearing on the government of the kingdom, I propose to give its history from the commencement. In the letters written by the king from Laybach to his son, he promised the people to consult with his subjects on all that was needed for the repose and prosperity of the country: and on his return, declaring his intention to fulfil this promise, he convoked eighteen high personages to meet him in council in the palace; the Marquis Circello, Cardinal Ruffo, (notorious in the Revolution of 1799) the Prince of Canosa, and others not less worthless, with a few, who though men of respectable character, were timid and servile. In that meeting five political questions were discussed; and as the questions themselves were expressions of the will of the Government, the subservient council ended by confirming them, and decreed:—

That the Two Sicilies be governed separately, under the empire of one king; that they shall have their separate taxes, finances, expenditure, criminal and civil judicature and offices; and that the citizens of one State shall not hold office in the other. (This separation, by fomenting the unhappy discord between the two races, entailed servitude on both in times of peace, and weakness and disasters in war.)

That the king shall conduct the affairs of the kingdom in a Council of State, composed of at least twelve members, six of them councillors and six ministers.

That the laws or decrees, and ordinances in matters of government, shall be discussed in an assembly composed of at least thirty councillors for the State of Naples and eighteen for that of Sicily, under the name of *Consulte*, to be convoked separately in Naples and Palermo.

That the Government taxes shall be distributed in every province for every year, by a provincial council, which shall have the power of proposing any amendment in the administration of the public institutions or in those for charity.

That the communes shall administer their own affairs on a more liberal footing than before, by ordinances dictated by the king, after consulting with the Council of State.

The members of the above-mentioned bodies, namely, the ministers, council of state, council of the *consulte*, and the provincial councils, to be all chosen by the king, and removable at his plea-

sure. The discussion to be ordered by the king; the vote of each body deliberative, the royal will free, and the ministers responsible to the king. These regulations existed already in 1820, but they were now made more stringent; they commenced under the French kings, though they were then less rigidly enforced: but even in their present form, they may one day be used to resist despotic power, which in this age is menaced by any meetings of deliberative assemblies.

The trial of Monteforte was proceeding. The escape of the principal delinquents placed those less guilty in greater jeopardy. But Morelli and Silvati, who had been the first leaders in the desertion at Nola on the 2d July 1820, fell into the snare laid for them. When the German troops entered Naples, they had escaped together. Morelli placed himself at the head of five hundred soldiers and partisans, and ravaged the country round the strong city of Mirabella. But the zeal of his followers cooling by degrees, some deserted, and others showed themselves unwilling to face danger; Morelli, therefore, dismissed the rest, and alone with Silvati, his old comrade, embarked on a little vessel for Greece. Tempest-tost, and driven about at sea, they neared the shores of Ragusi; but being without a passport, and betraying the anxiety of fugitives, they excited the suspicion of the authorities of the place, and were arrested. As they said they belonged to the Roman States, they were sent to Ancona; there their falsehoods were discovered; the names they had assumed were unknown in their pretended country; the Neapolitan accent, the hesitation of their replies, incongruities in their relation of certain facts, and the scene and time of their adventures, proved them to be fugitives, and they were therefore kept guarded in prison until an opportunity arrived to deliver them over to the Neapolitan Government.

They then assumed other names, and declared themselves to have been officers of the regiment called the *Principe*, and owned that they had participated in the Revolution of 1820, though as subordinates and followers, and had been pardoned by a royal decree. They were accordingly sent to Naples under a strong guard. Silvati reached his destination, but Morelli escaped, and wandering alone from forest to forest in the night, he reached the Abruzzi, and from thence descended into Puglia, intending

to proceed to Calabria to procure money from his relations, and embark again, with better hopes, for Greece. On the way he was met by robbers, stripped and beaten; but as he had saved a little gold concealed in his belt, he took courage and pursued his way. Half naked, and with bare feet, he was walking slowly along in much pain, when he reached a little village called Chienti, where he provided himself with shoes, food, and clothes, at a shoemaker's, and paid the man six ducats, a sum inconsistent with his outward appearance of poverty. The shoemaker suspected him, and, from good or evil motives, revealed his suspicions to the authorities of the place. Morelli was arrested, at once recognised, and sent in chains to Naples. He and Silvati increased the importance of the trial of the prisoners of Monteforte, which had only just then commenced.

It was reported that the innocence of the accused had been proved in the procès, and the joy with which the people welcomed this rumour, added to the irritation of the Government. Therefore, when the decree of the supreme court appeared, and proved lenient towards the prisoners, it was cancelled, and public placards censured that tribunal for their conduct; while the minister of justice, Chevalier de Giorgi, was dismissed from office, because he opposed so rigorous a measure as illegal. The magistrate Brundisini, a man indifferent to infamy, was substituted for the Procurator-General Calenda, who bore a high character; and, terrified by these examples, the President Potenza, pleading bodily infirmity, resigned his place to Girolami, an ambitious bad man. In this instance, Potenza failed in his first duty as a magistrate, which is firmness in the midst of danger.

On the day fixed for the trial, four of the accused were ill; two with fever, a third with a pulmonary affection, and the last suffering from wounds received during the war in his neck and cheek, which had reopened. Their advocates petitioned that the trial might be postponed, but in vain; the four invalids were dragged from the dungeon to the court. The head of one hung on his breast, and he leaned like a dying man for support on his neighbour; the next muttered to himself, and shook with fever; blood streamed from the mouth of the third, and from the head of the fourth, soiling their clothes, and a horrible sight to witness! One of

the judges, De Simone by name, rose and said, "I ask you, my Lord President, are we here as judges or executioners? If the king were present, he would blame our inhumanity. I join the advocates for the prisoners in entreating that the trial may be postponed." At these words a tumultuous murmur of assent ran through the assembly; the guards (who were German) levelled their arms, and several of the spectators were seized and made prisoners in the court; a cowardly silence followed, and the entreaties of De Simone were rejected. The discussion commenced under this hideous aspect.

There was much to allege in aggravation of the crimes of which the prisoners stood accused, and much in their extenuation. On one side, it might be said, there had been a plot for the desertion of whole regiments, the rules of discipline and the soldier's oath violated, the Government subverted, and a war excited; but on the other hand, the movement had been peaceably conducted, the revolution bloodless, and sanctioned by the pardon, approbation, and oath of the king, and the common consent of the rulers and the people. Both had endeavoured to support the new Government, and both had abandoned it to ruin; the fault, therefore, belonged to both, or to neither. The most upright of the judges on this trial pitied, and felt desirous of saving, these unhappy men; while those ambitious of royal favour were determined to exaggerate their crimes. The accused appeared calm, either buoyed up by hope, or from elevation of soul, or from despair. Morelli was frequently interrogated on the particulars of his crime, but only aggravated his guilt by his answers, and added, "I confess I broke my oath as a soldier, but the king swore to pardon me." Colonel Colentani, another inculpated, hearing that the officers of his regiment were accused of rebellion, asked leave to speak, and said:—

"I have already explained how pure were the motives which induced me to lead my regiment to Monteforte, but these arguments only related to myself, not to these officers" (pointing to them with his eyes and finger), "whom I hear with surprise called rebels and perjured. They would, indeed, have been rebels, had they disobeyed my orders. I did not consult the regiment before acting, but issued my orders, as usual, to sound the bugle for de-

parture, when these officers and soldiers followed, obedient to my commands. Upon our arrival at Monteforte, had I ordered them to attack the troops of Morelli, my regiment would have obeyed; but I ordered them to join, and all joined from obedience or example. And another fact: not being able to acquaint any one of the true meaning of this manœuvre, because I knew that all were opposed to a change of government, and were loyal to the king, I made them believe, by what they were told and by the order of march, they were going to attack the camp at Monteforte; nor did I inform them of my real intentions, till they were in the midst of the camp, and when the deed was irrevocable. How strange then is this trial! We are considered guilty, and seated together on the same bench, under the same accusation; yet my crime was, having acted on my own responsibility in a time of so much difficulty; and theirs, not having used their own judgment on the same occasion. My crime is having acted too independently; theirs not having been sufficiently independent: yet they owed me unquestioning obedience, and they would have indeed incurred just censure had they failed in that very obedience which is now imputed to them as a crime. As in this trial I alone am accused of a political offence, and the rest of the regiment of failure in discipline, you will do well (should my act be considered treasonable) to punish me, who alone am guilty, and to spare the lives of these innocent persons; or rather seek out one of my soldiers, who deserted on the way, and punish him by martial law. In a word, all are innocent, or I alone am guilty."

The trial lasted more than three months; the advocates spoke out fearlessly in defence of the prisoners, and with as much freedom as if the case had not been one of treason, or the times ferocious and replete with danger. The sentence was given by seven judges; three were for the acquittal of the prisoners, on the ground that the actions reported of them were not proved to be in themselves crimes, or that they had been pardoned by the king; but the remaining four condemned thirty to death, and thirteen to prison and the galleys. The sentence was read and ordered to be executed within a few hours, and those condemned to die were accordingly led into a part of the prison where it was usual to administer the last consolations of religion.

Among them was Colonel Tupputi, a distinguished officer, be-

trothed to the Marchesa Mesuraca, a young, beautiful, noble, and wealthy lady. As soon as she heard the verdict, she hastened to the Princess Floridia, the wife of the king, to ask her mediation. Her grief, her name, her family, and feelings of compassion, induced this noble lady to lay the petition of the Marchesa before her husband ; and Ferdinand having already determined to let all condemned to death, except the two first, escape that punishment, replied, that he would pardon them. The princess immediately returned to the unhappy Marchesa, who was waiting in anxious suspense, and who, as soon as she heard the joyful news, ran, or rather flew to the prison, and when she reached it, called out repeatedly, " Tupputi, you are pardoned !" The prisoners, however, could not hear her voice, for the chapel where the last melancholy office was performing, lay in a remote part of the building, at some distance from the street and prison gate. The Marchesa Mesuraca vainly entreated the jailers and guards to carry the news to them, offering them large rewards, but all refused, forbidden to enter that sanctuary of religion and terror. In her despair, she wandered round the vast walls of the Vicaria, and wherever she saw a window or opening called aloud, and entreated the people to call with her : " Tupputi, Colentani, Gaston, you are pardoned !" The voices of the sympathizing people had the desired effect ; Tupputi and the rest were informed of their safety, and by various means, the public learned that the condemned had heard the news. Mesuraca was only then silent, but her strength, which had been supported by excitement, now failed ; and she was carried to the noble home of her father in the arms of the people.

The royal pardon was soon afterwards published ; the punishment of death was commuted for the dungeon or galleys for life, and minor punishments were likewise mitigated. The king was only inflexible towards Morelli and Silvati, who died that same day on the gallows. The rest who had escaped death, had their hair cut off, and were clothed in the prison dress, loaded with irons, and chained (as in this punishment they are fastened in couples) to other men condemned for the most ignominious crimes, and they were thus conducted to the horrible rocks of San Stefano and Pantelleria. Those among the seven judges, who had been inclined for mercy, were dismissed from office on false pretences, and the more

severe judges were promoted. The procurator-general, Calenda, was likewise dismissed, and Brundisini advanced. Girolami was remunerated for the example he had afforded ; for in a Neapolitan court of law, where the case was one of life or death, and where the lives of thirty persons were at stake, and the judges equally divided, he, as president, had given his vote for the most severe sentence. These rewards and punishments proved the resolution of the Government to proceed with rigour, and enjoined unrelenting severity on the judges, regardless of truth or conscience.

The trial for the deeds enacted at Monteforte, and the other trials for disturbances at Messina, Palermo, Laurenzana, and Calvello, with the case of Giampietro, and affairs of minor importance, were now at an end. Public and private vengeance had been satiated a hundredfold. The blood and tears of numbers had been shed, yet the severity of the punishments was in no way mitigated. Nine of those who had escaped were sentenced to death for contumacy, and soon afterwards proclaimed public enemies ; first among them, ranked Generals Carrascosa and Pepe. An edict was published, inviting upwards of seven hundred citizens either to yield themselves prisoners, to be tried according to the laws, or else to quit the kingdom with free passports without further punishment ; and while promises of mercy were held out to those who should obey, threats were used towards all who might refuse. The persons thus addressed were wandering over the country, either from conscious guilt or fear, and were armed and prepared for defence ; they avoided great towns, frequently changed their place of abode, and though at liberty, enjoyed only a precarious freedom. After this edict, some had the prudence to conceal themselves more carefully in the woods, but others trusting in their innocence, presented themselves for trial, while 560 asked leave to depart. They received the promised passports, were directed what road to take, and the time they were to leave, and on a given day, all reached the frontiers ; here they were stopped by the Papal officials, and collected together in the little town of Fondi. The following day, they were surrounded by the commissaries of police and gendarmes, and conducted to the fortress of Gaeta, and thence to the prisons of Naples. The police were triumphant, and boasted the success of their manœuvre ; several of those who had been thus betrayed

were condemned and punished; others obtained leave to depart for Tunis or Algiers, which, though barbarous countries, alone in the civilized world offered a hospitable asylum to the exiles. The greater number were neither brought to trial nor banished, but continued in their dungeons, the victims of tyranny, and were afterwards bandied about in a thousand ways by man or fortune.

The number of Neapolitans who had been proscribed, or of those who had fled was so great, that they were met with all over Italy, in Germany, France, Spain, England, America, in the barbarous cities of Egypt, and in Greece: most of them, reduced to great poverty, were living by the labour of their heads or hands; but none so degraded, as to resort to those means which would have helped them easiest on, in a corrupt age like ours; for not one joined the infamous standard which wages war against the Greeks. Unhappy cases were everywhere met with; sons deprived of their fathers, and abandoned to their fate in a foreign land; fathers deprived of their sons, dying of want; a whole family (mother, wife, and five young children) shipwrecked; another driven from city to city, in an inclement season, the wife sick, and carrying their two children on their backs, while leading a third by the hand, condemned to seek for shelter and bread. Some threw themselves into the Tiber to perish; but many were the instances of private virtue displayed in this age of public misery, and the unhappy often found their wants relieved, and consolation administered to them in their misfortunes.

Amidst so many acts of barbarity on the part of the Government, all in Naples wondered to see the greatest crime, frequent attempts at regicide, allowed to escape punishment. That these attempts had been made, was believed at the time; the very horror felt at the act assisting to spread the falsehood, which was confirmed by the king and his son, anxious to find a justification of their breach of past promises, and their present severity. But the silence of the Government, time, and history, which reveals all human events, have since exposed the truth, and laid bare the baseness of this falsehood and of its inventors.

The king was summoned to a new congress at Verona; which roused the hope of a better government, affording some consolation to the afflicted people, who had already been too often deceived.

Ferdinand accordingly hastily prepared for his departure, and left Naples. As he was quitting the palace, Vesuvius sent forth volumes of flame, the heavens were darkened with a shower of ashes, and the earth around shook; but these horrors and dangers now caused less alarm, because so frequent. He arrived at Verona in great state, as the Bourbons are well known to delight in splendour; nothing was reported of the Congress in Naples, except the interchange of mutual tokens of friendship and respect between the powers there assembled, the banquets, ceremonies, and amusements. But the political object of the meeting was in part made known in the year 1823, by the published circular of the Congress, addressed to the ambassadors of the three potentates, Russia, Prussia, and Austria; in which they declared, that at the request of the King of Piedmont, the Austrian garrisons were to be withdrawn from his dominions, and at the request of the King of Naples they were to be reduced in the Two Sicilies, from 42,000 to 30,000 men. With regard to Greece, while blaming the rebellion of the Greeks against the lawful authority of the Turks, they stated that the Holy Alliance would have sent armies to the support of the legitimate power of the Ottoman Porte, had not the Emperor of Russia pledged himself to reconcile the interests of humanity with those of thrones; finally, they hinted at an approaching war with Spain, and declared their determination to recal their ambassadors from that revolutionized State.[1]

[1] Secret Articles of the Treaty of Verona, in addition to the Treaty of Vienna, 1822.

The undersigned, specially authorized to make some additions to the Treaty of the Holy Alliance, having exchanged their powers, agree on what follows:—

Art. 1. The high contracting parties, convinced that the system of representative government is equally inconsistent with monarchical principles, as is the doctrine of popular sovereignty with that of Divine right, pledge themselves mutually to each other, in the most solemn manner, to exert all their efforts to annihilate representative government in all countries of Europe in which it may exist, and to prevent its introduction in states where it is now unknown.

Art. 2. As it cannot be doubted that the liberty of the press constitutes the most powerful of the means employed by the pretended defenders of the rights of nations against the rights of princes, the high contracting parties reciprocally pledge their faith to adopt all measures proper for its suppression, not only in their own dominions, but throughout the rest of Europe.

Art. 3. Convinced that the principles of religion contribute most powerfully to maintain nations in that state of passive obedience which they owe to their princes, the high contracting parties declare that it is their intention to sustain in their respec-

After the dissolution of the Congress of Verona, the King of Naples proceeded to Vienna. His great age, the winter season (it was December), his having abandoned the pleasures of the chase and the care of his kingdom, and living as a private individual, thus breaking through the habits of his long life, confirmed the idea that he meant to resign the reins of government to his son, the Duke of Calabria, by an act of abdication which had been settled at the Congress; but these hopes of the people were extinguished soon after his return to Naples. It is, however, a fact, though little known, that this abdication, and the question of a separation of the Two Sicilies, had been discussed in the Congress, proposed by Austria, opposed by France, and prevented by the vote of England. On the king's return to Naples, illuminations and feasts

tive dominions such measures as the clergy may adopt for the strengthening of their interests, intimately associated as these are with the authority of princes. The high contracting powers offer, in addition, their common thanks to the Pope for all that he has already done for them, and solicit his continued co-operation with their views for the subjugation (*soumission*) of nations.

Art. 4. The high contracting parties in confiding to France the charge of bringing them (viz., the nations) to order, engage to assist her in the undertaking, after the mode which appears least calculated to compromise them with their own people, and with the people of France. In consequence, they bind themselves to furnish a subsidy from their respective empires, to the amount of 20,000,000 francs. The same to date from the signature of this treaty until the close of the war.

Art. 5. In the view of establishing throughout the Peninsula (of Spain and Portugal) the order of things which existed prior to the revolution of Cadiz, and also to secure the full execution of the articles of this treaty, the high contracting parties exchange with each other their faith, that, until the accomplishment of the objects now expressed, and setting aside all other purposes of utility, and all other measures thereafter to be taken, they will, with the shortest possible delay, address instructions to all the constituted authorities within their own states, and to all their agents in foreign countries, so that a perfect convexity (conformity ?) may be established, for forwarding the accomplishment of the views set forth in this treaty.

Art. 6. This treaty shall be renewed, with such changes as altering circumstances may necessitate, either in a future congress, or at the court of some one of the contracting parties.

Art. 7. The present treaty shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged at Paris, within the delay of six months.

Done at Verona, 22d November 1822.

Signed for Austria, METTERNICH.
France, CHATEAUBRIAND.
Prussia, BENSTEL.
Russia, NESSELRODE.

The above translation of the Secret Articles of the Treaty of Verona is from a copy alleged to have been taken in 1848 from the original documents in the archives of Paris; copies of the same have been since that time published in America, Belgium, Germany, Switzerland, and Piedmont.

were held in the city, at court, and by public bodies, but this excessive adulation in the subjects, and ostentation in the king, during a time of so much public misery, and with the consciousness of their common faults, excited the contempt of the world. Prince Ruffo and General Clary, who had been shortly before appointed ministers, were dismissed; but they neither deserved their present disgrace, nor the good fortune which had preceded it. Chevalier Medici returned entirely into the good graces of the king, who bestowed on him fresh honours and an increase of power.

The condemnations to death had ceased during the absence of Ferdinand, and the people were recovering from their terror, when, shortly after his return, five Carbonari were tried for having, in 1820, when leaving a tavern in the city of La Cava, in a state of intoxication, raised the flag of the Carbonari, and shouted the cry of liberty; although no disturbance nor misdemeanours had followed, the opportunity was now taken to revive the former severity, and that not by any new command of the king, but because the ministers and magistrates perceiving that the royal inclinations were opposed to mercy, hoped to obtain greater favour, and larger rewards by persecuting the fallen. They were able to act thus with greater safety, because about this time the constitutional Government of Spain ceased to exist; and treachery, flight, vituperation, and all the weakness displayed by modern reformers were exhibited in that country; while, as in Naples, the subjection of the people, and tyranny on the part of the Government, was established permanently, and never ceased during the period comprehended in this Book. Judging of my readers by my own feelings of pain and disgust, and believing that what has already been related, is sufficient to prove the misery of the times, I shall here pause in my list of executions, exiles, flights, and destitution, calamities only too often renewed in history.

Nature herself was, that year, not more merciful than man. The city of Sala was shaken by an earthquake; a great part of another city, Avigliano, slid down; in Messina, a tempest, accompanied by thunder and earthquakes, ended in so violent a hurricane, that the numerous torrents which take their course through the city and its neighbourhood, left their ordinary beds, devastated the country, and swept away houses, by which more than a hun-

dred persons perished, while depositing so many stones and trunks of trees in the plain, that the whole face of the country was altered, and all was desert where once had stood delightful gardens and fertile lands. Many of the citizens had to seek shelter on the roofs, and many died of suffocation.

Palermo was still more injured by an earthquake.

Several memorable deaths occurred this year. General d'Ambrosio, a distinguished officer, who had been seven times wounded in various campaigns, a learned and eloquent man, died almost without the name and honours due to his rank, and in bad odour with the king.

He was followed to the grave by another general, the Duke d'Ascoli, celebrated for his mild exercise of power in 1801. In the ensuing year, when enjoying the same power in Sicily, he made a less good use of it; and afterwards, from the period of the return of the Bourbons until his death, he changed his politics with the times; but he always continued faithful to the king, even when under his displeasure.

Niccola Fergola, a learned mathematician, and the author of many works, also died; he was of a retiring nature, and had so much Christian humility, that he published the productions of his own genius under the name of one of his scholars; thereby rather increasing than diminishing the honours which were his due.

Giuseppe Piazzi, the astronomer, celebrated throughout the world, likewise died this year; the city of Palermo, which had been honoured by him, and by his discoveries in the heavens, rendered him again such honours as were worthy of his works, and of his name; they caused his effigy to be cast in bronze, and designed a monument to his memory.

The death of the aged Princess Torella was connected with a tragical incident. Her remains were borne to the noble sepulchre of the House of Caràcciolo Torella, where the ashes of Cristoforo Saliceti had been long before deposited, as his daughter had married one of the family; on entering the sepulchre to lay the deceased there, the young Princess Carolina Saliceti, who followed the bier, turned her eyes sadly round in search of her father's coffin; not perceiving it where it used to stand, she forgot all present, and quitting the ceremony, wandered around, calling him by

name, whose ashes she sought in vain. After the change of fortune which befell the adherents of Napoleon, some insolent member of the house of the Caràccioli (not the Prince of Torella himself, who was as virtuous as he was noble), disdaining the remains of Saliceti, had caused them to be stolen and dispersed, or else laid in some other grave. The unhappy lady, informed of the sacrilegious theft, fainted away on the spot, and only recovered her senses to sink into a deep melancholy.

The surgeon Bruno Amantea also died at this time; he was so celebrated for his charities, that his skill in his profession was almost forgotten in the recollection of his benevolence. His illness caused general consternation and sorrow, and his death drew tears from many eyes: his funeral obsequies were followed by such a crowd, they could hardly pass along the wide street Di Foria. A little box was hung opposite his former residence with the inscription: "The money offered here is to raise a votive chapel for the surgeon Bruno Amantea, just dead." But instead of a chapel they were soon able to build a church, under the name of Santa Maria delle Grazie.

The physician Domenico Cottugno likewise died: a learned and eloquent writer, distinguished for the novel theories he propounded. His obsequies were as magnificent as those of Amantea, but of another kind, as his corpse was followed to the grave by physicians, philosophers, and all the professors and students of the city. A religious ceremony attended the inauguration of his statue in marble in the Hospital of Incurables, and another image of him was struck in a bronze medal, which is deservedly prized in the academies, universities, and museums.

Along with these deaths, which were honoured and mourned, were two of a different description; those of the Chevalier Vecchioni, and the Marquis Circello, who, when Ministers of the Crown, had been timid in danger, arrogant in prosperity, and had always borne a bad character. Their obsequies were splendid, as ordered by the Government, but their evil reputation increased after they were laid in the grave. Death was at this period relentless towards sovereigns, for five died in 1824, of whom two were of the house of Bourbon, Louis XVIII. King of France, and Maria Louisa, Duchess of Lucca and ex-Queen of Etruria.

The mind of King Ferdinand was agitated by the loss of so many sovereigns and friends, by the numerous calamities in nature, and by the public misery. Weak by nature, and still weaker now that he was infirm from age and depressed by a religion which in him was only fear, he became alarmed; and though, like a true king, he believed himself above humanity, his people his slaves, and his right to their lives and property sacred, he began to fear, as his end approached, a severe judgment before God. He turned more than ever to the easy resource of devotion; and, accordingly, gave orders that the labour and expense for the erection of the Church of St. Francis should be doubled, and he took a daily account of the work, often complaining, and saying he should never live to see it completed.

The prediction proved true; for towards the end of the year 1824 he fell ill, but with only a slight indisposition, so that he was able to resume the amusements of the theatre and chase. On the evening of the 3d January 1825, after his game and prayers, he retired to sleep: he was in the habit of calling a servant about eight in the morning, but on the morning of the 4th, the clock struck and no sound followed; they waited patiently; those on guard in the next room declaring they had heard the king cough twice at six; time passed; they listened at the door, but heard nothing; the attendants and physicians, who were (as was customary in that Court) always present at the waking of the king, consulted together, and determined, as it was ten o'clock, to enter, though unsummoned. At every step their fears increased; the counterpane and sheets were tossed about, and the body of the king was so entangled in them that his struggle had evidently been long; one sheet was twisted round his head and under his pillow; his legs and arms were contorted; the mouth open, as if to call for aid or catch the breath of life, the face livid and black, and the eyes wide open, and with a terrible expression. The news spread in the palace; the family hastened to the room; other physicians were called in, and no further doubt nor hope remained; he had died of apoplexy, as was ascertained on opening the body.

The death of Ferdinand I., King of the Two Sicilies, was proclaimed by the same edict which published the accession of his son, Francis I. The news had shortly before been whispered

about the city, but it was supposed to be a stratagem of the police, to induce those to whom it was told, to betray their thoughts by their observations or gestures; all therefore, in fear and silence, avoided communication with his neighbour: but now reassured, they stood in crowds at the corners of the streets reading the edict, and the hope of a better government returned; some kissed the ground beneath the placard before a thousand spectators, and thanked God aloud for that death, as the termination of the general calamities: but they, as well as all who had expressed joy, were immediately punished, and the real or assumed grief of the new king was proclaimed; the people were again on their guard, while the countenances and words of those within the palace were composed for mourning. In some, this was real, as in the Prince di Ruote, an old friend of the late king, captain of his guards, who had always advised conciliatory measures in the troubles of the kingdom, and who, when laying the insignia of his office at the feet of Francis, was choked with tears.

A codicil had been added to Ferdinand's will in 1822, in the handwriting of the deceased, written two months before his death, by which he confirmed the order of succession established by his father Charles III.; named Francis, Duke of Calabria, heir to the throne, increased the portions of his younger sons, left gifts to his wife Floridia and to the servants, granted large sums to the Church to celebrate masses, and requested his son to continue the alms he had been in the habit of bestowing during his lifetime, by which it appeared that he had annually dispensed twenty-four thousand ducats in charity.

His funeral obsequies were the same as those of the King of Spain described in the Eighth Book of this History, and continued so long, that though Ferdinand died on the 4th, he only descended to the tombs of the Kings of Naples in the church of Santa Chiara on the 14th January. He had in reality disappeared from the stage of the world, the day when, four years earlier, he had filled the measure of his perjury in Laybach, and prepared war against his own people. He had lived seventy-six years, and reigned sixty-five; a singular good fortune for a prince thus to be enabled to reign over three generations of his subjects! As, where a country is governed by an absolute monarch, his qualities become

those of his subjects, less by the supposed force of example, than by the more powerful incentive of ambition. I could exhibit many of the vices or virtues of the Neapolitan people, by giving a summary of the most important acts of Ferdinand's reign, which lie scattered throughout these pages, or of those still untold, from want of opportunity.

I have now reached the end of my labours, and my hand, whilst writing these last pages, trembles from the regret I experience at parting with a work which has been my companion in exile, my solace in misfortune, and which (perhaps a vain hope) may bring me future fame. It has filled up those hours of idleness so new to one of my active nature, and it has been a vent for my complaints, and satisfied my desire for vengeance amidst the sufferings with which I have been afflicted by tyranny. When prompted by too angry a spirit, I transgressed the boundaries of justice, my history has recalled me to myself, as the friend of my honour, of truth and right; and though now poor, and my end fast approaching, I find in it a consolation in my poverty, since it gives me the inheritance of a fair name, and I feel reconciled to my premature death, by the promise of a long life in the memory of posterity. I therefore bless the work of my hands, and the thought, inspired by God, to write this History.

Yet the recollection of the many and great sufferings here recorded, are bitter to the memory, and bring with them no consolation: but more bitter than all, and that which still rankles in my breast, is the unjust verdict of the world, and especially of Italy, on the events belonging to my native land. I will therefore devote one more page (the last in these ten Books) to sum up the honourable deeds here recorded of my countrymen; for the Neapolitans, alone in Italy, have preserved the seeds of that political regeneration to which all aspire.

It was by Neapolitan decrees that freedom was first redeemed from the tyranny of the Church, and that the power of the priesthood was shackled. The authority from whence those laws emanated, was King Charles of Bourbon, guided by his Minister Tanucci, and supported by the people.

The wisdom displayed by the Government was still greater under King Ferdinand, when the *Chinea*, the offerings, the tribute,

and the humiliating acknowledgment of vassalage, held sacred by our forefathers, was repudiated by us.

The theories of political freedom which sprang up in France in 1789, were seen to bear fruit in Naples, before they were elsewhere accepted or known. In the Third Book of this History, I have recorded how many died by the hand of the executioner, or suffered long imprisonment for the cause of liberty.

The people were at the same time obedient to the laws, the treasury was enriched, the army increased, and the arms of Naples gained distinction in the wars of Lombardy and at sea. A cruel Government which persecuted half its subjects, was thus obeyed and supported by the remainder.

An ill-conducted war in an evil hour brought ruin on the State; the army had to pay for the errors of their leaders, and the people, fighting after their own fashion, rendered the conquest short though disastrous. The kind of warfare thus carried on against disciplined armies in the Abruzzi, and a year later, on an improved plan in Calabria, and afterwards imitated by the Spaniards and Germans, is to be deprecated when used in support of tyranny, but honourable when in a good cause.

But a popular warfare was not enough in 1799 to resist the French, who, after conquering Naples, organized the country into a republic. The nation armed to support the institutions of their country, and only a few fought on the side of liberty. One party supported political rights, the other fought in support of opinions, which in a people are equivalent to rights; one or other must have been mistaken, but as the cause of both was just, the war was alike honourable to both.

The friends of liberty were defeated, and the world has since learned how much and how valuable was the blood then spilt.

Next followed the reigns of the French kings. The civil franchises which were possible under a government like that of the empire, were demanded and obtained by the Neapolitans; and during ten years the Neapolitan arms gathered laurels in Germany, Austria, Spain, and Italy.

In 1813, Italy was on the eve of being united; but her unhappy destiny, assisted by diplomacy and arms, prevented that union which had been attempted by the Neapolitans.

The following year, although Naples was allied to Austria, the Neapolitans extended Italian rule in Italy, and the seeds of independence and union were sown.

The year after, the Neapolitan army, with the banner of liberty unfurled, marched throughout Italy, inviting her to shake off the yoke of the stranger, and to be free and united: a bold undertaking single-handed, and yet with a reasonable prospect of success, had the rest of the Italians felt the same thirst for freedom. But the people of Parma and Modena, and the Tuscans, joined the Germans, while the rest continued quiescent or submitted to Austria, and the Neapolitans paid for their temerity with their blood.

On the restoration of the old government in 1815, Naples alone throughout Italy, preserved the French code, laws, and ordinances, not because King Ferdinand of Bourbon had any respect for the policy lately introduced into the country, but because he feared the displeasure of his people.

These codes were not, however, sufficient to secure political freedom in Naples, and in 1820, the people, by an admirably conducted revolution, framed better laws for themselves. Deceived and betrayed, they did not defend these laws; their fall, therefore, was inevitable, and their reproach, that they fell ingloriously.

They paid a heavy penalty, for tyranny succeeded a government which had allowed too much liberty, yet all the deaths and endless sufferings which ensued could not subdue the spirit of the nation, which, even while bending as a slave before a master, makes the oppressor tremble.

In the course of thirty years, one hundred thousand Neapolitans have perished by every kind of death, in the cause of political freedom, and for the love of Italy; while the rest of the Italians have stood idly by, unmoved, the slaves of a foreign domination, silent or applauding, and insulting the misery of the fallen. By this unjust and cowardly conduct, they have riveted their own chains; until the time shall arrive when the hand of a stranger shall (almost against their will) raise them from the degradation into which they have fallen. May this unhappy prediction prove erroneous, though founded on past history, and to be made manifest to posterity; who, I trust, while learning a lesson from the record

of our errors will grant a sigh of pity or a word of praise to the Neapolitan people; for though sunk in misery, they are ready for action, and though restless, it is only from a desire to ameliorate their condition: but even this barren recompense for all their struggles and their misfortunes, is denied them by their cotemporaries.

SUPPLEMENTARY CHAPTER.[1]

FRANCIS I.—FERDINAND II.

1825–1856.

PART I.

REIGN OF FRANCIS I.

1825–1830.

Francis I. succeeded to the throne of the Two Sicilies, on the 4th January 1825, and some few of the liberals of Naples cherished the delusive hope, that freedom might yet be bestowed by a prince who had betrayed them and their cause before he inherited his father's crown. Others, less sanguine, feared that a time of still greater suffering was at hand, and the lines of a young poet, predicting future woes to Naples, circulated among the people by means of the Capuchin friars, who, subsisting upon charity, and in constant communication with the lower orders, were able to carry them clandestinely from house to house. The new king, feeble in character, yet fond of power, surpassed his father in the cruelty and cunning of his disposition, and while maintaining the Minister Medici near

[1] The author of the following pages has had the valuable assistance of one well acquainted with the affairs of Naples, and who was himself present during many of the transactions related at the end of this history. The authorities consulted are Rivolgimenti d'Italia, Gualterio; Le Istorie Italiane, dal 1846 to 1855, di Ferdinando Ranalli; Amari, 1734-1849; Annáli d'Italia, Coppi; Narrazioni Storiche di Piersilvestro Leopardi; Vita di Guglielmo Pepe, per Francesco Carrano; Fatti d'Italia, 1848, and Casi di Napoli, 1849, Massari; Naples, Political, Social, and Religious, by Lord B——; Letter of the Right Honourable W. Gladstone to Lord Aberdeen; Apology, the Right Honourable W. Gladstone; State Papers, Sicily, 1847-1848; State Papers, Naples, 1847-1848; Autobiography of General William Pepe; Documenti della Guerra Santa d'Italia; Rivoluzione Siciliana, 1848-1849; Carlo Poerio and the Neapolitan Police; Storia d'Italia, 1814-1850; Giornale delle Due Sicilie, &c.

his person, he broke his own promises, and those of Ferdinand, by continuing to withhold the Constitution. The Emperor of Austria, eager to retain the influence with the son he had exercised over the father, invited Francis to meet him at Milan; and the King of Naples accordingly, accompanied by his queen, joined the emperor in Lombardy towards the middle of May. In the conferences between the sovereigns, it was agreed to reduce the Austrian forces in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, to 35,000 men,[1] who were to continue there until May 1826, unless disturbances, or the incompetency of the Neapolitan army, should oblige Francis to request the prolongation of their stay until March 1827. The royal travellers returned to Naples in July.

The king's attention was first called to the state of the finances, which were heavily burdened by the maintenance of foreign troops. The revenue derived from Sicily, in 1825, had fallen short of the expenditure of that year; and to remedy this deficiency, Francis added to the taxes, while economizing in various branches of the administration. Still further to increase the income, he laid claim to the property of the Knights of Jerusalem, who, when expelled from Malta, had established their seat of government first at Messina, and afterwards at Catania.[2] They had since been deprived of all their benefices except in Bohemia, the States of the Church, and the kingdom of the Sicilies; and this year they were informed by Francis, that as, by the consent of almost all the sovereigns of Europe, they had lost the dominion of the Island of Malta, he now decreed that the Order should consider itself extinct; and had, in his Council of State, commanded the sequestration of such of their benefices as became vacant; and that they should abstain from creating any new knights without the royal permission, nor present to benefices, without acquainting the king. The knights, after refusing to acknowledge the legality of this decree, demanded a refuge in the Pontifical States, which was granted, and they accordingly removed to Rome in 1834.[3]

Towards the end of 1825, a few of the most violent and obscure of the Carbonari of Naples formed themselves into a secret society,

[1] *Annáli d'Italia*, Coppi. This reduction, however, was not equal to that agreed on at the Congress of Verona; see p. 462.

[2] See vol. i. book v. p. 439.

[3] *Annáli d'Italia*, Coppi.

by the name of the White Pilgrims, and corresponded with other societies in Syracuse and Catania, where the feeling of irritation against the Government prevailed even more strongly than on the Continent. The Sicilians had been deprived of most of their constitutional rights ever since the failure of the revolution of 1820, and their Neapolitan fellow-subjects had conspired with the king to destroy every vestige of self-government within the island, and to centralize the whole government in Naples. The claim of Naples had been supported by the Divine right of kings, which had been confirmed in the Treaty of Vienna in 1815, and by the democratic Constitution of Naples in 1820. The political intrigues of the Society of the White Pilgrims having been detected by the police, some of their number were tried and condemned by a military commission, early in 1826. But these attempts against the Government were not sufficiently formidable to prevent the reduction of the Austrian contingent, and fourteen hundred of them left the kingdom in the spring.

The king, anxious to comply with the wishes of Austria, urged his ministers to use every effort to restore order in the kingdom, by the suppression of the liberal party. The harsh and oppressive measures of the late reign continued unabated under the present, and the persecution became even more systematic and savage. In September 1826, the public functionaries were enjoined "to favour in every way *the friends of the throne and of the altar;* to carry on war to the death against all who, during the past vicissitudes of the kingdom, had, by deed or word, rebelled against the absolute government of the king;" and those officials who ventured to transgress these orders, were threatened with "*destitution, and to be themselves persecuted as the enemies of the king.*"[1] Corruption meantime pervaded every branch of the administration, and even spread to the higher classes of society. The Minister Medici, the queen's ladies of the bedchamber, and a certain Viglia, groom of the chambers to King Francis, carried on a sale of public offices. Viglia, a man of low extraction, and so ignorant, he could neither read nor write, amassed great wealth by these means, and he even sold the office of Minister of Finance for a sum amounting to nearly thirty thousand ducats.

[1] *Narrazioni Storiche di Piersilvestro Leopardi*, p. 27, and *Rivolgimenti d'Italia*, Gualterio, vol. ii. p. 277.

The following year, Niccolo Intonti, minister of police, ordered a list of suspected persons to be made in every province; but as the number on the list exceeded a hundred thousand, he abstained from further proceedings; only issuing a royal edict, commanding the gendarmes to consider themselves as sentinels in every place, and that their indictment of any person whatsoever should be accepted and implicitly believed in a court of justice.[1] In February 1827, the Austrian troops wholly evacuated the kingdom; but instead of being sent back to Austria, or dispersed throughout the Austrian dominions in Italy, they were detained on the line of the Po, ready to return to Naples, if requested by the king. The expense of their maintenance had reached seventy-four millions of ducats; and Francis, by a decree in the ensuing May, ordered an increase of the taxes to supply the deficiency caused by this heavy drain upon the exchequer; he, at the same time, incurred fresh expenses by the erection of a palace for the use of the government officers, and by continuing the road to Calabria; but these, as well as other public works, had at least the merit of utility.

The change of ministers in France,[2] which occurred in 1828, once more roused the hopes of the liberal party in the Two Sicilies, as well as in the rest of Europe. Though the Society of the Carbonari had been suppressed, many of the former members still continued to spread their opinions, and a few daring spirits in Naples and the neighbouring provinces of Salerno and Avellino, formed the nucleus of a conspiracy to raise a cry for the French Constitution; the leaders were three brothers of the name of Capezzoli, landed proprietors at Monte Forte, and at Bosco, a village in the district of Vallo in the Principato Citra. They had fought on the liberal side in 1820, and had been hunted by the agents of Government, for six years, but, escaping pursuit amidst the mountains, they had gained many followers, from a love of adventure, as well

[1] *Narrazioni Storiche di Piersilvestro Leopardi*, p. 27.

[2] In the autumn of 1827, the conservative ministers of Charles x. made a last effort to retain power, by dissolving the Parliament. Disturbances, followed by bloodshed, occurred during the new elections at Paris, and a letter appeared urging the Duke of Orleans to head the citizens. The ministers were obliged to resign, and in January 1828, a new cabinet was formed, which gave as little satisfaction as the former.—See Vaulabelle, *Histoire des Deux Restaurations*, vol. vii. chap. i.

as from a vulgar admiration for the marvellous. In 1827, their courage and good fortune again saved them from the soldiers and gendarmes, but this attempt at insurrection failed, because the people, though exasperated by persecution and oppressive taxes, placed no confidence in such leaders. In 1828, however, De Luca, a patriotic curate, in the village of Bosco, preached from the pulpit against the perjury, treachery, and bad faith of those in power; and at the conclusion of his sermon asked how long the country was to be disgraced by the presence of a foreign soldiery, or how long the people's patience was to be abused, since they had the power (were they so disposed) to regain their lost liberties. The flame of rebellion was quickly kindled, and broke out first at Salerno. The Capezzoli headed the revolt, and went about proclaiming the Constitution. The insurgents surprised the little fort of Palmiero, and burnt and pillaged the only town which resisted their progress. This first deed of violence appeared to have satisfied the vengeance of the people, for the Capezzoli had neither the influence to control them, nor the skill to keep their ardour alive. The king, though assured that the worst was over, sent Del Carretto, the inspector-general of the gendarmes, to the spot, with a considerable detachment of his troops, and orders to use the utmost rigour in putting down the rebellion. Del Carretto had begun life as a liberal, and in 1820, had been one of the most ardent supporters and the head of the staff of General William Pepe, in what he himself then termed, "the best of causes;" this same man, now eager to propitiate the Government, exaggerated the dangers of revolution, and prepared to crush the insurrection with all the apparatus of war. He was accompanied by six thousand soldiers and a train of artillery, with which he advanced against the little town of Bosco. At the sight of the royal troops, the people believed they were betrayed, and fled. Bosco was deserted at the approach of Del Carretto, but planting his artillery against the place, he shortly levelled it with the ground. Men, women, and children, the innocent with the guilty, were thus left destitute and homeless, while the conqueror raised a column on the spot, to commemorate his deed. Many persons were seized and executed, and Del Carretto, assuring all of pardon, who would yield themselves prisoners, three hundred surrendered, and were rewarded by chains. Twenty-

two (among whom were De Luca, and other priests) were first put to the torture and then executed at Salerno, and their heads stuck up on the high road. Fifteen were sent to the galleys for life, forty-three condemned to minor punishments, and others exiled. Many women were tortured, and among them, the wife of one of the leaders who had escaped. The province was placed under martial law. Eighty-five persons meantime were arrested in Naples and its neighbourhood, and reserved for trial until the beginning of the following year, when a council instituted for the examination of political offences, condemned seven to death, and thirty-nine to lesser punishments; while, as a reward for his conduct in this affair, Del Carretto was created a marquis, and raised to the rank of field-marshal. Meanwhile, Niccolo de Matteis, *intendente* of Cosenza, a former pupil of Canosa, was guilty of still greater cruelty and oppression, until the people over whom he ruled, became so exasperated, that the Government was obliged to summon him to Naples, to answer for his conduct. During his trial, the exhibition of his tortured victims struck all with horror; but fortunately for him, before his sentence had been pronounced, the death of Francis occurred, and, under the succeeding reign, he was allowed to escape the punishment due to his crimes.

In 1829, the King of the Two Sicilies accompanied his third daughter, Maria Christina, to Madrid, where she was united in marriage with Ferdinand VII. of Spain. During his absence, his eldest son, Ferdinand, remained regent. The young prince inherited the love of power, so conspicuous in his grandmother, Caroline of Austria, united with the parsimony of his grandfather, Ferdinand I. Medici and Viglia were absent, as they had followed Francis to Spain, and the ministers left in Naples were, therefore, made to experience the self-will of their future sovereign, who, in after times, vindictively remembered the passive resistance now offered him by Amati, minister of the interior. The people, however, augured well of a prince who turned his back on his father's hated favourites, as well as on the rapacious ministers who were shamelessly robbing the State. Though without a spark of patriotism, Ferdinand possessed the pride often allied with meanness, and resenting the dictation from the Court of Vienna, so long submitted to by his father and grandfather, he was desirous

of forming a national army: and thus for the first time, after the lapse of many years, the Neapolitan army which had been degraded and neglected by their sovereigns, found sympathy, and had their hopes and ambition awakened by the heir to the throne. The return of the Court from Madrid was soon followed by the death of the Minister Medici. The cost of this journey is stated at 692,705 ducats, which added to the already embarrassed state of the exchequer.

In July of the year 1830, a revolution placed Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans, on the throne of France. He had, for some time past, in conjunction with Francis, fourth Duke of Modena, been tampering with the liberal party in Italy; both dukes aiming at a crown, through the agency of men whose hopes they flattered, to betray. No sooner had Louis Philippe, by unexpected good fortune, reached the height at which he aspired, than he perceived that his best interest was to make friends with the reigning dynasties; and Francis of Modena, finding himself abandoned by the King of the French, thought it safest to trust once more to the protection of Austria. Whether actuated by some latent feeling of remorse, or perceiving in the means which had raised him to a throne, and displaced his cousin Charles x., that there is danger to royalty in too long a resistance to the will of the people, Louis Philippe proposed to address a memorial to his brother-in-law, Francis of Naples, urging on him the necessity of yielding his subjects a Constitution like that of France. He was anxious to seek the best advice in an affair of so much delicacy, and therefore consulted one well acquainted with the Neapolitan Court and king, General William Pepe. Though still an exile in Paris, the general had not been favoured by any direct communication from Louis Philippe when Duke of Orleans, and during the intrigues carried on with the liberal party in Italy; he was therefore, now, for the first time, summoned to his presence. The memorial was drawn up and sent, but Francis reposing in the luxuries of a Court which rivalled that of the regency and Louis xv. of France, only replied, "that the danger was not so near." His short reign, and longer career of vice and tyranny was, however, near its close, and a few months later, when on his deathbed, he is said to have anticipated the evils impending over his race. A hypocrite towards his own

subjects, and untouched by pity or remorse where the sufferings of others were concerned, he yet died of grief and rage at the success of the revolution in France, which had raised the hopes of the liberals throughout Europe. He left to his successor an aristocracy immersed in pleasure and vice; a people sunk in ignorance and superstition, taught, by the example of their rulers, contempt for law, and governed by the scaffold, by torture, by the police and Swiss soldiers; and a kingdom reduced to the condition of a vice-royalty of Austria.

PART II.

REIGN OF FERDINAND II.

1830–1846.

THE accession of Ferdinand II. was hailed by the people as a joyful event; for in every new king they hoped for an amelioration of their unhappy condition; and their hopes appeared confirmed in his determination to take the reins of government into his own hands, and no longer to allow the ministers to be masters. Despising the refinements as well as luxuries of life, Ferdinand was able at times, and where he pleased, to assume a royal condescension and suavity of manners, which readily imposed on men who love the atmosphere of a court; while his profound ignorance and superstition, which he shared with the lowest class of Naples, assisted to make him equally popular with the Lazzaroni. From infancy he had been taught to prize money for its own sake, and the love of wealth, with the love of power, had become his ruling passions. A character such as his was not likely to allow interference, even when offered as advice; and when Louis Philippe repeated to him the counsel which had been rejected by Francis, he replied in a still more haughty tone: "The Bourbons are too ancient a race to consent to innovations."

The accession of Louis Philippe had drawn the family connexion between France, Spain, and Naples even closer than before, as Marie Amelie, Queen of the French, was aunt to both Christina of Spain and Ferdinand of Naples. But the harmony between the Spanish and Neapolitan courts was for a time interrupted, when, on the birth of a daughter, the King of Spain revoked the Salic law in her favour, depriving his brother, Don Carlos, as well as Ferdinand of Naples, and all collateral male-heirs of the House of Bourbon of the hope of succession they had hitherto enjoyed, where the direct line was only represented by a female.

Ferdinand's first act was the publication of a general amnesty, which excited a transport of joy and hope throughout the nation. Many of those who had been dismissed the army after 1821, now returned, and among them General Filangieri, the son of the philosopher, and whose exploits in war have been already frequently mentioned in the preceding History, but who a few years later proved himself no unworthy servant of his new master. The king was now able to gratify the desire he had most at heart, and form an army wholly subservient to his will, and which should only exist through him and for him. That of Murat had been totally disbanded after the Revolution of 1820, and the small body of native troops remaining, had been rendered subordinate to those of Austria and Switzerland in the service of the King of Naples. As a preliminary step, therefore, Ferdinand endeavoured to remedy the exhausted state of the exchequer by taxing the incomes of all the government officials on a graduated scale, those paying most who received the largest salaries; a measure less unjust than it at first appears, as the incomes of the ministers of the Crown were exorbitant compared with those of lower officials. Besides this, the king reduced the privy purse, by resigning three hundred and sixty thousand ducats of his annual income, though without any personal sacrifice, as the sum had been set apart for the royal charities, which were now accordingly restricted; while, by an order of the Minister of the Interior, gratuitous means of instruction, at the disposal of the municipalities, were bestowed on indigent students, whose education had been hitherto defrayed by the royal purse.[1] Numerous offices, which in the preceding reign had been given to the favourites of the sovereign and of the ministers, were abolished by Ferdinand; while he established a tribunal for the examination of disputed points of law, and for purposes of justice. This last measure greatly increased his popularity, and confirmed the hopes of the people, which had been raised by those features in the character of their new sovereign, promising a different career from that of his father, as well as by his youth, and by the favourable commencement of his reign.

To enhance this popularity, and at the same time make the contrast more striking between himself and his predecessors, Fer-

[1] See *Rivolgimenti d'Italia*, and *Storia d'Italia*, 1814-1850, Gualterio, vol. i. p. 320.

dinand made two journeys into the provinces, during which he avoided all unnecessary expense, and arrived at the various resting-places on his route without sending any previous intimation, but lodging where he could best be received, not even despising the humble accommodation of the mendicant friars. This first tour only occupied six days, in which he was lavish of promises to the people, and he returned to Naples with no fewer than six thousand petitions. Not a few of these were complaints against the oppressive conduct of the *Intendente*, Sant' Angelo, and even while he was seated beside the king, the people following the carriage, heaped opprobrious terms on their tyrant; Ferdinand, therefore, resolved to bring the offender to justice, and summoned him to Naples, to stand his trial for misgovernment.

Some alarm was created in Naples, early in 1831, by revolutionary movements in Modena and the States of the Church. Francis, Duke of Modena, who had lately conspired with Louis Philippe and the liberal party in Italy, was (as has been already stated) the son of an Austrian archduke, who had married the daughter and heiress of the last of the House of Este, and he had been always notorious for his oppressive government, even among the despots of Italy. He had had an able coadjutor in Canosa, who, banished from Naples, had found a safe refuge in Modena. The secret encouragement which the duke's ambition had tempted him to give the liberals, the success of the late revolution in France, and the desertion of their cause by Louis Philippe, succeeded by that of the duke himself, had at once decoyed and goaded on his unhappy subjects to a revolt, in which they were seconded by the inhabitants of the States of Rome. The whole peninsula would probably have followed the example, had not the armies of Austria, and the interference of France, with that of the other potentates of Europe, crushed the rebellion in its commencement, and left the duke and Pope at liberty to wreak their vengeance on their unhappy subjects.

The Neapolitan liberals, encouraged by Ferdinand's apparent desire to satisfy their wishes, had, in the commencement of his reign, established a central committee in Naples, composed of deputies from the committees already instituted in the provinces. They had asked, and even hoped to obtain, from a Bourbon king, a represen-

tative government; and now when the ministers (whose absolutist principles were undoubted) were alarmed by the present aspect of affairs, the popular measures begun by Ferdinand, appeared certain of fulfilment. Intonti, Minister of Police, aware how much he was detested by the people for his conduct during the reign of Francis, and feeling his person hardly safe, made advances to the liberal party, and advised Ferdinand to increase the powers of the Council of State,[1] to convoke an assembly of notables, to reorganize the administrative system in the provinces, and to form a national guard; and he even secretly promoted some trifling insurrections, to terrify him into compliance. The writs for the members of Parliament had been issued, the commanders of the national guard appointed, and both deputies and officers chosen from those who had filled the same situations in 1820, when a courier arrived from Prince Metternich to inform Ferdinand of the entrance of Austrian troops into the Roman States, and urging him to stand firm, at any risk. The king, who had so lately commended the wisdom of the minister, no sooner perceived that the revolt in Italy was likely to be effectually crushed, than he altered his tone towards Intonti, who now found he had been too hasty in his liberal measures, since his sovereign, anxious to rid himself of the ministers of Francis, was glad to seize on any pretext to effect this object. General Filangieri, though he had assisted in the plots of Intonti to intimidate the king, betrayed the conspiracy, and assured Ferdinand the Minister of Police had himself intended to revolutionize Naples.[2] On the following night, gendarmes surrounded the house where Intonti resided; his papers were seized, and he himself hurried into a carriage, and escorted to the frontiers. The news of his fall were received with unbounded joy by the people, whose exultation was, however, soon checked, when they learned that Del Carretto (a name held in as great abhorrence as that of Intonti) had been appointed in his stead. The king next dismissed Amati in disgrace, for the part he had taken against him when regent, while he gave Viglia permission to retire upon a large fortune, and finally turned out all the old ministers, and formed a cabinet composed of men subservient to his will. His subjects, however, only saw in

[1] See vol. ii. book viii. chap. i. p. 256.

[2] See *Storia d'Italia*, 1814-1850; Randli, vol. i. p. 322.

this measure the removal of unpopular rulers, and applauded their sovereign.

Fresh disturbances, meanwhile, in Sicily, during the autumn of 1831, showed the spirit of discontent there was unallayed, though the general amnesty of Ferdinand, in the beginning of his reign, had included a pardon to several Sicilians languishing in prison for political offences of a recent date. Eleven persons now perished on the scaffold, and many more were condemned to minor punishments. The total disregard of the Constitution of 1812 (which had been made a condition by Lord Castlereagh in 1816, and promised by Ferdinand I.) was enough to rouse the spirit of a people more tolerant of oppression than the Sicilians; but the accession of Ferdinand II., who was born in Sicily, which he left when a child of ten years of age, who spoke their dialect, and boasted of being a Sicilian, had naturally awakened a hope that he would act in a manner more conformable with the laws of the country than his predecessors. In his first proclamation he had acknowledged their wrongs, and declared his resolution "*to heal the wounds of Sicily, inflicted by his father and grandfather.*" He removed an unpopular lord-lieutenant, and caused him to be tried for treason, while sending his own brother, Leopold Count of Syracuse, in his place. The appointment of one of the royal family restored a court at Palermo. It appeared to secure the Sicilians from bureaucratic or Neapolitan domination; and the Government was for a time made purely Sicilian. But, however popular this measure, it could not efface the recollection, that while Sicily was without a national Parliament and Constitution, there was no guarantee to secure liberty or a just administration of the laws; while the open violation of all morals on the part of the new governor, soon converted the loyalty of the people into disgust.

Meantime the Neapolitan liberals, indignant at their late bitter disappointment, and at their king submitting to the dictation of Metternich, were revolving an Italian Revolution, which should insure representative governments in each separate state of the peninsula, and unite all in one National Confederation. For this purpose they despatched one of their party, Francesco Paolo Ruggiero, to establish two lines of communication on either side of the Alps, while Naples was to keep up the correspondence at

sea, by Malta and Marseilles. Unfortunately for Italian liberty, the several States of the Peninsula had been hitherto kept apart by mutual hatreds and jealousies; but their sufferings in a common cause were now gradually leading to a spirit of nationality, and the people began to perceive that they, like their princes, must seek for strength in combination; while the conviction was fast forcing itself on their minds, that unity and brotherhood, extending wherever the Italian language is spoken, are the only means by which they can hope to succeed, or drive out the foreign power who has spread his roots in Italy, who supports her petty tyrants, and saps the sources of that freedom which is the birthright of the land. These ideas first emanated from some of the most enlightened of the Carbonari; but ideas are of slow growth in the mass of the people, and they only now gave a promise of fruit, when petty rivalries and antipathies were beginning to be forgotten in the universal misery.

Among the most earnest and conscientious, but at the same time unhappy efforts produced by the spirit of the age, were those of an association which sprung up in Piedmont in 1831 under the name of *Young Italy*. Its chief leader was Joseph Mazzini, a Genoese, who had that year sent up an address to the King of Sardinia to the same effect as those already presented to the King of the Two Sicilies, praying for a constitutional statute. For this act he was forced into exile, and from that time laid the scheme for a union of all Italy under a republican form of government. In his work entitled *Royalty and Republicanism in Italy*, he writes thus:—"A republic may be a good or a bad thing according to time and place; governments cannot be improvised; they must spring from the very heart of the people, from the history, the education, the social re-organization, the habits and tendencies of the country." Attributing the failures of former revolutions to the faults of their leaders, he declares that it would be unfair to estimate the Italian people by the proofs given in their previous attempts to obtain freedom: that they had hitherto been called upon to fight by an aristocracy or by kings, and had experienced the cowardice of the former, the disloyalty of the latter; that it was therefore folly to expect they would give their substance, labours, and life, for them; but once let them be summoned to fight for

their own liberty, and to feel that success must depend on their own arm, and they would give a noble example of strength and heroism.

The end proposed by the society of Young Italy, was to regenerate the political condition of the country; their means, the union of the federalists throughout the peninsula and the adjacent islands; and the measure for its attainment, a general revolution. None were admitted into the society who had passed the age of forty, or who had been stained by crime. The founders commenced their work by publishing a newspaper, entitled *La Giovine Italia*, containing a series of articles on politics, morals, and literature, all tending to promote a democratic government. The scheme met with little encouragement from the liberals of Naples, who ridiculed it as Utopian; but as Mazzini assured them that the idea would work marvels in Upper and Central Italy, they agreed, while rejecting it fundamentally, to accept it as a subsidiary means.

The struggle which was even then approaching was one of no ordinary nature, and the powers opposed to one another were as unequal in strength as differing in kind. On one side the Italian people, divided in their interests, and only recently united in a common cause, by a common suffering, but with the mutual wounds inflicted during many centuries hardly yet healed; disorganized thousands without one natural head, and their self-instituted leaders having (besides the common foe) to contend against ignorance, credulity, fanaticism, and even philanthropy; trusting solely in their righteous cause, and in the sense and genius of the people they had to guide: on the other, one of the greatest powers of Europe, supported in her claims to dominion over half the peninsula, and to supremacy over the whole, by Russia, Prussia, France, and even England; with an organized system of government, police, and an army of foreigners; under the direction of the most skilful diplomatist of the age, who had maintained the policy of Austria by spreading the family connexions in all the reigning families of Italy, offering Austrian protection to all her rulers, supporting priestly domination, spreading superstition, and fomenting dissensions among the people.

Sardinia alone, among the dynasties, was true to Italy because

adverse to Austria, and it was therefore all-important for her to secure the alliance of Naples. It appeared, therefore, to promise well for the cause of union and nationality, when, in 1832, Ferdinand (having attained his twenty-second year) visited Piedmont in the strictest *incognito*, and was there married to Maria Christina, the youngest daughter of the late king, Victor Emanuel. The King of Naples, while in the court of Turin, found himself surrounded by all that was congenial to his nature; and amidst military and ecclesiastical institutions, both of which were all-influential in Piedmont, he learnt a new lesson of power. From the period that Piedmont first became a kingdom (1720) the Government had been a pure despotism, supported by a haughty aristocracy and army; while the Church, and more especially the Jesuits, enjoyed great wealth and influence. After the interval of the French Revolution, the absolute power of the Kings of Sardinia had been restored, and was only interrupted by the short-lived revolution of 1820, in which Charles Albert, heir-presumptive to the throne, was supposed to have been implicated. The Court of Vienna, desirous of extending the power of Austria, by family ties, in Sardinia, as she had already done in Tuscany,[1] Modena,[2] and Parma,[3] endeavoured to prove the guilt of the young prince, to cause the Salic law to be revoked, and thus smooth the way to the succession of Francis Duke of Modena, the cousin of the emperor, and the husband of a Sardinian princess. The prudence of Charles Albert defeated the schemes of Metternich, and he succeeded to the throne of his cousin Carlo Felice. The ambition of his house, his sincere attachment to his country, and his resentment at the insults and injuries he continued to receive from Austria, alike moved him to regard that power as the bitterest enemy of himself, his dynasty, and Italy: and while his early education amidst the struggles for liberty in France, combined with his native sagacity, enabled him wisely to discern, that while promoting the interests of the people he governed, he promoted his own, his hereditary attachment to

[1] *Tuscany.* Leopold II., Grand Duke of Tuscany, was grandson to the Emperor Leopold of Austria.

[2] *Modena.* Francis IV., Duke of Modena, was son of the Archduke Ferdinand of Austria, and of Beatrice d'Este.

[3] *Parma* was governed temporarily by the Archduchess Maria Louisa, widow of the Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte; the rightful sovereign and lineal descendant of Philip of Bourbon, being at this time Duke of Lucca.

the principles of a pure monarchy, the fear of Austrian encroachment, and the strength of the Catholic or retrogradist party within his kingdom, had led him, during the first years of his reign, to continue in the path of arbitrary and oppressive rule trod by his predecessors. The disappointed hopes of the liberals caused outbreaks, which he mercilessly repressed, and this opposition to his Government had finally assumed a definite form in the Society of Young Italy. While Europe, therefore, joined with Naples, in auguring well from the early reforms of Ferdinand, his future rival, Charles Albert, was ruling his people with the iron rod of despotism; this marriage of Ferdinand, therefore, though for the time drawing the alliance closer between Naples and Sardinia, was unfortunate for the Neapolitans; since the young princess, only twenty years of age, though blessed with a singularly amiable disposition, had been educated in an atmosphere of bigotry and superstition: herself under the guidance of Jesuits, she exerted her influence over the king, to increase the power of the priesthood; and Ferdinand proved his attachment to the army and the Church, by commanding military honours to be paid to saints, by creating the warrior saint, Ignatius Loyola, a field-marshal, and conferring on him pay conformable with his rank. All branches of education in Naples were now confided to the Jesuits, who had returned by a Concordat between the Pope and the preceding sovereign, and were rapidly increasing in wealth and influence; while the office of minister of the interior was bestowed on Sant' Angelo, who, though under trial for his conduct when *Intendente* of a province, had contrived to gain the good-will of the Jesuits, and was restored to the royal favour at the intercession of the queen.

The severities practised by the police under the superintendence of Del Carretto, with the unceasing desire for a constitution, were, however, circumstances ill calculated to allay the spirit of insurrection, ever ready to break forth in Naples. A conspiracy called that of Il Monaco, from the friar who was its chief leader, was closely followed, in 1833, by one in the army itself, of a more alarming character. The plot was conducted by two brothers, the sons of that same Rossaroll, who had been the last to maintain the cause of the Sicilian Constitution in 1821. They had remained in Greece, after the death of their father, and, grown to manhood, had

joined in the war of freedom; but no sooner had they returned to Naples, than they entered into this conspiracy, in which they proposed to kill the king and proclaim his brother, Prince Charles of Capua, on condition of his accepting the Constitution of France. The conspiracy was defeated, and the leaders condemned to die, but received a pardon on the scaffold. Their lives were spared to be consumed during fifteen years in irons in a Neapolitan dungeon; while this act of seeming clemency on the part of the king obtained for him the name of a second Titus.[1] The central committee had received timely information of the discovery of this conspiracy by the Austrian Government, who had denounced its authors; but as not one of the sixty thousand conspirators turned traitor, Austria could only give up the names of those few who had carried on the correspondence. Many arrests were made in the Abruzzi and elsewhere; some persons were executed and others banished; and at the very time when men of honour and virtue were thus subjected to imprisonment or exile, Niccolo de Matteis, the former *Intendente* of Cosenza, who had been arrested during the reign of Francis, and was still undergoing his trial on the accession of Ferdinand, was restored to liberty, and richly compensated for his late sufferings.

Several attempts at revolution by Young Italy were made this year and the following, in Piedmont; and the refugees gathering in large numbers in Switzerland, and on the borders of Italy, the King of the Two Sicilies joined Austria, Prussia, and Russia, in a protest against a hospitality which threatened the permanence of the Italian Governments. The Swiss endeavoured to defend the right of asylum, but found it vain for a small though brave nation to disobey the mandate of the great powers of Europe; the principal exiles were therefore obliged to seek shelter in England.

Meantime the disgraceful conduct of Leopold Count of Syracuse, during his administration of Sicily, having almost caused a revolt in the island, the king found it necessary in 1835 to recall him. Fearing lest the Sicilian nobles should again attempt to revive the original Constitution of 1812, Ferdinand appointed a minister to communicate personally with himself, and sent the Prince of Campofranco to succeed his brother as lieutenant in the island.

[1] *Narrazioni Storiche di Piersilvestro Leopardi*, p. 33.

From that time forth the king treated Sicily as a rebellious province, and hoped to strengthen his own power by insisting on absolute uniformity of government in Sicily and Naples; thus reducing the whole kingdom to a state of bondage.

On the 16th January 1836, Maria Christina gave birth to a prince, who was christened Francis. But the joy of the king and people was soon converted into mourning by the death of the young queen, on the 31st of that same month. She had been adored by the people, who called her "The Saint," and who, after her death, showed the affection with which they cherished her memory, by their attachment to her son. While united to her, Ferdinand appeared to have emancipated himself from the trammels of the Court of Vienna, and the death of Maria Christina was therefore a fortunate event for Austria.

After an interval of five months the king made a tour through Italy, visiting every court except that of Turin, and reached Vienna just at a time when the relations between the Emperor and the King of Sardinia were least amicable. From Vienna he proceeded to Paris, and thence returned to Naples, where the Cholera Morbus, which had first appeared in Italy in October 1835, was raging with great violence. The Neapolitans, as well as the people in other parts of continental Europe, attributed the disease to poison, and to tranquillize their fears, Ferdinand visited all parts of the city in person, entering the bakers' shops and tasting the bread.

About this time, the secret marriage of Prince Charles of Capua with an Irish lady, without the consent of the sovereign, induced the king to banish his brother from Naples. The following year, Ferdinand concluded his own nuptials with Maria Theresa, daughter of the Archduke Charles of Austria, an event which was displeasing to his people, both from the apparent want of respect to the memory of the late queen, for whom the Neapolitans had scarcely yet ceased to mourn, as well as from drawing the alliance closer with the court of Vienna.

Sicily had long been preparing for revolt when the visitation of the cholera, which had returned to Italy in August 1837, was accompanied with the old tale of poison. The name of Ferdinand and the Neapolitans were alike detested by the Sicilians as the

authors of all their sufferings. They were groaning under the weight of taxes far beyond the limits of the sum which Ferdinand I. had promised England never should be exceeded without the consent of a Sicilian Parliament, and, to crown their grievances, Ferdinand II. had torn up the decree containing the last terms of the agreement with Lord Castlereagh, and proclaimed that "*In order to draw the great family of the State nearer his royal person, he annulled Art. I. of the law of* 1816, *by which the public employments of the country were reserved for Sicilians.*" This had been followed by the arrival of a number of Neapolitans (creatures of the king), who were employed to subvert the existing administrations, and introduce what was called a mixed government, or the law of "*prosmicuità*," by which the officials were to be composed equally of Neapolitans and Sicilians. Complaints against this unpopular measure were followed by loss of office or imprisonment. The accusation of a spy was enough to cause ruin, and respectable citizens disappeared, lost to their relatives, either in prison or exile, and often only to gratify private revenge or envy. Those who ventured to remonstrate, were told the Neapolitans had come over to civilize the barbarians, and that it was necessary to humble the pride of the "Sicilian rabble." The lieutenant of the king had been deprived of all power, and as every public official was ordered to receive his instructions directly from the minister at Naples, he resided there the greater part of the year, while dating his despatches from Palermo. The Sicilians were therefore obliged frequently to cross the sea, and add their numbers to those who crowded the ante-chamber of the ministers, and who had to wait days without an interview, often only to be obtained by bribery.

Anonymous publications, expressive of the desire for a constitution, and attributed to Prince Charles of Capua, who was now residing at Malta, were circulated among the people, and at the very moment when they were most incensed against the king, the cholera made its appearance. A ship laden with soldiers from Naples, some of whom had died of the disease on the voyage, arrived at Palermo, and soon afterwards it broke out there with frightful virulence. The dense population of the city, and the state of the atmosphere, were enough to account for the mortality, but the Sicilians complained with bitterness, the plague had been

sent them by the Neapolitans. Even people of rank and education believed in the report, and the Archbishop of Palermo himself died in the firm belief that he had been poisoned. No measures were taken to convince the people of their error, or to soothe their irritation; and in the midst of this perplexity and terror, the cry for a Constitution was once more raised in Catania, and a Provisional Government proclaimed. The attempt at revolution was, however, speedily suppressed, but the king, enraged with his Sicilian subjects, and now almost entirely under the influence of Del Carretto, sent the minister of police himself, to wreak his vengeance on Sicily.

Meantime Calabria, which had suffered from an earthquake in April of that same year, was likewise devastated by cholera. That province which, with the exception of Sicily, had most cause of complaint against the Government, was the most ready to confound a calamity of nature with political grievances. The people were convinced that poison had been sent down in caskets to the *Intendentes*, and used to infect the wells. At the first sign of a spirit of insubordination, Del Carretto conferred unlimited power on Giuseppe Liguoro, the *Intendente* of Catanzaro, who had aided him on his former visit to Calabria when Bosco had been destroyed, and he now ordered him again to employ forcible measures to repress the insurrection. Liguoro not only dragged those before the military commissions who had spread the report of poison, but even those who were credulous enough to believe it; seven of these last were condemned to death, which gave rise to a conjecture that they were men displeasing to the Government, and of whom the police were anxious to get rid.

Order had been restored in Sicily before the arrival of Del Carretto, but he immediately instituted courts-martial to try the offenders. A thousand of the Sicilians were placed under arrest; most of them were sentenced summarily to death, and more than a hundred executed. The leaders had escaped or fallen in conflict, but Del Carretto hoped by the number of his victims to strike terror, prove the magnitude of the revolt to Europe, and justify the subsequent acts of the Government, which had already been decided on. Such was the haste with which the executions were conducted, that, in one instance, there was found one too many

among the dead. A lad of fourteen perished, besides many priests and women, while, to add to the horror of the scene, a band of music was ordered to play during the executions. Del Carretto passed his time in feasting and dances, to which he invited the wives and daughters of those who had fled or been compromised. Some few lives alone were spared through the intervention of General Reggio, who, though he had accompanied Del Carretto, did not quite forget he was himself a Sicilian.

On his return to Naples, the minister of police was rewarded by the order of St. Januarius. He declared Sicily to be in a state of barbarism, and unworthy of free institutions; every trace of Sicilian privileges was accordingly effaced, the taxes were increased, and everything centralized in Naples, while the administration within the island was entirely confided to Neapolitans. A system of espionage was organized, the principal management of which was intrusted to bishops, priests, and Jesuits. Any person denying an accusation, or offering resistance when dragged to the police-office or barracks of the gendarmes, was scourged, hung up by the arms, or tortured still more frightfully to extract evidence against himself or others; while all found carrying arms were publicly flogged by the hands of the executioner, which punishment could be inflicted at the pleasure of the police. Such continued to be the state of Sicily from 1837 to 1847.

Secret societies, resembling those of the old Carbonari, though in a modified form, had already sprung up in the island, and had spread their ramifications throughout the Neapolitan kingdom. The Abruzzi and Calabria formed the two centres of agitation on the mainland, and committees organized in various places, communicated with one another, and with the central committee in Naples. Opposed to them was the party then dominant in the kingdom, called Austro-Spanish from the influence of Vienna, and their principles resembling those of the old Spanish Viceregal Government. Though Ferdinand continued occasionally to resist the assumed supremacy of Austria (whom he proposed as his model, not his guide), his jealousy of the rising influence of Piedmont was gradually throwing him entirely into the power of Metternich; and meantime Charles Albert, while improving the internal condition of his country, encouraging commerce and agriculture, and

reforming the municipalities, was paving the way for an extension of political freedom; his labours for the advantage of his people, with his antagonism to Austria, who vainly endeavoured to frustrate his schemes for the public good, alike pointed him out as a future leader to the advocates of gradual reform and constitutional monarchy; while in Ferdinand they beheld the avowed adversary of liberty, and the friend and disciple of the foreign tyrant of Italy. The purely local insurrections of Sicily and Naples began to be regarded in the light of Italian revolutions. Viewed as such from Vienna, where it was feared they would give an impulse to movements in Central Italy, it became the interest of Austria to repress every attempt of the Sicilians or Neapolitans to recover their Constitutions; and in order to defeat the machinations of the liberal party in Italy with their own weapons, the cabinet of Metternich resorted to a secret society on the side of despotism.

Secret societies had been first established in Italy to support the Papal power as early as the thirteenth century. In 1799, a society called the Order of Santa Fede,[1] or, as the members were designated, the Sanfedisti, was established in the support of the ecclesiastical power; but in 1836, on the accession of Gregory XVI., they had acted with so little discrimination, that Cardinal Lambruschini, then minister, and trained in the school of the elder Bourbons of France, was himself obliged to restrain their abuses, while he, at the same time, expressed the gratitude of the Church for the services they had rendered, and the hope that they would be continued. An association of a similar kind now sprang up under the auspices of Austria, with the name of the *Ferdinandea* in compliment to the two Ferdinands, reigning in Vienna and Naples, whose alliance was cemented by a secret understanding that, when an opportunity occurred, they were to share between them a considerable portion of the Papal territories, north and south. This society, while endeavouring to strengthen the interest of Austria in Italy, spread infamous libels against the King of Sardinia under the colour of friends of liberty, and thus did their utmost to aid the cause of their patrons.

In 1839, some progress was made in material improvements in

[1] See Gualterio, *Rivolgimenti Italiani*, vol. iv. p. 41, note, pp. 454, 455.

Naples, though more for the convenience of the king than the advantages of commerce, or the people. A railroad was completed from Naples to Portici, which was afterwards prolonged to Castellamare and Nocera, and for the first time the metropolis was lighted with gas. Ferdinand's rage for interfering in every branch of the Government extended even to commerce, and under the pretence of preventing abuses and of co-operating to spread advantages, he meddled in all branches of national industry, suspended and dissolved obligations and contracts, and ruined many enterprises, while placing himself as a barrier to every great undertaking. The sulphur trade in Sicily was chiefly carried on with English merchants, but in 1840, Ferdinand granted a monopoly to a French company. From his close alliance with Austria he no longer needed the protection of England as an ally, and therefore was indifferent how he offended her, and he feared that by too frequent an intercourse between the English and his subjects, they might increase the desire of the Sicilians for political freedom. The king desired also to make the sulphur mines profitable to his exchequer, and as he could not impose a tariff without the consent of the Sicilian Parliament (which he did not wish to convoke), he sold the monopoly to the French company, on condition of their making new roads, and paying an annual sum to the Neapolitan Government. British merchants joined the Sicilians in a remonstrance to the king, but Ferdinand denied their claims. The English seized on the property of Neapolitan vessels in the seas of Naples, and the king in return sequestrated British ships. The dispute might have led to a war had not the French Government interfered, and persuaded the King of Naples to indemnify the British merchants, and withdraw the monopoly. By these terms Ferdinand incurred no loss, since the money was extorted from the Sicilians, who had already suffered from his grant to the French company. This triumph of England was viewed with jealous eyes by Russia, who commenced intrigues within the island, which were neither unperceived nor discouraged by Ferdinand.

Alarmed, however, at the growing spirit of discontent in Sicily, the king, in 1842, determined to visit it in person, hoping by his presence to propitiate the islanders. In his progress from Messina

to Palermo, he observed that the roads were deserted, and that, upon his entering the latter city, the doors and windows of the houses were closed. Sending for the authorities to inquire the reason, he assured them he was ignorant of any misgovernment in the island; but finding that his life was hardly safe there, he soon returned to Naples. Shortly afterwards an outbreak occurred in the Abruzzi, where the governor of the province was one Tanfano, formerly the head of a band of brigands in the service of Cardinal Ruffo. He was assassinated in the beginning of the revolt, which was soon suppressed; but the Marquis Dragonetti, with about thirty nobles, were thrown into prison, while upwards of three hundred persons fled into the Roman States and to Malta. Dragonetti, who had been twice arrested, was a man of mild and benevolent character, and did not belong to any extreme party in politics; but the liberality of his views, and his exertions to promote the material welfare of the people, were sufficient to bring him under constant suspicion.

The king had now fallen almost entirely under the guidance of three men—Del Carretto, the minister of police; Monsignor Cocle, his confessor; and Sant' Angelo, minister of the interior. Sant' Angelo united in his single person the departments of public instruction, agriculture, and commerce; and having amassed great wealth, he gathered around him men of genius, whose flattery he prized, while he, in his turn, cajoled Ferdinand, affecting entire subserviency to his will. Little was done to advance the internal prosperity of the kingdom, for even the money destined for the construction of roads, was applied by him to other purposes to please the king. By his laws for the regulation of the civil administration, he increased the despotic power of the sovereign, subjecting the election of the municipal officers, as well as of the members of the district and provincial councils, to the central Government, and depriving them of all power to dispose of the communal and provincial revenues without the consent of the king. Monsignor Cocle, Archbishop of Patrasso, and confessor to Ferdinand, belonged to the order of the Ligoristi, and was opposed to all progress in knowledge. He enjoyed even greater influence than Sant' Angelo, and under his tuition, the king, while affecting the most rigid morality, and enforcing the same on the Royal house-

hold, as well as strict economy in the palace, indulged his favourite passion in the accumulation of wealth. To gratify his avarice and the rapacity of the public officials, an excessive retrenchment was introduced in the pay of all subordinate officers, leading to pilfering and dishonesty, and lowering the moral standard of the people, who believed that an office under Government conferred a right to seize on property not their own.

As the stability of a despotism, such as that of Naples, depends on the ignorance of the masses, every attempt to enlighten or ennoble the minds of the subjects was rewarded with persecution. The police were eager to get possession of the whole censorship of the press, part of which was still retained by the Jesuits. An opportunity soon presented itself. Among the annuals for new year's day, 1844, there was one containing an account of a journey to Pizzo in Calabria, by Mariano D'Ayala, professor of the military college, and formerly an officer in the army of Joachim. Though occupying a place under Government, D'Ayala took this opportunity of making observations derogatory to the dignity of the king, while describing how the statue of Ferdinand I. nobly turned its back on the spot where Murat was shot. The author was accordingly degraded from his office, and much to the indignation of the Jesuits, the minister of police seized this moment to transfer the entire censorship of the press to himself. Everything was bought and sold through Monsignor Cocle and Del Carretto, and where they had rival interests they always contrived to settle the matter amicably.

In his management of the police, Del Carretto had the skill to render it less obtrusive than formerly. He abolished a special tribunal instituted by Francis, but transferred its authority to the ordinary tribunals, and by ferocious executions and acts of violence, repeated from time to time, kept alive the dread of his power. He revived the punishment of flogging, and the citizens hardly felt their lives safe in his hands. With the co-operation of the Austrian minister Lebzeltern, he magnified his own importance with the king, while keeping Ferdinand in constant alarm by accounts of plots and conspiracies. The king's favourite army appeared scarcely sufficient to protect him from the liberals, and he accordingly placed a body of eight thousand gendarmes at the

disposal of the minister of police, and purchased a body-guard of Swiss. The prisons, filled with persons accused of political offences, as well as the ordinary number of criminals, were in a loathsome condition; and while the physical sufferings of the prisoners surpassed the imagination of those who had not beheld these dens of misery, the prisons themselves were schools of corruption, by which the offender left their walls worse than when he entered. Greedy officials made their own profits there as well as in the endowments for public charities, where they swarmed, and amassed riches at the expense of the poor, for whose benefit these institutions were intended. Though Del Carretto and Cocle ruled over Ferdinand by his fears and superstition, the king was jealous of his authority; and in order to counteract the preponderating influence of any one minister in the Cabinet, he had the cunning to foment their dissensions, and thus often frustrated measures for the welfare of the country, or even for the increase of the army. With the same intention he added a set of subordinate ministers, and instituted himself arbiter and judge in all disputes in the Cabinet. But he was guided in the choice of these men by the advice of Monsignor Cocle, whose favour the ministers themselves were often obliged to purchase.

In 1843, the agents of Young Italy meditated an insurrection, which they hoped would lead to a general revolution; but the police having received timely notice, fifty-six individuals, chiefly medical students in Naples, were arrested; neither Naples nor Sicily responded to these republican movements, but insurrections of greater importance took place in the States of Rome.

Towards the end of 1842, three officers of the Venetian navy had joined the society of Young Italy. The first, Domenico Moro, a young man of twenty-two years of age, was a lieutenant in the Austrian ship "Adria," and the two others, Attilio and Emilio Bandiera, were the sons of Rear-Admiral Bandiera. In 1831, the admiral had disgraced his name as an Italian, by the arrest of some of his unfortunate countrymen, when having been instigated to rebel, and afterwards abandoned by Francis of Modena, they were making their escape to France. Attilio was thirty-four years old, his brother ten years younger, and both were eager to efface the stigma which was attached to their name; they accordingly

joined Domenico Moro, and entered into a correspondence with Mazzini, whom they regarded as the hope of Italy. The insurrection of 1843 was then in the course of preparation. The movement which had commenced at Bologna, had failed from want of co-operation on the part of the Calabrese, as well as from (as above stated) the general absence of sympathy with a republican revolution throughout the kingdom of the Sicilies. The Bandiera were, however, ready to renew the attempt. They accordingly quitted the Austrian dominions for Corfu, where they were joined by Moro. The leadership of the enterprise was confided to Ricciotti, a Neapolitan and old friend of Mazzini, who had suffered nine years' imprisonment after 1821. He joined the rest of the conspirators at Corfu, but meantime the Italian governments had received intimation of their proceedings from a quarter least expected. A letter of Cardinal Lambruschini, addressed to the cardinal legate of Bologna, and dated 12th April 1844, contains these words:—"I hasten to inform you, that from the first days of the present month, I am informed by a ministerial report, that now the English police begins to act in regard to the Italian and Polish refugees; that Sir James Graham, home minister in London, having intercepted the letters there directed to the noted Mazzini, has discovered that an anonymous person (Ricciotti, it is supposed) wrote to him that all was ready in the Legations to begin a revolution, but that France impeded it with her system of opposition. . . . Lord Aberdeen, minister for foreign affairs, having been made aware of such a letter, promised that for the future the movements and actions of all the refugees should be watched," &c.[1]

A Corsican, of the name of Boccheciampe, pretending himself to be a patriot, but secretly in communication with the Italian governments, joined the little band at Corfu. Deceived and already betrayed by him, they landed to the number of twenty on the coasts of Calabria, on the 17th June 1844. They were immediately attacked by the soldiers prepared for their arrival; though only nineteen (Boccheciampe having abandoned them), against seventy armed men, they repulsed their assailants, but a house in which they stopped for refreshment was surrounded, and

[1] See Memoir of Felice Orsini; Note. Letters of Cardinal Lambruschini, 433, 434, 435. Numbered outside, No. 1736.

after a short resistance, in which Emilio Bandiera had his arm broken, and Moro was wounded, they were all captured. Beaten, searched, and plundered, they were conducted in chains to the dungeons of Cosenza, where the inhabitants showed their sympathy for the unhappy prisoners in various ways. All were condemned to die. The following day they were led through the midst of a silent and gloomy concourse of spectators, and after embracing one another, met death fearlessly, with the name of their country on their lips. The people collected the bullets with which they had been shot, and preserved them as sacred relics, and their death was lamented throughout Italy, as well as in Calabria. Among the many testimonials to their honour, is an eloquent passage in a work of Vincenzo Gioberti, a man who, though at this time an exile in Paris, was soon to fill Italy and Europe with the fame of his name.[1] The sincerity of their patriotism, and their intrepidity, touched the hearts of the Italian people, and those who had ordered their death, by a rigorous interpretation of the laws, in the case of a handful of misguided men, only gained opprobrium for themselves, and converted their victims into martyrs. An Austrian archduke, the comrade of Emilio Bandiera at school and college, entreated the queen his sister to petition Ferdinand for his life; but the king was obdurate. The intercession of an Austrian prince is the more to be admired, since so completely at variance with the policy of his family, for a few years later, in a complaint against the court of Rome, Metternich included, "*funeral obsequies for the Bandiera.*"

The very month in which the Bandiera perished, the Earl of Radnor, in the English House of Lords, presented a petition from Mazzini against the ministers who had opened his letters. Lord Radnor expressed the "shame and displeasure" with which the act had been spoken of, the greater, because aggravated by reclosing the letters with a counterfeit seal, and thus transmitting them to the unsuspecting owner. The discussion on the question took place during the following July, when Lord Normanby asked whether the letters of Mr. Mazzini had been submitted to the representatives of any foreign power; and the Earl of Aberdeen replied, "Not one syllable of the correspondence has been commu-

[1] See *Prolegomeni del Primato*, by Vincenzo Gioberti, pp. 34-41.

nicated to any person whatever."[1] Had no such communication taken place, which appears to have occurred without the knowledge of the minister for foreign affairs, these rash and unfortunate patriots would probably have perished; but as long as the aspirations of young and generous hearts meet with sympathy and honour, so long will all who volunteered to assist the cause of the tyrants of the Italian people be associated with the shedders of innocent blood. Englishmen have ever acted on the principle that every government is safe, which, like their own, rests on the attachment of the people; the conspirators of Spain or of France, of La Vendée, of Strasburg and Ham, the patriot and the prince, have alike found a safe asylum on their shores, and by this (it is to be hoped) almost solitary instance of treachery towards those in misfortune, England herself has been the party most deeply injured.

On the first intelligence of the attempted rebellion at Cosenza, the Neapolitan police arrested nine persons reputed to hold liberal opinions, among whom were Mariano D'Ayala, Francesco Paolo Bozzelli, and Carlo Poerio; and though they were released after a few months' detention, and the Government affected to speak lightly of the late attempt at insurrection, the arrest of men of influence convinced the people they feared a more general and deep-laid conspiracy.

This year died Baron Giuseppe Poerio, deputy to the Neapolitan Parliament of 1820, leaving his sons Carlo and Alessandro to inherit the esteem their father had won from his fellow-citizens. His popularity had been shared by his old friend Francesco Paolo Bozzelli, councillor of state in 1820, and who, in 1821, had accompanied General William Pepe to the camp. Bozzelli had passed seventeen years of exile in France, Belgium, Switzerland, and England, engaged in works of poetry and philosophy, and in the study of political science. Though vain and superficial in character, and suspected as such by his companions in exile, he was regarded on his return to Naples in 1838, as one of the martyrs for liberty, while his habitual silence was thought to denote prudence and caution. His imprisonment with Carlo Poerio, and others of equally high reputation, increased his popularity, and upon his release he became the leader of the liberals in Naples. The cause of Naples

[1] Hansard, vol. lxxvi. p. 313. Debate in the House of Lords.

meantime was every year becoming more closely identified with the cause of Italy, and the demand for reforms in each separate state was echoed throughout the peninsula.

Foremost in the struggle which was fast preparing to burst upon Europe, were the States of the Church, Tuscany, and Piedmont. In spite of centuries of oppression, ignorance, and superstition, the people of Rome had not forgotten the traditions of their former greatness, and the inhabitants of the provinces groaning under the exactions of priests and cardinals, had made frequent efforts to shake off the incubus of ecclesiastical domination. Tuscany had been raised from the demoralized condition in which the dukes of the House of Medici had left the country, by the praiseworthy efforts of Leopold I., brother of the Emperor Joseph and Queen Caroline of Naples. His good work had been continued by the ability and care of the ministers Fossombroni and Neri Corsini, the advisers of his son and grandson. But on the death of Corsini, the government fell into the hands of men of an opposite character, and the intrinsic defects in the laws and institutions of the country became manifest. In Piedmont, on the other hand, a steady advance in material prosperity, as well as in public opinion, was perceptible, due to the energetic labours of the king, and encouraged by the writings of a man, whose influence as a philosophical leader for good and for evil, was shortly predominant throughout the whole peninsula.

The Abate Vincenzo Gioberti had been royal chaplain to the King of Sardinia in 1833, when, suspected of machinations with the Society of Young Italy, he was banished from Piedmont. While an exile in France, Gioberti devoted himself to the study of philosophy, and especially that of the German schools. His mind, replete with images of greatness borrowed from the feudal period, from the crusades, monastic life, and anchorites, viewed the reign of Gregory VII.[1] as the triumph of civilisation over barbarism, and he extolled the name of this Pope as well as those of Alexander[2] and Innocent III.,[3] all of whom had elevated the Papal, and debased the secular, authority. Thus Gioberti gradually learned

[1] *Gregory VII., Hildebrand.* The opponent of the Emperor Henry IV., 1073-1085.
[2] *Alexander III.* The opponent of Frederic Barbarossa, 1159-1181.
[3] *Innocent III.* The opponent of John of England, 1198-1216.

to regard the Pope as a fit leader in an enterprise, which has always found in him its worst enemy. His first political work, entitled, *Opera del Primato Morale e Civile degl' Italiani* (on the Moral and Political Supremacy of the Italians) was published in 1843. Strange contradictions were reconciled in these pages, where the author appeared as a philosopher, yet with a bigoted attachment to the Roman Catholic hierarchy, as the devoted disciple of absolutism yet the enemy of tyranny, and while neither ecclesiastics nor royal personages could accuse him of seditious language, neither could the liberals accuse him of fanaticism nor servility. He traced the moral and political supremacy of Italy to the singular privilege of containing the visible head of the Catholic Church; he disputed the notion that her want of political union was owing to the Pontiff; and endeavoured to prove that the Popes, from Gregory the Great[1] to Gregory VII., had been ever desirous to form a confederation of all the people and princes of Christendom, under the mild supremacy of Rome; out of which a military commonwealth in a monarchical form was to have arisen, governed by a prince, chosen by election, and himself a man of peace, only powerful by his age, rank, wisdom, and sanctity. He considered that the failure of this scheme for a pontifical dictatorship, had caused the loss of her pre-eminence for Italy, and of the blessing of a stable and pacific union for the rest of Christendom. As the nations had now emerged from their state of pupilage, the pontifical dictatorship could only in future be exercised as a tribunal to maintain peace, and to arbitrate between contending powers; to urge princes to act for the good of their people, and the people to be grateful to their rulers, so that universal peace should reign on earth. The Catholic religion was to be restored throughout Europe, and Italy to acquire unity, independence, and political liberty. The two first objects were to be secured by creating the Pope head of a confederation of all the States in the Peninsula, the third by persuading the princes to grant such reforms as should change the State without infringing on the rights of absolute sovereignty. For this end, the people must guard themselves against demanding too much, and, from every thought of the subversion of existing authority; for to suppose liberty, unity, and greatness, could

[1] *Gregory the Great*, 590-604.

result from revolutions was madness ; a republican form of government was unsuitable to Italy, and a representative government superfluous and needless.[1]

The sentiments expressed in this work were echoed in the writings of Count Cesare Balbo, who, banished in 1821 to the confines of Piedmont, published in 1844, *Le Speranze d'Italia* (The Hopes of Italy), where he pointed to Charles Albert as the man destined by arms to sustain the new enterprise, in which the Pope was to represent the spiritual power. Count Balbo was followed by the Marquis d'Azeglio, an accomplished gentleman, poet, painter, and scholar, who spread the views of Gioberti in his poetical productions, and by Leopoldo Galeotti of Tuscany in his work on the "Temporal Sovereignty of the Pope."

The disciples of Gioberti, who assumed the name of moderates or constitutionalists (already adopted by the advocates of constitutional monarchy throughout Italy), met with the sympathy of many of the liberals in Naples and Sicily, who, nevertheless, being more practical than speculative in their views, continued steadily to adhere to their separate object, namely, the recovery of that liberty of which they had been unlawfully deprived. The republican party excited little apprehension in the Neapolitan police, as their number was small, and all of them well known to Del Carretto ; but he watched with a jealous eye the firm and combined movements of the party of reform, whose end was the same as that aimed at by the majority of the people ; and he was ever ready to seize on whomsoever had the courage voluntarily to place himself in the van of moral or material progress. The example of the King of Sardinia, and of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, however, induced Ferdinand to consent this year to allow the seventh meeting of the association of scientific men to take place at Naples, on which occasion he granted a pardon to several of those under arrest ; this act of clemency once more raised the hopes of the sanguine Neapolitan people, while consoling a few among the number of families who had been afflicted.

The party in Tuscany who professed the principles of Gioberti, formed a conspiracy in 1845, with the avowed purpose of introducing reforms into the States of Rome, the focus of Italian tyranny

[1] See Ranalli, *Le Istorie Italiane*, vol. i. p. 13.

as well as of Italian revolution. Disputes arose among the conspirators at the very outset, and the insurrection therefore commenced with only half the original number, led by a man of the name of Renzi. They issued a proclamation at Rimini, petitioning the Pope for an amnesty for political offenders, invoking better laws, and demanding a more upright administration of the country, with other requests, equally moderate. After some partial success, attained without bloodshed, the insurgents, upon the advance of the papal troops, were obliged to retire. Ferdinand of Naples made offers of assistance to Pope Gregory, who expressed his gratitude for the zeal evinced by the king in support of the Church, but the insurrection was too speedily crushed to render it necessary to accept of succour. The leaders fled into Tuscany, where, instead of being allowed to remain unmolested, as would have been the case during the administration of Corsini, they were detained some days in prison, and finally banished, under the threat of confinement three months in Volterra, should they venture to return. Despising this warning, Renzi had the folly to re-enter Tuscany in December, when, instead of the promised punishment, the Grand Duke, at the instigation of his ministers, and contrary to the advice of his council of state, delivered him over to the pontifical authorities. On this occasion the Marquis d'Azeglio wrote his celebrated treatise, entitled, *Casi di Romagna*, which caused his banishment from the dominions of the Grand Duke, while raising him still higher in the estimation of the liberal party in Italy. The *Prolegomeni al Primato* of Vincenzo Gioberti, a preamble to the study of his work on the supremacy of Italy, followed. The opinions of the author had, however, undergone some modification, and he did not hesitate to inveigh against the oppressions of rulers, and to attack the Jesuits in particular. His first publication had been well received by the princes of Italy, but his second was viewed in a different light, and was inscribed by Pope Gregory among the works of heresy. In spite of the severe censorship, and all the obstacles presented by the police, these publications found their way into Naples, and encouraged the spirit of resistance there, which had already shown itself under so many forms.

Russia, meantime, was not blind to what was going forward in Italy, and especially in Naples, where her jealousy of England had

been awakened on the question of commercial interests. The young Prince Alexander paid Ferdinand a visit in 1845, and in the autumn of 1846, the empress arrived at Palermo, followed by the Czar in person, who endeavoured to dazzle the Sicilians by the splendour of the imperial court. From Palermo, they visited Naples, where Nicolas affected to attempt a reconciliation between the king and his Sicilian nobles and people.

PART III.

CONTINUATION OF THE REIGN OF FERDINAND II.

1846—1848.

On the 1st June 1846 died Pope Gregory XVI., after a reign of fifteen years, in which he had shown himself averse to all progress, weak, timid, and superstitious. He left an exhausted treasury, and abuses and corruption in every branch of the administration; there was no security in town or country; military commissions were substituted for the ordinary tribunals, the taxes were heavy, ignorance and vice in high places, and morals and religion contaminated. He was succeeded on the 16th June by Cardinal Mastai Ferretti, who assumed the name of Pius IX. The new Pope was only fifty-four years of age, and was esteemed for his benevolence, honour, and the unimpeachable purity of his character. But though accomplished in mind, his heart was larger than his intellect, and to a bigoted attachment to the rites and observances of the Roman Catholic Church, he united an exalted idea of the power and authority of the office he was destined to fill. At all times a zealous friend of the Jesuits, he had invited them to return to the States of Rome in 1835, when he held the See of Imola; but his generous actions when bishop, the sums he had expended on churches and charitable institutions, and his mild and conciliatory disposition, made him appear in the eyes of the Roman people, as well as of the moderate party throughout Italy, the impersonation of the Pope described by Gioberti, as the arbiter of peace in Europe. The pride of the Italian nation, as well as the hope of a long-suffering people, was flattered by this idea, and the happy commencement of his reign was hailed as the harbinger of deliverance for Italy. The superstitious veneration paid

by Ferdinand of Naples to preceding pontiffs, however, ceased upon the accession of Pius; for the first act of the Pope's reign, a general amnesty for all political offenders, was peculiarly obnoxious to the king. A paper was circulated throughout the States of the Church, in the name of the society of the Ferdinandea, containing words to this effect: "Most dear brothers, the religion of Christ is in danger; the intruder Mastai is the persecutor; he is at the head of Young Italy, and desires the total subversion of the Church. . . . . Brothers, as you are worshippers of the true God, do not suffer this calamity. We are strong; we are many. On our right, Ferdinand I.; on our left, Ferdinand II. The germ of liberty must be destroyed, and shall be the word at which we will all take up arms for vengeance. The day shall arrive which will confer eternal renown on us, and bring along with it tremendous retribution." The Neapolitans vainly demanded that the amnesty of Pius should be placarded on the walls of their city;[1] all demonstrations in honour of the new Pope were strictly forbidden, and prints or plaster busts of Pius not allowed to be sold; the pontifical journals containing his eulogies could only be surreptitiously carried across the frontiers; to read them was a crime; and to name the Pope rendered the speaker amenable to the police.[2]

From the commencement of his reign, Pius appears to have vacillated between the generous dictates of his heart, and his fear of acting in any way contrary to the interests of the Roman Church. This hesitation of mind subjected him to become a tool in the hands of those by whom he was surrounded. Count Ludolf, the Neapolitan minister at Rome, who was strongly imbued with retrogradist opinions, intrigued with the Neapolitan prelates and cardinals, Grasselini, governor of Rome, Gizzi, and Antonelli, to thwart the benevolent projects of the Pontiff; and Pius himself, in his address to the patriarchs, primates, archbishops, and bishops of the Catholic Church in November 1846, breathed a spirit consonant with that of his predecessors, while condemning all that is called *progress*, as "seductive, false, deceitful, seditious, foolish, and destructive of ties religious, political, and social;" at the same time, he abolished the military commissions, ordered a revision of the

[1] Gualterio, *Rivolgimenti Italiani*, vol. iv. p. 95.

[2] *Narrazioni Storiche di Piersilvestro Leopardi*, p. 66.

code, and appointed a committee to discuss the question of railroads.

Towards 1847, a coolness arose between the courts of England and France respecting the marriages of the Queen and Infanta of Spain. Louis Philippe, with his minister Guizot, were therefore the more desirous to maintain friendly terms with Austria, and offered no remonstrance when, in flagrant violation of the Treaty of Vienna, that power seized on the Republic of Cracow. The king, assisted by his minister, had made a vain attempt to introduce the Jesuits again into France, and now sent Pellegrino Rossi to negotiate the affair in Rome. The Order were especially under the protection of Austria, as was subsequently proved by a letter addressed to the head of the police at Milan, discovered and printed after the events of 1848, in which one of the fathers expresses their appreciation of the benefits proceeding from "the paternal cares of the great emperor." Rossi, an Italian refugee, who during his exile had formed an intimate friendship with Guizot, and whose theories of government corresponded with those of the less scrupulous French minister, remained in Rome, endeavouring to reconcile the interests of his country, and the freedom of Italy, with the tortuous policy conveyed to him from France.[1] Meantime, Pius announced the formation of a council of state, composed of lay members chosen by him from the provinces, as well as the projected organization of a national guard: the Grand Duke of Tuscany, alarmed by the vehement demonstrations of his subjects in favour of reforms, imitated the example of the Pope, and granted all their demands; while Louis Philippe, though blind to his own danger from invading the liberties of the French people, perceiving the necessity for the Italian princes to yield in some measure to the wishes of their subjects, enjoined his sons, the Duc d'Aumale, and the Prince de Joinville, to urge judicious reforms on his nephew, Ferdinand of Naples; but the king replied, they were not wanted in his kingdom; an excuse which would have

[1] The aim of the Italians was not only reforms and liberty, but *independence*, and they would, perhaps, willingly have resigned the two first for a time, but never the last. Louis Philippe should have been convinced of this by the events in Piedmont. Pellegrino Rossi did comprehend it, but Louis Philippe, disturbed by fears of war, determined to oppose any change of the boundaries of kingdoms.—See Gualterio, vol. iv. p. 25.

been valid, had not he and his ancestors rendered the institutions of Naples a dead letter.

As the press was gagged, the only vent for public feeling was in anonymous pamphlets, clandestinely printed and circulated. Among these appeared one, entitled, *Protesta del Popolo delle Due Sicilie*, by Luigi Settembrini, a man of refined genius and unimpeachable character. His work contained a sketch of the long course of ministerial tyranny under which the people of the Two Sicilies had groaned. A copy was presented to the king, who ordered the police to discover the author. Many persons were put under arrest, and among them Carlo Poerio, Mariano d'Ayala, Domenico Mauro, and Francesco Trinchera; while others were banished, Giuseppe del Re, Damiano Assanti, Enrico Poerio, and Settembrini himself, who, when arrived at Malta, acknowledged his authorship, to save others from persecution. Immediately afterwards another publication on the same subject appeared, when the author, the advocate Lorenzo Jacovelli, was thrown into prison.

The mal-administration of the provinces caused the Neapolitan kingdom to be infested with banditti, especially in the neighbourhood of Cosenza, where they caused terror and desolation everywhere. To this was added an insurrection which broke out at Reggio in Calabria in September 1847, conducted by leaders of the names of Gian Andrea and Domenico Romeo, who were followed by at least two thousand of the citizens, shouting "Long live the constitutional king, Ferdinand II.! Long live Pius IX.! Long live Italy! Down with the ministers!" The insurgents and robbers were confounded under one name, and those who joined the former were denounced as rebels and assassins. A few young men at Messina, seeing the tri-coloured flag hoisted on the opposite coast, assembled in the streets before the Senate House, shouting "Viva Pio Nono! Viva la Sicilia!" and calling on the people to rise. A conflict followed between them and the soldiers, in which two of their party were wounded, and the rest put to flight, leaving eight soldiers killed and twenty (among whom was the general) wounded. A ship of war, containing the Count d'Aquila, brother of the king, now arrived off Reggio; a few shots were fired at the city, to which the insurgents, aware of their own weakness, did not reply. The royalists entered Reggio without opposition, and turning to Mes-

sina, found the rebels had likewise abandoned that city. Although the insurrection was so unimportant in its results, General Nunziante, a man of ferocious character, was sent to Calabria, to complete its suppression; and Marshal Landi, who was said to resemble him in disposition, arrived in Sicily, intrusted with absolute power. The malcontents of Calabria sought refuge in the woods, but the presence of the troops made the rebellion a reality. The contest lasted through September; much blood was spilt, and the royalists would have been obliged to succumb before a band of exasperated men, had not a fresh detachment of soldiers arrived to their assistance. The insurgents were all killed or taken prisoners, and the head of their leader Romeo was paraded in triumph through the streets of Reggio. Proclamations offering money for the persons of rebels, whether taken dead or alive, were placarded in the town, and barbarous executions followed. Several youths, who bore exemplary characters for virtue and courage were executed at Gerace, a district of the province; among them was one of the family of Mazzoni di Roccella, engaged to be married to a young lady in Catanzaro, but who had yielded himself prisoner, trusting to the immunity promised by General Nunziante: his father died of grief at the execution of his son. Many were condemned to death at Reggio by military commissions sent there by Del Carretto, and still more would have suffered, had these barbarities not been put a stop to by General Libetta, who arrrived there as procurator-general. Marshal Landi was equally successful at Messina, where he placarded the same proclamations for the capture of rebels. General Vial, who was sent to Palermo under the title of commissary, pretended he had discovered a conspiracy: and whether real or invented, the barbarous punishments he inflicted, were disgraceful to a civilized age. Torture was applied to extort revelations from the unhappy prisoners, and such were the atrocities committed within the walls of the police office, that when broken open a few months later by the people, the mutilated remains of victims were discovered there.

Naples itself did not escape: numbers were arrested, and the commanders of the castles received orders to be prepared to fire on the city; soldiers went and came from the provinces to the metropolis, chiefly by night, and the mystery attending their movements

increased the general terror, while false rumours were circulated and believed, causing so much excitement among the people, that the ministers took alarm, and the president of the cabinet, Pietracatella, a well-meaning though obstinate and narrow-minded man, began to fear they had pushed matters too far, and proposed a change in the Cabinet. This change was to restore the three departments of public instruction, agriculture, and commerce, which Sant' Angelo had usurped in his one person, to three separate ministers. The proposal so disgusted his colleague that he immediately tendered his resignation. The king, while accepting it, created him a marquis, and thus offered some compensation to his pride. But the people received the news of the fall of Sant' Angelo with joyful demonstrations, and it was no less gladly welcomed at Palermo, where he was supposed to be the author of the law of *Promiscuità*, or mixed government. That same day the king published an amnesty for political offenders, but as it fell short of the expectations of the Neapolitans, a spirit of discontent manifested itself in the metropolis towards evening, which occasioned the arrest of several more persons; three weeks later the criminal court of Naples declared there was no ground for accusation against them, and they were, therefore, liberated on the evening of the 7th January 1848.

The alarm of rebellion was still fresh, when Ferdinand received a petition from the liberals of the moderate party in Piedmont, praying him to follow in the steps of Pius IX., Leopold II., and Charles Albert, and secure the happiness of twenty millions of human beings. The petition was signed by Count Mammiani, Count Balbo, the Marquis d'Azeglio, Silvio Pellico, Count Cavour, and other names of distinction, but met with the usual fate of all such requests.

Efforts in the cause of Italian liberty were not wanting on the part of foreign powers. In September, Lord Palmerston, then Prime Minister, sent the Earl of Minto to Italy, with instructions to assist in placing the improvements contemplated by the Pope at the commencement of his reign, on a solid foundation; to assure the Sardinian Government of the sincere friendship and cordial goodwill of the Government of Great Britain, and to express their regret and surprise at the official communica-

tion lately made by the Austrian minister at Turin to the Sardinian Government, implying a threat that the Sardinian territory would be entered by Austrian troops, if the King of Sardinia should, in the exercise of his indubitable rights, make certain organic arrangements within his own dominions, displeasing to Austria. From Turin, Lord Minto was to proceed to Florence, there to express the approbation felt by the British Government of the wise and judicious conduct of the Tuscan Government, who, in spite of the family connexion with Austria, had taken an independent line. Lord Minto was ordered next, as a member of the British Cabinet, and entirely in the confidence of his colleagues, to communicate with the Pope, to state their deep conviction of the wisdom of a system of progressive improvement, and that no other Government has the right to interfere in the improvement of the laws and institutions of the country, which the sovereign of that country may think conducive to the welfare of his subjects.[1]

Lord Minto writing home from Florence in October, stated, that reliance upon British support gave confidence to the Governments of Central Italy: that day a Sicilian gentleman called on him, as the organ of a deputation from his countrymen, to represent the grievances of Sicily; but Lord Minto replied, his commission did not extend to Naples; he, however, promised to send to the British Government a memorial presented to him by the Sicilian refugees. In this memorial they reminded England of the ancient Constitution of Sicily; of its having been restored in a modified form by British influence in 1812, and they petitioned England to undertake the defence diplomatically of Sicilian rights which had been guaranteed by Great Britain. In reply, Lord Palmerston advised Lord Minto to answer all such representations, by stating he had no instructions to interfere between the King of Naples and his subjects, but that if Lord Minto should think it expedient to proceed to Naples, to do so, and give such advice in favour of a system of temperate but progressive improvement, as he should think fit. This was followed in December by instructions to proceed to Naples.[2]

France had likewise sent Count Bresson to Italy on the same mis-

[1] State Papers, September 1847. [2] State Papers, 1847.

sion, but as the coolness existing between his government and that of England still continued, the French envoy cautiously avoided any expression which might give offence to the Court at Vienna. On the other hand, the sovereigns and Cabinets of Austria, Prussia, and Russia, who only regarded the necessity of maintaining the territorial partition of Italy, in order to support the wealth and influence of Southern Germany, and the balance of power in Europe, and who feared any measure which might awaken the European people to a sense of their rights, combined to watch and repress the liberal inclinations of the Italian princes. Alarmed at the encouragement given them by England, Metternich warned the English ministers that the liberals of Italy aimed at establishing a federal republic, like that of America or Switzerland, and that the Emperor of Austria was determined at any cost to preserve that portion of the empire which extended beyond the Alps. Lord Palmerston, while acknowledging the claims of the House of Hapsburg, declared his opinion that the Italian princes were fully entitled to grant useful reforms in their dominions, and that it would be desirable if the emperor himself would encourage them in so laudable a work, which had been commenced by the Pope, but repudiated by the King of Naples; and further, if the Court of Vienna would use its influence with Ferdinand, to prevent the danger menacing thrones, should the discontent of the people pass the limits of endurance. Warnings reached England likewise from Russia, advising her to beware of weakening her old friend and ally Austria, and of strengthening her ancient rival and natural enemy, France.[1]

Resistance against a foreign and oppressive government had already commenced in Lombardy, where the public offices were held by Germans, or men subservient to the Government, and where the military authority had become so dominant that the cities appeared to be under a permanent state of siege. New and obnoxious taxes in 1846 were added to those already extorted from the Italian provinces. Towards the end of 1847, the provincial authorities, instigated by Nazzari, a deputy to the central congregation at Bergamo, ventured to use the privilege allowed by law, and present the Government with a bold yet temperate pro-

[1] See Ranalli, *Le Storie Italiane*, vol. i. pp. 241, 242.

test against their proceedings. This example was imitated in Venice, and the arrests which followed only gave a stronger impulse to the desire for reform throughout Lombardy. The Cabinet of Vienna meanwhile endeavoured to strengthen the imperial interest in Italy, by concluding a league with Modena and with the Duke of Parma (who had succeeded to his possessions on the death of the Archduchess Maria Louisa), by which the two duchies were promised the assistance of Austrian troops in case of need.

While disaffection was thus spreading in the North, the embarrassments of the King of Naples multiplied around him. His queen, his confessor, and some of his brothers, urged him to follow the bent of his own inclinations, and refuse all compliance with the demands of his people; while his uncle, the Prince of Salerno, and his brother, the Count of Syracuse, endeavoured to persuade him to imitate the good example of contemporary princes. Ferdinand ordered the Count of Syracuse to quit the kingdom, and indulged in invectives against the Pope, whom he called an ignorant fanatic; a language echoed by his courtiers, who foresaw their own ruin, should the reforms of Pius be introduced into Naples. The English ambassador advised the king to yield, those of Russia, Prussia, and Austria to remain firm, while the counsels of France alternated with her policy. His ministers, themselves alarmed by the threatening aspect of affairs in Italy, were disposed to make concessions; but Ferdinand was obstinate, and refused to answer, when one bolder than the rest ventured to ask, "What does your Majesty say to the clouds which are gathering around?"

Though desirous of promoting liberty in Italy under certain conditions, England was not unmindful of the safety of kings. Sir William Parker, then commanding the English fleet in the Mediterranean, and alarmed for the person of Ferdinand, consulted Lord Minto, who was still in Rome, whether he should take the fleet into the Bay of Naples, to protect the king. Lord Minto hastened to make this proposal to Count Ludolf, who, however, declined; but Lord Minto seized the occasion to assure the Neapolitan ambassador that "the encouragement of popular insurrection formed no part of the hearty support we were disposed to give the progress of liberal reform in Italy, and at the same time strongly to impress on Count Ludolf the danger to which the king

would be exposed, unless he made some advances, to satisfy the just expectations of his subjects."[1]

The frequent failures of attempts at insurrection had convinced the more rational of the Neapolitan liberals of the necessity of combined, and if possible, peaceful efforts, to obtain their end. Their central committee at Naples was presided over by Bozzelli, and kept up a constant and active communication with those at Messina and Palermo. The liberals were divided into three sections; the two first, or those who at this time possessed the greatest influence, were guided by principles derived from France; the third was Italian in its aim and means, but only established a pre-eminence, when experience had taught the people the necessity of identifying the cause of Naples with that of Italy. At the head of one of the parties for French constitutional government was Bozzelli, who proposed that Naples should follow in the steps of Louis Philippe and Guizot: General Filangieri led the second, which represented the ideas of the Muratists of 1820; the third, which demanded a constitutional monarchy, with political reforms and Italian nationality, was composed of most of the men of intellect and principle in Naples, the first article of their creed being, a resolution to drive the Austrians from Italy.[2]

The English consul in Sicily, writing to Lord Napier, then ambassador at Naples, December 1847, thus describes the general views of the liberals of Sicily, and of those in the rest of Italy; how far they were in unison, and where they differed: "They are divided between Centralists and Federalists; the Centralists demand the establishment of a general government like that of France or England; the Federalists require the formation of an Italian league, similar to that of the German Confederation; the Centralists wish Rome to be the capital of Italy and the Italian States; the Federalists averse to a metropolis, desire Naples, Rome, Florence, and Milan to be each in its turn the capital of Italy, just as Berne, Lucerne, Zurich, is successively the Vorort of the Swiss Confederation. The Centralists of Sicily who would gladly see that island separated from Naples, and formed into an independent State, would make Palermo the capital of Sicily. The Federalists, who are hostile to the proposed separation, wish the kingdom of the

[1] See State Papers, Affairs of Italy, December 17, 1847.

[2] See Massari, *Casi di Napoli*, 1849.

Two Sicilies to consist, as formerly, of two realms, united by a federal bond, but distinguished by different institutions for internal government, and they desire to make Naples and Palermo the alternate capitals of the united kingdom.

"The liberals of Sicily and Italy concur in demanding the substitution of popular election for royal nomination in the formation of communal councils and provincial assemblies. They likewise concur with the Italians in demanding the establishment of civic guards, the officers of which shall be chosen by the municipal authorities. They also concur in demanding freedom of the press under proper safeguards, and the abolition of the revisorships on the introduction of foreign books and journals. Lastly, they concur with the Italians in demanding the establishment of primary schools in all the communes, the improvement of secondary schools in all large towns, and the institution of colleges in all great cities on a broader basis, and more liberal footing than those of the present universities.

"They do not concur with the Italians in demanding a reform of the statute-book, and the introduction of juries. Satisfied with the *codice* in general, and the use of open trials, they seek only for a better and speedier mode of administering justice than has hitherto prevailed. . . . ."

It may thus be observed, that the present movement in the Sicilies differed essentially from that introduced by foreigners in 1799, and that while political equality, the highest benefit aimed at by France, was now better understood, the Neapolitans and Sicilians, in a revolution which was wholly national, neither desired a republic nor the subversion of the existing government, but only insisted on the fulfilment of the laws, while endeavouring to smooth the way for further progress. But unhappily, the great problem produced by a long course of despotic and corrupt government, and which had grown with its growth, was an obstacle in their path. Enlightened views and rational desires for liberty, were confined to the few, while the large mass, especially in the metropolis, were sunk in ignorance, superstition, and vice; the purest elements in the human character had been systematically destroyed, and the populace were only too well fitted to become a ready instrument in the hands of tyrants or demagogues, for the destruction of all that was noble in thought and action.

Meanwhile the obstinate resistance of Ferdinand to the firm though moderate demands of his Sicilian subjects, was rapidly leading to a revolution of a magnitude and importance he little anticipated. Towards the end of December 1847, a printed ultimatum was placarded on the walls of Palermo, in which, making a final appeal to the king for a recognition of their rights, the people fixed the 12th January 1848 as their last term of endurance. This menace was treated with contempt, and on the 6th of that same month, Ferdinand sent the Duke di Serra Capriola as his lieutenant to Sicily. The duke was a well-meaning man, but exclusively Neapolitan in his views. He came armed with an authority greater than had, for a long time, been conferred on those holding his office. In the belief that he could repress the audacity of the Sicilians by prompt and strong measures, he arrested eleven of the most highly respected citizens of Palermo, two of whom were Professors Amari and Ferrara, and the third the Duke di Villarosa. The English consul, again writing to Lord Napier, affirms: "The Sicilian liberals disclaim all intention of separating from Naples, of calling for an alteration in the laws, or of requiring the convocation of Parliament. They only profess to desire to see the established laws in favour of civil liberty put in full force, and to witness the restoration of the Communal Councils and Provincial Assemblies to their original character. . . . ."

The night preceding the 12th January, the police, who knew the moral support afforded the people by England, tore down the English arms in front of the consul's house. Early on the following morning the cannon announced the fête-day of King Ferdinand, and as patrols of soldiers were traversing the city, they were attacked by a handful of ill-armed insurgents. The garrison, consisting of seven thousand men, were immediately withdrawn into the castle, the barracks, the bank, and the royal palace, while the lord-lieutenant sent to Naples for additional troops. Ferdinand, without delay, despatched to his aid, on the 14th January, nine steamers, conveying five thousand soldiers, under the command of General Désauget; he himself presided at the embarkation of the troops, and bade their commander farewell in these words: "General, make a garden of Palermo for me if it does not submit." His brother, the Count d'Aquila, accompanied the expedition, furnished

with concessions, which even in Naples were denounced as "*too late*," and empowered to grant a truce. Meantime detachments of troops were patrolled in Naples, and all was prepared to resist a movement.

General Désauget at once commenced bombarding Palermo. The strictest order was maintained by the authorities within the city, where the people declared death preferable to the government they had lived under;[1] and no act of violence was committed until the remains of victims discovered within the rooms of the commissary of police,[2] and who had been murdered there to avoid the scandal of a public execution, made it impossible to prevent the people wreaking their vengeance on some of the officers. A Junta was instituted, at the head of whom was placed the venerable Admiral Ruggiero Settimo, Prince of Fitalia, educated in the naval academy, founded by Sir John Acton in Naples: he had in his youth served with the English Admiral Hood. In 1811, he had assisted to restore the ancient rights of the Sicilian Parliament under English protection. He had retired into private life in 1812, and refused the ministry of war, subsequently offered him by the king, as well as the lieutenancy of the island. Though now past seventy years of age, his vigour was undiminished, and an unsullied name maintained during a long life, had won for him the love and veneration of his countrymen; by some of whom he was regarded as a second Washington.

Food, ammunition, and all required by the combatants, was provided by the Junta, assisted by voluntary contributions from the people; but their hardest task was to overrule the arguments of the foreign consuls, who, with that of Guizot at their head, endeavoured to persuade the Sicilians to submit to the king. The concessions offered at the last hour by the Neapolitan government, were imperfect and superficial, and the people were now resolved not to listen to any propositions, until their Parliament had met and settled the terms of the Constitution. This resolution to main-

[1] See State Papers, Sicily, 1848.

[2] Mr. Lyon visited the police-office, and found the secret door described by those who first entered it, as well as the small inner apartment, containing niches or shelves, in which skeletons were found. The bones and parts of human bodies had been removed, as many days had elapsed since the office had been taken. State Papers, January 1848.

tain their right of choice, found sympathy even in Naples, from whence Lord Napier writes:—"In justice to the liberal party, the great majority are opposed to the employment of coercive measures against their fellow-subjects in Sicily, and desire that the latter should have a free selection between the general Parliament projected by the Government and the separate Constitution of 1812."

Count D'Aquila returned to Naples on the 17th, to report the state of affairs to the king; and on the 18th, Ferdinand published a manifesto, declaring, that having by his royal decree of the 13th August 1847, abolished or diminished certain duties in Naples and Sicily, he proposed to carry his reforms into the administration of the State, by adding to the privileges hitherto enjoyed by the Provincial Councils, by conferring the right of administration of their own property on the communes of Naples and Sicily, as far as was consistent with the power reserved by the Government for the preservation of their patrimony, &c.; and in another manifesto, addressed to Sicily, he granted them a separate administration, and that all employments, civil or military within the island, should be filled by Sicilians. On the 20th, the king ordered a list should be presented to him of political offenders, that he might grant pardons; and on the 24th an amnesty was published, while the ministry of police was abolished, and its direction confided to the minister of the interior.

Meantime the Pope had been vainly sounded by Austria, whether he would grant leave for Austrian troops to pass through his territory, to hasten to the assistance of the King of Naples. The liberal committee at Naples maintained a constant communication with those of Messina and Palermo. They drew up a petition demanding, in the most respectful terms, a legislative chamber, and an invitation to sign it, was sent from the house of Carlo and Alessandro Poerio. The first names were those of General Francesco Pignatelli, Prince of Strongoli, and Gaetano Filangieri, son of the general of that name; and these were followed by a thousand more. On the 22d January, a riot broke out in the city, of a nature which proved that the feeling of discontent was universal; two days afterwards one of a more serious character occurred; and on the 27th January, though the sky was overcast and rain falling, the friends of liberty in the metropolis assembled to the

number of twenty thousand, nobles and plebeians, and marched through Naples carrying the tri-coloured flag, and shouting *Viva il Rè ! Viva la Costituzione !* which was echoed from the windows and balconies under which they passed. The Duke di Bovino, a septuagenarian, and intimate friend of the king, was one of the leaders in this procession. Ferdinand ordered General Ruberti, who commanded in Sant' Elmo, to hoist the red flag, and fire on the city, but he replied that he would sooner resign than obey this last order. The cavalry under Field-Marshal Statella were next called out, but the people surrounding the troops obliged them to join in the cry of "*Viva la Costituzione !*" Statella at one time lost the reins of his horse from the crowd pressing on him ; they were restored to him by Don Saverio Barberisi, a venerable old man, who said, "General, tell the king what you see ; tell him that his people unarmed and as suppliants, are unanimous in demanding from him the Constitution." "I will tell him everything," replied Statella, "but I cannot give his Majesty my eyes or my ears." In the palace, Statella found the ministers assembled in council, as well as General Filangieri ; and he joined Filangieri in persuading Ferdinand to yield to the wishes of his people. The Duke di Serra Capriola, late lieutenant of Sicily, was accordingly sent for to form a cabinet, to which he invited Bozzelli, the president of the committee at Naples. This choice was intended to conciliate both the Neapolitans and Sicilians, for while the former reposed the utmost confidence in their chosen leader, the Sicilians had not forgotten that Bozzelli had only accepted the presidentship of the committee at Naples, on condition of his followers agreeing to a political separation of Sicily from Naples.

General Filangieri, who had a personal grudge against the minister of police, undertook his dismissal. Del Carretto had always declared, in spite of appearances, that he continued faithful to the liberal principles he had once professed. Poor, and the father of a family, with a mind of extraordinary energy, he had accepted the post of minister of police, when the hard alternative was presented to him of either being persecuted or a persecutor, and he excused himself on the plea that despotism could not last for ever, and that as it was impossible to struggle against Austrian intervention, it was wisest to submit, and thus place the existing

government in the best hands. In spite of his violent repression of all attempts at insurrection, he had at once on his accession to power recalled many to office who had been dismissed in 1821. In the wish to open for himself a way to reconciliation with the liberal party, he had blamed the extreme rigour used by General Nunziante and General Landi at Reggio and Messina, though the severities proceeded from military commissions instituted by his orders. He had published an article in the official Gazette, which concluded by an assumption of dignified silence on the part of the Neapolitan government, when attacked by calumny; and asserted that "Naples was advancing without envy or fear in the road of justice and clemency, superior in her institutions to all surrounding countries." Alarmed, however, by the demonstrations of the last few days, he sent for Mariano D'Ayala, to consult him in the emergency in which he now found himself placed. D'Ayala advised him to resign, but Del Carretto declared he could not comprehend how he could have incurred the public odium, as he was free from all reproach of conscience, and had only retained office to curb the violence of other men. The next day Filangieri, willing to increase his mortification, sent for him to the palace, without stating the reason, and on his arrival demanded his sword, and in the king's name ordered him to leave the kingdom. A steamer was in readiness, and in spite of Del Carretto's remonstrances and entreaties for an interview with Ferdinand, or even to return home to change his dress, he was hurried on board by a passage leading from the palace to the shore, and the vessel immediately sailed for France. His character was so notorious, that the people at Leghorn, where the steamer touched on the way, refused him fire and water, and on his arrival off Genoa he was not permitted to land. Monsignor Cocle was likewise obliged to make his escape from Naples, followed by the maledictions of the whole city.

The day Del Carretto left Naples, Ferdinand, in a conversation with the representative of England, expressed his strong disapprobation of the conduct of his late ministers; declaring further, that ever since Sicily had been restored with the kingdom of Naples, the sovereigns had been guilty of a series of wrongs towards the Sicilians, that they had violated the Constitution they had promised to uphold, and destroyed the nationality they had pledged

themselves to maintain.[1] The next day he issued a royal proclamation, granting a representative government to the kingdom of the Two Sicilies.

But meantime General Nunziante, with a strong detachment of troops, had been sent to Messina, where the people had risen in arms against the Government. On the 30th January, Désauget was forced to abandon Palermo, but instead of making a garden of the city, as commanded by the king, he had to re-embark his troops in such haste, that they were obliged to kill their horses and abandon their guns, leaving nearly three thousand dead and wounded. Nevertheless his soldiers found time to plunder and commit all manner of atrocities on the way, but fiercely repulsed by the peasantry they were many of them massacred in retaliation, or carried away captive with their mules, horses, and baggage; the line of retreat of the Neapolitan soldiers might be traced by the spectacle of women covered with the blood of their murdered children, hastening from their burning villages to find refuge in Palermo.[2] The general, before his departure, released four thousand galley-slaves, whom he had kept eight-and-forty hours without food, hoping that they would complete the havoc his soldiers had begun. Happily these ruffians, less brutalized than he imagined them to be, entered the capital without further mischief.

On the 3d February, a steamer arrived from Naples bearing the decree for a general amnesty, with the promise of a constitution published in Naples on the 29th January; but the people refused to accept any constitution as a boon (which they claimed as their inalienable right), or to lay down their arms, until a general Parliament had adapted the Sicilian Constitution to the present times and circumstances. The castle capitulated on the 4th February, and Messina was bombarded from her citadel, to the great destruction of foreign merchandise in the town; but the defence, in which even women and children distinguished themselves, was conducted with so much valour, that the soldiers of Nunziante were obliged to yield before the furious attacks of the people. The bombardment, however, continued until March, when the citadel itself was about to surrender, but an able commander sent there by the king, to supplant the officer by whom it was

[1] See State Papers, Naples, 1848.

[2] State Papers, January 1848.

defended, increased the difficulties of an assault; and the rest of the Sicilians, by an unpardonable neglect, or elated by their other victories in Catania, and throughout the island, instead of coming to the aid of the Messinese, allowed the Neapolitans to retain possession of the most important stronghold of Sicily.

Early in February, Lord Minto arrived in Naples, and immediately advised the Government to offer Sicily a modification of the Constitution of 1812. Many of the Sicilians in Naples objected to take the oath to the new Constitution promulgated by the king, and even General Statella only consented to do so under reservation, not to interfere with his right of nationality, and natural and inalienable obligations to the Constitution of the kingdom of Sicily, his native land.[1]

The ministers referred the composition of the statute for Naples to Bozzelli. Never was choice in an important crisis more unfortunate. Too self-sufficient to consult with others in an hour so replete with difficulties that the judgment of the most experienced statesman might have been at fault, yet with so unstatesmanlike a capacity that he appeared blind to the peculiar circumstances with which he was surrounded, he was only bent on carrying out his own preconceived ideas. Bozzelli, like all who wander from the straight path of rectitude, was incapable of taking a large and comprehensive view for the conduct of the nation, as well as for his own interests. He had no faith in the people for whom he had undertaken to act; he saw them degraded by centuries of oppression; suspicious, boastful, and cowards at heart. Nor could he look below the surface to discover the fire of patriotic virtue smouldering beneath, which he might then have kindled into a flame. Though desirous of preserving an absolute monarchy in Naples, he could not resign his popularity and authority with the liberals, and had therefore worn a mask to his colleagues; while excusing his falsehood to himself under the sophistry of expediency, he had accepted the leadership of a party whose principles he inwardly disclaimed. Called upon, therefore, to frame the statute, he determined to imitate closely the charter of France, already found defective in the country where it originated, interspersing articles taken from that of Belgium, and he made no allowance for

[1] State Papers, Sicily, January 1848.

the difference of habits and character in the Neapolitan people. By introducing a foreign constitution, he threw the long-cherished hope of Italian unity to a greater distance than before, and with it the independence of the peninsula, to secure which, perfect unanimity or harmony was necessary in the political constitutions of the various States. Naples at once passed from the forms of a pure despotism to those of a representative government, and obtained a free press without even the wholesome restraints imposed in countries which enjoy most liberty. Fear of offending the king induced Bozzelli to leave the functionaries unchanged, though they were noted for corruption and fraud, and were attached to a system opposed to that now introduced ; and he congratulated himself on the skill with which he had ingratiated the constitution with Ferdinand, by laying peculiar stress on the clause which left his Majesty the whole disposal of the land and sea forces.[1] On the 10th February, the Constitution was proclaimed, and the following day a Te Deum was performed in all the churches by order of the king, who, with the queen, in an open carriage, passed in procession through the city, followed by the enthusiastic acclamations of the people. On the 15th, a number of citizens, bearing the Italian banner, presented themselves before the British embassy, to do honour to England in her representative. Lord Napier addressed them from the balcony to this effect: "Happy are these days when Italian liberty and independence are for ever secured. Italian nationality is no longer an affair of sentiment and desire, but a reality. Let all rally round their institutions to secure the triumph against the stranger. Long live the independence of Italy ! Long live Ferdinand I. !"[2] The feeling of Italian unity with hatred to Austria, was displayed in the theatre when loud applause followed the lines of a patriotic hymn, "Viva, viva l'Italia lega ! Maledetto l'oltraggio stranier !"

The Earl of Minto, who had undertaken the cause of Sicily, was, however, disappointed in the terms of the Constitution of the 10th

[1] The Article 14 of the French Charter is as follows: Le roi est le chef suprême de l'Etat ; il commande les forces de terre et de mer ; déclare la guerre, fait les traités de paix, d'alliance et de commerce ; nomme à tous les emplois d'administration publique, et fait les règlements et ordonnances nécessaires à l'exécution des lois, et à la sûreté de l'Etat.—Vaulabelle, *Histoire des Deux Restaurations.*

[2] *Giornale delle Due Sicilie,* 16th February 1848.

February, which did not prove such as he had been led to expect, since it only allowed one general Parliament for both kingdoms, and therefore held out little hope of justice to the Sicilians. He argued that they had a right to resist the illegal usurpations and establishment of an absolute government in their island, with the suspension of the Constitution of 1812, and could not be treated as a people in rebellion against a legal authority: and he accordingly sent a message to Palermo, that though the Constitution just proclaimed seemed not to agree with the assurances he had already sent them, he would lose no time in appealing to the Government on the subject, and that the Constitution just published must be understood as applying solely to Naples. He received in reply expressions denoting the confidence of the Sicilian people in the success of his mediation, and in the intentions of the king. On the 12th, Lord Minto wrote home that he had received the formal assurance of the Minister Bozzelli, that the king had completely assented to the conditions he had proposed, and had urged his departure to Palermo as a messenger of peace; at the same time presenting him with a memorandum to prove to the Sicilians the new Constitution would emanate from the ancient rights of the people, and not be a gift or concession of the king. To Lord Minto's surprise these professions were contradicted in a note of the Duke di Serra Capriola to Lord Napier, asserting, that in the Treaty of Vienna the king was recognised as king of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, to obviate the possibility of the States forming two distinct kingdoms, or the existence of even the germ of a separation in a separate constitution for Sicily, which would make that part of the royal dominions a separate kingdom. Lord Minto vainly protested against this misconstruction of an article in the Treaty of Vienna, and declared his conviction that the Sicilians would not listen to any proposals, while the existence of their rights was denied. The ministers appealed to France, but finding no support in M. Bresson, turned again to England; and meantime they endeavoured to prejudice the liberals of Naples against Sicily, by publishing that, indifferent to Italian nationality, the Sicilians were throwing themselves into the arms of England, who, under false pretences, meant to take possession of the island. But the Neapolitans were not so easily duped, and only expressed their indignation at the bad

faith of their Government. The threat of the Sicilians to convoke a Parliament without further delay, induced the Neapolitan Government at length to yield on the question of the right of the people, to a Constitution.[1]

On the 24th February, the king, the royal princes, the ministers, and officers of the army, took the oath to the Neapolitan Constitution in the Church of San Francesco di Paola. All the foreign ministers were present, except those of Austria, Russia, and Prussia. The tri-coloured ribbon was attached to the Bourbon standard, but it was observed that the colour denoting Italian unity was still wanting.

About this time, the king frequently sent for Don Saverio Barberisi, already mentioned in the demonstration of the 27th January. He was a learned lawyer, of great age, who had often before been employed to present petitions to his Majesty, and whom Ferdinand therefore called *his old friend*. He now desired from him all the information which could be of service in framing the Constitutional Government. Once when Barberisi stated that the reactionary party was actively spreading a belief that the king was behaving with bad faith, Ferdinand, raising his eyes and hand towards heaven, exclaimed, "Don Saverio, the Constitution I have sworn to, and I will keep it. If it had not been my wish to give it, I would not have given it."

The composition of the National Parliament now became a question of absorbing interest. The peers, as in the French charter, were to be chosen by the sovereign, and therefore wholly dependent on his will; which, together with his absolute dominion over the army and navy, left his power nearly as uncontrolled as before; while, on the other hand, the people, with an unshackled press, and at once almost wholly relieved from the restraint of the police, had been granted license rather than liberty. The danger of excesses from either party was apparent to all men of rational views, as well as the necessity of creating a chamber of deputies, which, by representing the intellect of the nation, would modify, if it could not counteract, the evils arising from undue power in the hands of the sovereign and of the populace. To accomplish this, a comprehensive electoral law was needed; for as land in the king-

[1] *Documenti della Guerra Santa d'Italia; Rivoluzione Siciliane*, 1848, 1849.

dom of Naples is divided only among the few, and wealth rare, a high standard would have excluded many most worthy to sit in Parliament, and have rendered the chamber of deputies a mere counterpart of the chamber of peers. By the law (as first proposed by Bozzelli), men such as Carlo Troya, one of the most distinguished historians of Italy, and soon afterwards minister, with others of learning and ability, but with moderate means, would have been excluded. He was, however, with difficulty persuaded to reduce the franchise of voters to twenty-four ducats, or four pounds English, and that of candidates for election to two hundred and twenty ducats, or thirty-four pounds; the highest standard admissible under the actual circumstances of the country. The electoral law was published on the 30th February, and the convocation of the chambers fixed for the 1st of May.

Ten days after the publication of the Neapolitan statute, the King of Sardinia granted his subjects a Constitution, and his example was followed by Tuscany and Rome. This was almost equivalent to a declaration of war against Austria; while the league of Italian princes, by which alone they could hope to resist so formidable an antagonist, was not even commenced.

Meantime England, however sincere in her desire to promote the liberties of Italy, began to perceive that the demand for reform was too closely associated with that for Italian unity and independence. She had encouraged the spirit of freedom less from an interest in the welfare of the people, than from a wish to avert any disturbance in the order of existing governments; but now when it seemed possible that the affairs of Italy might lead to a European war, long contemplated, because resolved on, by Austria, Prussia, and Russia, she began to hesitate; and Lord Palmerston, writing to the representatives of Great Britain in Turin, Naples, and Florence, urged them to bring matters to a speedy conclusion.[1] The Italians, however, buoyed up with the hope of freedom, trusted for support to the only European power on whom they thought they might confidently rely; and perhaps as much under-estimating the embarrassments to which England would be exposed, as over-estimating her philanthropy and sympathy with the oppressed, they did not anticipate that she would abandon them at the first

[1] See Ranalli, *Le Istorie Italiane*, vol. i. p. 353.

sound of danger; while, on the other hand, the despotic powers of Europe, unable to comprehend the wise policy of reform, and dreading the moral influence and time-honoured greatness of England, could as little conceive her shrinking before their menaces, while holding the balance between them and their subjects. Thus she was at once hated by the sovereigns in whose interest she was acting, and trusted by the people she was prepared to abandon.

The part played by France was still less to her honour. A few days before the news reached Paris of the Constitution granted in Naples, Guizot had assured the French Parliament that Italy could not possibly acquire representative governments under twenty years. Anxious to repress a too rapid advance of liberty, lest the infection should spread to France and lead to the demand for an extension of freedom beyond what he judged expedient, the Protestant minister of Louis Philippe wrote to Rossi in Rome, urging him to persuade the pontiff that to make war with the Emperor of Austria would be the ruin of the Catholic religion, of which he was the natural guardian in Italy; and continued thus: "We are at peace and amity with the House of Austria, and desire to remain so; for if that should be interrupted, we shall kindle a general revolution throughout Europe."[1] A few weeks later, Guizot and his master were obliged to fly from Paris, and, to the consternation of all the courts of Europe, a republic was proclaimed in France. The news caused an immense sensation throughout Italy. Gioberti wrote from Paris, admonishing the princes to acknowledge the French Republic, and not delay granting more democratic institution so their own subjects; for, he added, "to secure the permanence of States, it is necessary that republics should approach monarchies, and monarchies republics."

To return to Naples: On the 1st March, the ministers laid the propositions for Sicily before the king. The clause to which they specially objected was that which prohibited Neapolitan troops being sent to Sicily. The Sicilians, well aware how little the Government could be relied on, justly feared, that should Neapolitan troops again occupy the strongholds from whence they had so recently driven them, they would have no security against the restoration of an absolute government. Lord Minto supported the

[1] See Ranalli, *Le Istorie Italiane*, vol. i. libro sesto, p. 355.

claims of the Sicilians; and after the question had been discussed five days without coming to any conclusion, the ministers tendered their resignation: But the news of the French Revolution having meantime reached Naples, Ferdinand insisted on their continuing in office; and on the 6th, published the decree called, "The Concessions of the 6th March," in which he convoked the Sicilian Parliament, as if by a spontaneous act, and appointed Ruggiero Settimo, lieutenant of the island, authorizing him to open the legislative chamber on the 25th March. It was vain for Lord Minto still to protest, that while the question of the army was omitted, the terms would not prove acceptable to the Sicilians. He accordingly sailed on the 7th for Palermo, bearing with him the decree of the king, and still hoping to effect an amicable arrangement.[1]

On the 10th, Lord Minto reached Palermo, and presented the king's concessions to the Provisional Government, which was answered by an official bulletin published in the city, declaring that the act of concession was in itself contrary to the Constitution of 1812, and therefore null and void. Lord Minto then suggested the Sicilians should propose their own terms to the king, but earnestly exhorted them to maintain the crown of both kingdoms on one head, and to resign their right to absolute separation, which they claimed by the Constitution of 1812. The Sicilians yielded to his advice, stipulating, however, as an express condition, that the royal troops should, within eight days, evacuate the only two fortresses remaining in their hands within the island, and adding other terms, not exceeding those of the Sicilian Constitution of 1812, which had formerly been acknowledged and ratified by the king. Lord Minto, satisfied with their demands, assured them he would obtain the king's consent within two days.[2]

In Naples, the fact that Austria had in January sounded the Pope, whether he would permit Austrian troops to cross his territory to enter the kingdom, had got abroad with the exaggerations usual in public reports, but was stoutly denied by the official journal, where it was declared, the king not only would not invite foreigners into his kingdom, but that a "*citizen king and Italian soldier*" would oppose all his forces to a foreign invasion; and a

[1] *Documenti della Guerra Santa d'Italia; delle Rivoluzione Siciliane*, 1848-1849.
[2] *Ibid.*

few days later, the formation of an Italian league was declared to be the chief aim of the Government, who had invited the three principal States of Italy to send representatives to meet those of Naples at Rome, to consult for this purpose. The official journal added, that so earnest were the intentions of the king on this head, that the Government was engaged in the consideration of the most efficacious mode of sending immediate aid to their Lombard brethren, and that he hoped for the support of his Sicilian as well as Neapolitan subjects.[1]

Whilst Lord Minto was expecting favourable tidings from Naples, a steamer arrived in Palermo, with a protest, accusing the Sicilians of wishing to disturb the revolution of Italy, as well as to compromise the independence and glorious future of their common country, and concluding by annulling all the acts passed in Sicily. The effect of this protest was, that the general committee ordered the immediate opening of their Parliament, and that Lord Minto returned to Naples on the 28th March, after writing home, that it was impossible to deny, the Sicilians had stronger reasons to free themselves from an insufferable tyranny than the English of 1688.

The conduct of the ministers towards Sicily met with such general reprobation,[2] that all of them, with the exception of Bozzelli, felt the necessity of resigning or changing their places in the cabinet. The new ministers introduced were, Giacomo Savarese, who had been long actively engaged in promoting educational schemes; Colonel Vincenzo degl' Uberti, an ardent patriot and accomplished soldier; Aurelio Saliceti, formerly professor of jurisprudence, in the University Degli Studii, and a man of uncompromising rectitude, but united with harsh and austere manners; and Carlo Poerio, who had been director of Police under the late cabinet. These men did not enter upon office under favourable auspices, as they shared the increasing unpopularity of Bozzelli, whose name was especially associated with that of Poerio, from their early friendship, from persecution and imprisonment.

However the affairs of Sicily might be regarded in Naples itself, the liberal party throughout Italy earnestly deprecated a separation, and cast unjust aspersions upon the conduct of the Sicilians, "who," as Lord Minto expressed himself in a letter home, "having by their

[1] *Giornale delle Due Sicilie.* [2] See Massari, *Casi di Napoli.*

own courage and unanimity, reconquered their Constitution of 1812, were little disposed to resign their hard-earned rights for a precarious participation in the half-won liberties of Naples."[1] Gioberti, in a letter addressed to Pietro Leopardi, one of the most ardent of the Neapolitan liberals, wrote in eloquent terms on the advantages arising from the union of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies; and his opinion alone was sufficient to turn the balance against the Sicilians.

Naples had lately been frequently disturbed upon the smallest cause of excitement, and was now the constant scene of tumults and demonstrations. Though there was no extraordinary increase of crime within the city, there were rumours of communistic ideas spreading in the provinces, and as the ordinary restraint of the police had been removed, and the gendarmes had been disbanded, the citizens eagerly demanded a national guard, for the protection of their lives and property. Prior to the Constitution there had been a guard of safety in Naples, under the command of the Prince of Salerno, uncle to the king, and wholly dependent on the minister of police: this continued to exist, but no sooner did the Prince learn the wishes of the people, than, expressing his entire approbation of their demand, he resigned his office. The ministers then issued a provisional law for the levy of the new corps; but so ill conceived, and so hastily executed, that it only tended to augment the evil it was intended to remedy. There was but one man in the Cabinet with powers of organization, capable of applying the true remedy to this and other disorders; and that man was Saliceti. Before 1848, he had filled the high office of a judge with honour to himself and others, and he had never been ambitious of political distinction. When Ferdinand, therefore, first drew him from the line of life he had chosen, by appointing him *Intendente* at Salerno, Saliceti remonstrated with the king, and entreated to be allowed to continue in his magisterial capacity. Ferdinand replied, he required his services to establish the new order of things; upon which Saliceti abruptly asked, if it were really his Majesty's intention to carry out the statute? and the king answered; "If I had not intended to carry it out, I would not have granted it. I mean

[1] See "Letter of Lord Minto on the Difficulties of a Legislative Union of the Two Sicilies." State Papers, Sicily 1848.

to see it carried out as quickly as possible, and I therefore require able and energetic *Intendentes* in the provinces." A few days later, the *Intendente* of Salerno was appointed minister of justice, but, little practised in courts, he offended Ferdinand by his plain speaking, and his colleagues, by his endeavours to rouse them to more energetic action, to the reform of the law tribunals, and to render the Constitution a reality. They represented him to the king as imbued with republican principles, and even insinuated a resemblance in his features to those of Robespierre. An opportunity for his fall was not long in presenting itself.

The question of tolerating the Order of St. Ignatius again agitated Europe, when the intrigues of the Jesuits in Switzerland occasioned their banishment, after a short but resolute conflict between the cantons, in which both parties firmly rejected the interference of foreign powers. The protection afforded the Order by Austria, and the attacks of Gioberti, had long identified their cause with that of despotism in Italy. Two fathers, Pellico and Curci, undertook to reply to the "*Prolegomeni al Primato*," and Gioberti answered, in another publication, the "*Gesuito Moderno*." This work was eagerly read by young and old, men and women, and even by a great part of the clergy, who were desirous of separating the question of the Church from that of the Jesuits. The news of the victories in Switzerland were celebrated as national victories in Rome. The Jesuits were driven by violence out of Sardinia, and the Neapolitans, incensed by Father Curci being a resident in their city, rose in a tumult and threatened an attack on the monasteries of the Order. Saliceti advised the expulsion of the Jesuits, and was supported by a minority in the council of ministers, but the majority of his colleagues negatived the motion, and even accused him of wishing to court the favour of the people. At last they determined on a middle course, and proposed to banish all foreign Jesuits, and confine native Jesuits to the precincts of their monasteries. But on the evening of the 9th March, the friars were besieged in their houses by thousands of the students and rabble, and were with difficulty protected by the national guards during two days and nights. On the 12th, Bozzelli yielded to this popular outcry, and had all the Jesuits conveyed in close carriages to the shore, from whence they

embarked on the 13th. Bozzelli had openly expressed his opinion that no government could manage the Neapolitans, except that of Del Carretto, and he took this opportunity to propose a provisional law, that when a mob did not disperse after three warnings, the public officers should be empowered to fire on the people. Saliceti opposed this, on the ground that it was contrary to law and prudence, thus to cause the death of the innocent as well as the guilty, and maintained that the police and the armed force had already sufficient means in their hands to prevent crime, and keep order, without the constitutional government adding to the severity of the laws existing under the absolute government; and that by effectually carrying out the Constitution, they would put an end to the cause of these disturbances. Bozzelli's motion was therefore unanimously rejected.

The next day, Saliceti wrote to the Duke of Serra Capriola to excuse his attendance at the council, as he was confined to bed with illness; to which the president replied, that he must either attend or resign, for, as he held the seals, his presence was indispensable. Saliceti was thus forced to quit the cabinet, upon which Poerio, Saverio, and Degl' Uberti proposed likewise to tender their resignations, but were persuaded to remain, to their own injury, as their names were thus associated with a cabinet whose good faith was suspected. Saliceti, from a useful and laborious minister, now became, against his will, a centre of agitation for all who hated the existing Government; for the people attributed his resignation to his devotion to their cause; and, as if purposely to confirm this impression, the gendarmes were restored immediately afterwards, though under a different name and uniform.

News of revolutions in Vienna, Berlin, and lastly, in Milan, quickly succeeded one another. The determination of the young men at Milan to refrain from smoking—thus imitating the example of the Americans of 1765, by resigning the use of an article, the duty on which furnished a large item in the Government taxes—and an insurrection among the students at Pavia, were the sparks which lighted the conflagration in Lombardy, in January 1848. A conflict took place between the people and the German soldiers, who were excited by an inflammatory address from their commander, Field-marshal Radetzky; the troops of the Em-

peror were first forced to retire into the citadel, and finally driven from the town. Great was the excitement throughout Italy, at this first discomfiture of the common enemy ; the arms of Austria were torn down from the houses inhabited by her representatives in Genoa, Turin, Florence, and Rome, while the Te Deum was chanted in many of the churches, and the governments as well as their subjects testified their sympathy in the victory of the people. The whole of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom followed the example of Milan ; Parma and Modena rose against the Austrian troops, who offered a stout resistance, but were finally withdrawn to swell the army before Verona, leaving the sovereigns of these petty states to the mercy of their injured subjects. Bologna was the first city in the States of the Church to demand arms to assist the Modenese against the Austrians, and the excitement soon spread to Rome itself. The arms of Austria were burned at Naples, and Prince Schwarzenberg, the Austrian minister at that Court, took his departure some days later, leaving in his place (though not officially ambassador) the Count of Lebzeltern, an old friend of Metternich.

The Sicilian Parliament was opened in great state, on the 25th March, by Don Ruggiero Settimo, President of the General Committee of Palermo. He was the next day chosen President of the Government of Sicily, responsible himself, and with the choice of responsible ministers. On the 13th April, the Sicilian Parliament declared Ferdinand of Bourbon and his heirs fallen from the throne of Sicily, the Government constitutional, and that after the statute had been remodelled, an Italian prince should be invited to fill the vacant throne. The citadel of Messina had continued during the intervening months to throw shells upon the city, and the Sicilians, while remarking that the liberal ministers of Naples surpassed their predecessors in their proofs of enmity, bestowed the surname of Bomba upon Ferdinand. The wildest demonstrations of joy throughout the island welcomed the tidings of his deposition. The subsequent three months were occupied in the compilation of the statute, which they endeavoured to approximate to those of the other States of Italy. France and England recognised the freedom and independence of Sicily, but the exclusively monarchical predilections of England would not permit her to sanction another republic in Europe ; therefore, though the news of the deposition of Ferdi-

nand was well received by both powers, they only promised an official recognition when a new king had been chosen, on which event the Vice-admirals Baudin and Parker were ordered to salute the Sicilian flag.

While this was passing in the South, Mazzini, trusting to the assurances and promises of Republican France, was already in Milan; while Gioberti, though still in Paris, was exhorting the Italian people to establish a monarchical government in the north of Italy, as the only sure barrier against so vast a power as Austria. The moment appeared propitious for Charles Albert to deal a death-blow at the enemy of his country and of himself, to gratify the ambition of his House, and grasp the rich prize of Lombardy. Threatened with republicanism within his own dominions, he believed he had only to proclaim himself the champion of Italy, to establish a kingdom in Lombardy, and thus crush the hopes of the republican party in Sardinia as well as in the rest of the Peninsula; but with no pretext for a war with Austria, opposed in his projects by English diplomacy, with a stigma still resting on his name from 1821, and his army for the most part composed of raw volunteers, he was still hesitating on his course of action, when Radetzky, withdrawing his troops from Milan, found time to collect them on the line of the Mincio.

The most vehement politicians of Naples meantime were openly holding meetings in the Caffé Buono, situated in a central part of the city. Those who attended these meetings were chiefly young men who were purposely led on and excited by creatures of the former police, since proved to have been in the pay of Austria.[1] Collecting in groups beneath the balconies of the king and of the minister, they shouted, "Down with the traitors! down with Bozzelli!" and no attempt was made to stop them. Among the liberals exiled in 1834, and who had only lately returned from Paris, was Pietro Leopardi: a few days afterwards, when visiting his old friend Bozzelli, he found him in great excitement against his opponents, calling them a handful of factious partisans, while, on the other hand, he used the most extravagant encomiums when speaking of the king; comparing him to Trajan and Titus. Leopardi, on leaving him, was convinced that he had lost his

[1] See *Fatti del* 1848, Massari.

reason: that evening he paid a visit to Carlo Poerio, who, being slightly indisposed, and glad of any excuse not to attend the council of ministers, where he felt he could do no good, was confined to bed. Leopardi found there among others, Count Francesco del Balzo, husband of the queen-mother, and related before the assembled company, his conversation of the morning with Bozzelli. As he departed, Carlo Poerio whispered in his ear, "He is not mad, but flattered by the caresses of royalty; and if some remedy be not applied, he will yet do more harm than he has already done."[1]

War was the universal cry, and was heard beneath the windows of the palace, where the people demanded arms to assist their brethren in Lombardy. An army of volunteers, under General Durando and Colonel Ferrari, had already left Rome, and had received the benediction of the Pope before their departure, and even the Grand Duke of Tuscany, though allied by ties of kindred with the imperial family, had yielded to the wishes of his people, and sent troops to the frontiers. Ferdinand promised a Neapolitan contingent of forty thousand men, part of whom were to be sent by sea to Venice, and the rest to follow with as little loss of time as possible, through the Venetian territories, and join the Sardinians, Romans, and Tuscans in Lombardy.

The ministers, unable any longer to withstand the popular outcry, resigned, and the king sent for Francesco Pignatelli, Prince of Strongoli, to form a new cabinet. The liberals were desirous of seeing Saliceti restored to power, but to this Ferdinand would not consent. Thereupon appeared the Programma Saliceti, in which, with the assistance of his friends, the late minister of justice drew up a memorial of his views for the future government of the country. He advocated that the chamber of peers should be suspended until the chamber of deputies had agreed with the king on the constitution of the upper chamber; that there should be a further reform of the electoral law; that the communal, district, and provincial councils should be renewed; and that the popular assemblies, anciently called parliaments, should be revived, until the promulgation of a new administrative law be demanded; besides these, he demanded reforms in the civil, military, and judi-

[1] *Narrazioni Storiche di Piersilvestro Leopardi*, pp. 94, 95.

ciary appointments, according to the spirit of the constitution; the organization of a National Guard; a political league with Italy, for which, if required, plenipotentiaries were to be sent to Rome, and an army and fleet to be immediately sent to assist in the war of independence.

On the 23d March, the King of Sardinia had declared war against Austria, and his troops had crossed the frontiers to the aid of the Lombard people. The news was brought to Naples by Professor Antonio Scialoia, a young man highly reputed for his learning and zeal, who now accompanied General William Pepe on his return to his country after an exile of twenty-seven years. Ferdinand, who had recalled Pepe at the instance of the National Guards, sent one of his own vessels to meet him, and, on his arrival, General Nunziante invited him to the palace. The king, while receiving him with the most extravagant marks of respect, vainly endeavoured to deceive the old general by flattering his vanity. To words and actions of courtesy, he added more substantial favours, and reinstated him in his rank in the army, while he insisted on his accompanying him to military reviews and exercises.

The arrival of Pepe had disconcerted all the schemes for the new ministry, and Ferdinand now sent Bozzelli to the General with a request, that he would undertake to form the cabinet. The offer was accepted, but with conditions exactly corresponding with those contained in the Programma Saliceti; equally displeasing to the king as to Bozzelli, who found himself excluded from the list of proposed ministers. Ferdinand accordingly offered Pepe the command of the troops destined to march to the Po; thus at once ridding himself of a troublesome adviser, and increasing his own popularity, without offending Austria by a direct declaration of war. The plan for the new cabinet was now resumed, and the exclusion of Saliceti having been agreed to, the official gazette published the names of the ministers on the 3d April. The historian, Carlo Troya, was named as president; he had been an exile in 1821, and had returned to Naples in 1831. Since then he had been engaged in the publication of a newspaper, *Il Tempo*, at that time among the best periodicals of the day, but which was afterwards, when abandoned by its original founders,

converted into a servile ministerial paper. Troya, though mild in his manners, united dauntless courage to the strictest integrity. His colleagues were the Marquis Dragonetti, Professor Antonio Scialoia, Paolo Emilio Imbriani, brother-in-law of Carlo Poerio, and a distinguished lawyer, Raffaello Conforti, likewise eminent in law, and Francesco Paolo Ruggiero, a noted liberal, and already mentioned as having been formerly employed by the committee at Naples, to establish the lines of communication with the liberals throughout Italy. The day they entered upon office, the ministers published their programme, the principal articles of which were: a resolution to co-operate in the Italian war; to introduce a better system of administration in the provinces, and to reform the electoral law; and (more important than all) that the chamber of deputies was to be empowered to explain and amend the statute. Leopardi was immediately afterwards sent as minister-plenipotentiary to the Court of Sardinia.

The exaggerated eulogiums passed on Charles Albert by the press, roused the jealousy of other Italian princes, who feared the creation of a Piedmontese party in their dominions to proclaim him King of Italy. Ferdinand, who perceived the power of Austria on the wane, thought his safest course might be to endeavour to weaken the influence of the King of Sardinia by emulating him in apparent zeal to assist in the conflict. He was, however, discouraged in this policy by England, who, now alarmed at the prospect of an European war, did all in her power to prevent the Italians using the sole means by which they could hope to destroy that obstacle to their independence, which converted every attempt at reform into a mere *fata morgana*. Charles Albert was the only leader to whom the people could look in their emergency, for he alone, from interested as well as patriotic motives, was sincerely attached to the cause of Italy, and opposed to Austria. But England, who was in the anomalous position of being at once the friend of liberty, and the friend and ally of despotic Austria (to whom she was fast bound by her aristocratic tendencies, as well as by her commercial dread of war), England now threw every difficulty in the way of sending aid to the Sardinian king. Charles Albert had likewise to encounter in Ferdinand a jealous rival, secretly attached to Austria, and armed with the plaus-

ible excuse that he ought not, contrary to the advice of England, to involve Naples in a war, solely to promote the interests of the King of Piedmont, and, therefore, that he must first be consulted on the plan and aim of the campaign. Though overruled by Troya, whose views were seconded by the king's own desire to stand well with the Italian people, Ferdinand (never sincere in his warlike professions) was supported by one minister in the cabinet, Francesco Paolo Ruggiero, and the disputes which followed ended in the resignation of Ruggiero and of his principal antagonist, Imbriani. The king published a manifesto on the 7th April, where, styling himself *Italiano e Soldato*, he set forth his determination to co-operate with energy in the triumph of national independence, and in spite of the remonstrances of the British minister in Naples, who reminded him of the integrity of territories guaranteed by treaties, and belonging to a power friendly to Great Britain, Ferdinand, yielding to the persuasions of his ministers, allowed the 10th of the line to embark for Leghorn as a reinforcement to the Tuscan troops. Imbriani, indignant at the cause which had forced him to quit office, made the whole affair public, and, in so doing, exposed the real incapacity of the Government to furnish the supply needed for the war, and thus weakened the cause he desired to uphold. Pietro Leopardi arrived in the camp of Charles Albert to watch over the interests of the Neapolitans at the very time when the troops who had already joined the Tuscans received orders forbidding them to cross the Po; and while the ministers empowered Leopardi to conclude an offensive and defensive league with the King of Sardinia, the letter containing his instructions was detained, and he was reproved for having replied to a despatch from the Governor of Milan. Thus it was evident that there existed two governments in Naples counteracting one another; one open and avowed, the other secret.

The king meanwhile always discovered some reason to delay the departure of the troops for the North. The convoy-ships were not ready; objections were raised against landing the soldiers at Venice, and Ancona was considered more desirable; in place of forty thousand, hardly twelve thousand men at length received orders to start, and during these delays, the Austrian general,

Nugent, had found time to advance his forces into Italy, for Ferdinand had better information than his ministers of the movements of the enemy. The maritime forces of Charles Albert at Venice not being sufficient to oppose to those of Austria, one of the Venetian leaders, Niccolo Tommaseo, wrote to Alessandro Poerio, brother of Carlo, entreating him at least to procure for them one Neapolitan steamer. Poerio, with some difficulty, succeeded in his endeavours to obtain permission for the fleet under Admiral de Cosa to set sail; but the king is said to have addressed these farewell words privately to the admiral:—"Remember, you are old and have a family;" adding injunctions not to attack the Austrians. This tale was corroborated by an incident in the commencement of their voyage. The ships remaining some days off Ancona, and their van wishing to move to the attack of an Austrian vessel, which hove in sight within a few miles of their anchorage, they were restrained by orders from De Cosa. Pepe, with a detachment of his troops, was at length allowed to depart; and before they started, Ferdinand addressed them in a proclamation, declaring "The fate of the common country was to be decided on the plains of Lombardy, and that it was the duty of every Italian prince and people to assist in so glorious a work." The general proceeded to Ancona, where he waited the arrival of his battalions. His general of division, Statella, aware of the disposition of the troops (who, trained by the king for his service alone, and their ears poisoned by false rumours, were averse to the war), feared or imagined signs of mutiny and conspiracy, and urged Pepe to retire towards the frontiers. The Commander-in-chief indignantly repudiated the idea, and ordered Statella to Bologna to join the first division assembling there, proceed with them to Ferrara, and cross the Po at Francolino.

PART IV.

CONCLUSION.

1848-1856.

The ministers in Naples appointed a commission to compose a new electoral law, and fixed the day of election for the 15th April. The organization of the National Guard was rapidly completed, new magistrates appointed, and old functionaries removed, while an improved system of administration was introduced into the provinces. Prince Cariati, as foreign minister, had sent a deputation to Pius to persuade him to sanction the proposal of a confederation of Italian states, with a diet to meet at Rome. The proposed measure was, however, defeated, owing chiefly to Count Ludolf, who was allowed to retain his office of Neapolitan ambassador at the Papal court, after his government had changed its character and policy. Tuscany, in fact, was the only state sincerely desirous of the success of the league, as even Charles Albert, who had just crossed the Ticino, began to aspire at a single-handed conquest, and refused to consider the proposal until the Austrians had been driven from Italy.

The Roman people meantime were daily becoming more desirous the Pope should formally declare war against Austria, as, until Pius had signified his intentions, their friends and relatives fighting in Lombardy were in danger of being treated by the Austrians as rebels to their own sovereign. Pius, who had never been favourably inclined towards the war, had lately been menaced with schism by the Catholic Church of Germany. His ministers therefore appealed for advice to Pellegrino Rossi, who replied, "That the desire to see Italy liberated from the stranger was now so strong, that either the Pope must proclaim war, or the hostile parties would turn against him and the Papacy." A petition was accordingly drawn up, to which Pius replied by summoning

a consistory to meet on the 29th April, before whom he read his Encyclica, since so famous throughout Europe. He stated, "That for a long time past he had been aware of his name having been used for an enterprise, which he had never so much as conceived; his sole intention having been gradually to introduce reforms in his internal administration. In the hope of preventing serious disorders, or even bloodshed, he had remained silent; but as he was now urged to take part in an unjust war, contrary to his dignity as head of a religion which desired war to no one and enjoined him to consider all men equally his children, he neither could nor ought longer to refrain from speaking; and while solemnly protesting that he was adverse to the war, to inform them he had consented to the departure of the pontifical subjects from Rome to the confines, because he was unable to forbid armed men hastening to the conflict; but that General Durando, to whom he had only granted permission to guard the frontiers, had disobeyed his orders, by crossing the Po."

All Rome was indignant at the tidings of the Encyclica. The friends and relatives of the absent, filled with consternation, menaced the cardinals and prelates who were supposed to have instigated the Pope, with death. The leaders of the political factions assembled and harangued their followers, while Pius exclaiming against the ingratitude of the people, declared his resolution not to revoke his words. Fear of rebellion at length induced him to invite Terenzo Mammiani, the leader of the moderate liberals, to form a new cabinet, and he despatched an envoy to the camp of Charles Albert to prevent the danger feared for the Roman soldiers. The day of the publication of the Encyclica, Gioberti arrived at Turin, and without making any special allusion to the event, altered his tone when speaking of the pontiff, and advocated the separation of the secular from the spiritual authority. The decline of the cause of Italy may be dated from the 29th April, when the first blow was struck by the hand which had beckoned on the friends of liberty; but the presence of the rival leaders, Mazzini and Gioberti, on Italian ground, by increasing party violence, contributed to the destruction of those hopes both had so fondly cherished.

Naples meantime was a prey to democratic agitators, and the

minister vainly applied for military assistance to the king. The few soldiers who made their appearance were exposed to insults from the mob, while the agents of Ferdinand persuaded the troops the existence of an army was considered by the people incompatible with a constitution. The violent abuse of the army, indulged in by the press, made these falsehoods appear truth, and thus every means was employed to sow dissension between the soldiers and the people.

The elections, as appointed, had taken place on the 15th April. They were conducted with perfect sobriety. A hundred and twenty-five thousand electors assembled in various parts of the kingdom without causing any disturbance, and the choice of representatives did honour to the country. Few of those professing ultra-opinions were returned, while men of high intellectual attainments, as well as moral worth, such as Capitelli, the leader of the constitutional party, Scialoia, Piscanelli, Pica, &c., were sent up triumphantly to Parliament. As the elections were not all completed on the 15th April, the opening of Parliament was postponed from the 1st to the 15th May.

No means were omitted on either side to excite the passions of the multitude in the metropolis. A self-constituted tribunal, under the name of "*The Supreme Court of Magistracy*," informed the people by a proclamation, "That Del Carretto, Sant' Angelo, Father Cocle, and others equally detested, were receiving their full salaries from the king, and that Del Carretto was not only in Naples, but had slept one night in the palace." The citizens were warned "to beware of an infamous propaganda which was exciting the royalists by promises and bribes to prepare for a work of destruction; they were reminded of past experience, of prison, exile, the axe, and the gallows, and bid to expect no mercy, but arm for the preservation of their lives, property, and religion." At the same time the Propaganda, composed of the emissaries of the king's party, were occupied spreading reports that religion was in danger, and describing the liberals as enemies of the prince and of the altar, intending to murder the king, and to set up the Duke of Calabria in his stead. The priests were not behind-hand in lending their assistance to the work; for on the day of St. Januarius, the miracle refused to act, and only yielded, when a deputation of

the national guard persuaded the archbishop to intercede with Heaven. Ferdinand had contrived to introduce some of his devoted adherents (men known as worthless characters) into the national guard. This reaching the ears of the democratic party, they proposed to the ministers that a select legion should be formed of those faithful to the constitution, and if any who remained, refused to lay down their arms, or were proved traitors, to order them to be immediately shot. But such severe and prompt measures did not accord with the mild temper of those who held the reins of Government, and who were losing the confidence of the people, while trusting with almost weak credulity to the king: added to which, instead of firmly insisting on compliance with the laws, they published edicts entreating the people to pay the taxes, not to refuse to assist the treasury, and to cease from frauds; assuring them, that if the citizens would contribute their share, a large reinforcement by sea and land should be immediately sent to the war in Lombardy.

On one side a crafty king, surrounded by well-meaning philosophers rather than statesmen, a soldiery devoted to the sovereign, and irritated against the people, and a people by nature inflammable, and rendered doubly so by malicious falsehoods; on the other, a small number of high-minded deep-thinking patriots, elate with the hope of a representative government almost within their grasp, yet jealous of losing the advantage so dearly bought; such was the state of Naples, when, a few days before the opening of Parliament, the ministers composed the programme for the ceremony of inauguration. In the oath to the king and constitution, they however proposed to omit that important clause by which they had declared in their manifesto of the 3d April, the chamber of deputies empowered to explain and amend the fundamental statute, especially that part which related to the chamber of peers. On the arrival of the deputies in Naples they received a circular, requiring their attendance at a meeting on the 13th May in the Town-Hall, or Palace of Mont-Oliveto, to acquaint them with the plan of proceedings on the occasion of the opening of Parliament. In this meeting they were informed that a royal proclamation was then printing, requiring them to take the oath to the king, and though the wording was not given, it was signified to them that

the statute of the 10th February, by which the Parliament were not permitted to decide on the constitution of the house of peers, was to be maintained. Alarmed at this suggestion, a message was sent to the ministers, when a satisfactory answer was returned; as the deputies were assured their fears were groundless, since the king had readily assented to the arrangements proposed by his ministers, in which the oath did not omit the clause added on the 3d April, to which they attached so much importance. This declaration was contradicted by the official gazette of that evening, in which the programme appeared with the omission they had anticipated; but it was not countersigned by the ministers, as it had been printed by the king without their knowledge. The deputies met again on the evening of the 14th, and again communicated with the ministers and the king; and the Cabinet finding it impossible to come to an understanding with his Majesty, offered to resign. At a late hour of the night, the king at length sent a message, by which he consented to open Parliament, and omit the oath altogether until the united legislature had decided upon the form.[1] Meantime Ferdinand, without consulting the minister of war, ordered the principal places of the city to be occupied by troops of the line, an order which was quietly carried into effect. The deputies were about to disperse, when La Cecilia, a colonel in the national guards, and a man of ultra democratic opinions, rushed into the hall, announcing that the troops had been called out and were about to march down upon them. He then hastened into the streets, where the populace were collected in a state of excitement watching the proceedings of the deputies, and spreading the same false information among them, urged them at once to construct barricades. All had until then been perfectly tranquil in the city, but the terrified people now eagerly set to work, and seizing on the carriages of unsuspicious passengers, and everything on which they could lay their hands, soon threw up barricades along the street of Toledo, and prepared for defence. A commission from the deputies was sent in all haste to appease the agitation, and announce that the king had yielded to their wishes respecting the oath, at the same time recommending every one to return home. Many

[1] See *North British Review*, February 1858.

complied, and the national guard dispersed, only a few remaining under arms for the night. The ministers whose resignation had not been accepted, petitioned Ferdinand to allay all further irritation, by ordering the soldiers to return to their quarters, but he replied, it would not be consistent with their honour to retire, until the barricades had been removed.

On the morning of the terrible 15th May the deputies again met at Mont-Oliveto, preparatory to the opening of Parliament, and the ministers went to the king to request his signature to a proclamation, confirming the concession he had made the previous night; but they found he had again changed his mind; about eleven o'clock, however, he yielded, the proclamation was sent to the printer, and an order issued that the troops should be withdrawn to their barracks. Meanwhile General Gabriel Pepe, who commanded the national guards, had attempted to remove the barricades nearest the palace, but could not succeed; his life was threatened; aimed at (according to General Gabriel Pepe's own statement) by Merenda, secretary of the Neapolitan police, and he was called a traitor to the people's cause. Ferdinand was meantime secretly preparing to leave Naples, and some of the effects of the royal family had already been carried on board ship, when the king delayed his departure, that he might attend a mass to the Virgin. Just then the first shot was fired from the barricades, and the man who fired it is stated by Merenda himself, to have been a servant of Don Leopold, Prince of Salerno, uncle to the king.[1] The royal guards immediately levelled their guns at the people, and began an attack upon the barricades, which were defended by not more than five hundred men, the rest having dispersed the night before. Only a few of the national guards were at first engaged behind the barricades, but their comrades hastening to their aid, the battle began in good earnest. Victory was at first doubtful; and the royal troops were giving way, when they were joined by a detachment of Swiss mercenaries. Feigning themselves friends of the people, some of the Swiss officers gained access behind the barricades, where they swore on their crosses of honour, never to bear

[1] See Extracts from the Manual of Private Instruction to the Police, issued by the King of Naples, in a pamphlet entitled *Carlo Poerio and the Neapolitan Police.* —Note, pp. 60, 61.

arms against the citizens; but as soon as they had ascertained the weakness and bad construction of these defences, they returned to their men and furiously assaulted the people. The red flag was now hoisted on the castles as a signal of war, and their guns commenced firing on the city; all except that of Sant' Elmo, from which General Ruberti only discharged blank ammunition. The feeble barricades soon gave way, and their defenders fled to their houses for shelter, and fired from their windows at the advancing troops, many of whom fell, and among them eighteen Swiss officers. The conflict soon became a massacre, as the soldiers broke into all the shops and houses, and spared neither age nor sex. The gendarmes meantime remained passive, and even offered their services to protect the deputies, who, however, refused, saying they would trust to no protection but the dignity of their office.

All was terror within the palace, where the king was in trembling alarm, until, learning the success of his troops, the royal courage revived. Vainly did the Ministers Conforti, Dragonetti, and Scialoia, earnestly implore Ferdinand to stop the slaughter, and order the troops who were already victorious to return to their quarters. Scialoia, fearless of the king's anger, was boldly remonstrating with him, when Ferdinand replied, "The time for clemency is past, and the people must now render up an account for their actions." The ministers were forced to leave the palace without success, and with difficulty escaped the balls of the soldiers, who surrounded the palace of Mont-Oliveto, threatening the deputies with death. A committee of public safety was formed, who sent deputations to the governor of the city, the ministers, and the French admiral (who with two large men-of-war was anchored in the port), petitioning for aid to stop the massacre; but only obtained from this last, a request to Ferdinand, urging clemency. Towards evening the king sent a verbal message, ordering the deputies to withdraw, but their president refused to obey, unless he received the order in writing. The messenger replied that if they did not disperse, force would be used, when, before resigning, the president drew up a dignified protest against the arbitrary conduct of the Government, "who had attacked the rights of the elected of the nation by fire and sword, had stifled liberty and betrayed the constitution." This

protest was signed by sixty-seven deputies, to whose names were subsequently added those of Giuseppe Massari, at that time absent in Piedmont, and Girolamo Ulloa, who was with the army at Bologna.

The massacre meantime continued with unabated violence. Men, women, and children, were thrown from the windows, or dropped into wells, and the sick and infirm stabbed in their beds. Those who were only half killed by the bayonets of the Swiss soldiers or the knives of the Lazzaroni (who had joined in the work of pillage and butchery), perished in the flames of their own houses. The Palace Gravina was sacked and burned, and as the Swiss advanced from house to house they always left the Lazzaroni to complete their work; these last were seen carrying off pianos, watches, and other furniture and articles of value, and fighting with one another for their booty, much of which they disposed of the next day for trifling sums. The houses of the liberals were especially marked for destruction: three times that day, the assassins entered the dwelling of Saliceti in vain search for him, and when asked why they were so inveterate against a man who had never injured them, they replied; "We have promised his head to the king." The cry of "Viva il Rè!" rose amidst the yells of the Lazzaroni and the shrieks of the victims. Any of the national guards who were taken with arms in their hands were hurried to the fosse of Castel Nuovo, and were there shot in cold blood during the night of the 15th and 16th May, to the number of at least twenty, while fathers were forced to witness the death of their children, before they were themselves murdered. The fray had commenced at half-past eleven of that morning, and it was night before the massacre ceased; yet during all these hours, the king had refused by word or sign to stop the slaughter.

The representatives of foreign powers, who had fled for safety to the palace, did not attempt to interfere in the councils of the king; with two exceptions, however, who, it is stated on good authority, encouraged Ferdinand to be firm, and not recall the troops until he had crushed the republican party, when he might safely resume his constitutional government: yet the elections had proved the republican party weak and unimportant; they had not even brute force on their side, for the Lazzaroni and the troops were with the king; they had no skilful leader, as

was proved by the weak construction of the barricades, as well as by the total want of organization in those who defended them, and if the people had been misled by violent demagogues, none had yet attempted to undeceive them; the republicans in Naples could only form a fraction of that middle class which constitutes the best and most enlightened portion of the community in every nation; yet it was this class, and of both sexes and all ages, whose massacre was perpetrated in the streets, which were now reeking with their blood, and strewed with mutilated and bleeding corpses; whilst amidst the groans of dying men were heard the shouts and ribaldry of the soldiers and mob. The triumph of the reactionary party was complete; but the atrocious means could not even be justified by success; for if order was restored, it was an order founded on cruelty, injustice, and perjury, and so hollow that those who most desired to believe in it, proved their scepticism by their acts; while loyalty, that misnamed virtue, when signifying the attachment to an individual irrespective of character, yet so necessary for the maintenance of the executive power, whether vested in a king or president, could no longer exist in Naples, except among the ignorant and low populace. Amidst the prevailing grief and terror, the hope and spirit of the people was for the moment crushed with the gloomy reflection, that the liberty for which they had so long panted, and for which their noblest blood had been given, was lost almost as soon as won.

The calamity was so sudden and unexpected, that it required time for men to recover sufficiently from the blow, to inquire the cause. Rumours were afloat that Prince Lebzeltern, the Austrian minister at Naples, had held secret conferences at his house for several previous days; that it had been observed that the soldiers had become more insolent in their behaviour; and it was even said the creatures of the prince had been seen assisting at the barricades, but all was matter of conjecture. No doubt, however, could exist that the populace and the soldiers had been prepared for acts of violence by the ultra-democratic party, as well as by the royal emissaries, and that the king had been long resolved, at whatever cost, to regain the power he had so reluctantly resigned. With some feeling of shame, Ferdinand endeavoured to apologize to foreign courts for the massacre of his own subjects, by alleging he

had acted in self-defence; but the apology was not needed, for the only notice taken by the governments of France or England of this second St. Bartholomew, was a demand for compensation to the subjects of their respective countries, whose property had been injured. The king had ascertained two facts by the massacre of the 15th May; that the soldiers were wholly subservient to his will, and that the people were less strong and combined than he had until then believed them.

One of the first acts of Ferdinand was, strange to relate, to set about seven hundred prisoners at liberty; he next ordered a court of inquiry into the cause of the conflict of the 15th May, which, after the examination of many witnesses, ended by a declaration of the procurator-general, "That all further research to arrive at the origin of that untoward event, would lead to discoveries displeasing to the Government;" and the report of the court of inquiry having been sent up to the Great Court, the question was decided a few months later by the opinions of the president and the procurator-general, that the events of the 15th May would not admit of a criminal prosecution.[1] Emboldened by the Encyclica of Pius, Ferdinand was prepared to stop the subsidy promised to Piedmont. He dismissed his ministers, but instead of recalling Del Carretto to power, he summoned Prince Cariati to form a new cabinet, of which the most efficient members were Bozzelli and Ruggiero. The day following the massacre he issued a manifesto, composed by Bozzelli, in which he promised to re-assemble the Parliament, and expressed his conviction that his best security for the re-organization of the State lay in their wisdom, "by which those principles of order, legality, and the welfare of the people, which are the chief objects of care of the king's government, might be strengthened." The next day this manifesto was cancelled, the national guard disbanded, and martial law declared: the electoral law of the 3d April was called a measure subversive of order; and a new law was framed by Bozzelli, by which the Electoral Colleges were ordered to meet on the 15th June, and the opening of Parliament was fixed for the 1st July. The soldiers who had pillaged Naples received large rewards, besides marks of distinction, while General Ruberti was cashiered for having refused to fire on the

[1] See *North British Review*, February 1858, p. 43.

city, arrests commenced, domiciliary visits were renewed, spies flourished, and the old system of police was restored.

The news from the capital was received with indignant rage in the provinces, where, however, they determined only to signify their displeasure by energetic protests. Calabria alone broke out into open revolt; and when the account of the 15th May reached the army, Alessandro Poerio, who had accompanied General Pepe as a volunteer, exclaimed in grief and indignation, that "the deputies to the Neapolitan Parliament would be unworthy of the name, if they did not join the insurrection of Calabria against the tyrant, and that if it were not so, he would not look one of them in the face again, not even his brother Carlo." His words were fulfilled, though in a manner he did not then anticipate, as he never returned to Naples, but died two years later, fighting gallantly at Venice. Pepe was now at Bologna, where he received urgent letters from Manin, President of the Provisional Government of Venice, and from the King of Sardinia, to cross the Po, and hasten to assist in the war of Italy. On the 22d May, Statella visited the General, accompanied by the bearer of a letter and message, containing the official account of the disturbances of the 15th May, and recalling the troops to Naples. Reports had meantime been circulated among the soldiers, that their general intended to betray them to the Austrians, and prevent their return home, where they were wanted for the defence of their sovereign, and the protection of their innocent wives and children, menaced by republicans who had done violence to the king, and intended to destroy the city with fire and sword. On the other hand, a letter from the wife of one of the officers urged her husband to proceed to the war, adding, that the stain on the Neapolitan and Swiss soldiers of the 15th May could only be washed out in the blood of the enemies of Italy. Pepe's first impulse on receiving the order for the return of the troops, was to resign the command to Statella, and to offer himself as a simple volunteer to Charles Albert. Statella accordingly immediately issued orders to the chiefs of the different corps to commence the retrograde march. But Pepe learning that same day that the second and third divisions were well-disposed towards the war, repented his step, and, supported by the enthusiasm of the Bolognese people, wrote to Statella resuming the command; an

order in which Statella instantly acquiesced, at the same time requesting leave himself to depart for Naples. That same evening Pepe wrote both to the king and the minister of war, declaring his determination to disobey their orders. Symptoms of insubordination, however, began to appear among some of the troops, who expressed their desire to obey the commands of the king, and the desertion of whole regiments followed. The example soon became general, and only one battalion of the line, with eight field-pieces, a company of engineers, and two battalions of volunteers, accompanied Pepe to Rovigo, where, learning the fatal defeat of the papal troops under Durando at Vicenza, they proceeded to Venice, which they reached on the 13th June. The troops of the line, and engineers, were soon afterwards recalled by Ferdinand, and all the Neapolitans abandoned the seat of war, except Pepe with his little band of volunteers, and a few officers and soldiers, who acknowledged they owed a higher duty to their country than their king.

Ferdinand, now relieved from all apprehension of revolt at Naples, was wholly occupied in planning an expedition against Sicily. A truce had been concluded, which terminated on the 21st May, and the Sicilians had generously released three hundred Neapolitan prisoners. The Sicilian Parliament expressed their sympathy for the victims of the 15th May, by wearing mourning three days, and the national guards at Palermo performed a funeral service in their honour. In June, some hundred volunteers crossed to Calabria to aid the insurgents. General Nunziante was sent there with a strong force, and General Busacca, who commanded the Neapolitan troops quartered in the south, advancing to meet him, the rebels were attacked on both sides. Not confining himself to the ordinary and legitimate means to put down an insurrection, General Nunziante stirred up the lowest of the populace against their countrymen. The partisans of the Crown fell upon the property of those suspected of disaffection, and carried off their cattle and crops, in many cases even retaining possession of the land itself,[1] and the whole province became a prey to anarchy and military excesses. General Nunziante besides usurped to himself an arbitrary power, while dissolving the national guards, and placing

[1] See State Papers, Naples, 1848.

weapons in the hands of persons devoted to the royal interest. Mariano D'Ayala, *Intendente* at Aquila, had vainly endeavoured to dissuade the people within his jurisdiction from a revolt, aware how inadequate were their means to insure success; but was himself obliged to fly on the approach of the royal troops, and sought refuge in Tuscany, where a few months later he was appointed minister of war. At Reggio, an officer in command, ordered the execution of three respectable tradesmen, under the pretence they were Messinese in disguise, and when prosecuted for the act, he was shielded by the powerful protection of Nunziante; while the public prosecutor Albavella was summoned to Naples, deprived of his office, and soon afterwards forced to fly under a false accusation. In spite of the danger threatening those who acted justly, the Government found considerable difficulty in forcing the Calabrian judges to comply with their demands. Nunziante issued a proclamation, with the promise of a royal pardon, which he violated as soon as he had secured his victims. One of these who, trusting to this promise, delivered himself up, was Domenico Muratori, formerly *Intendente* of the province, and now nearly eighty years of age; he was seized, and imprisoned in the castle of Reggio, where he soon afterwards died, denied even the sight of his children. The insurrection in Calabria was speedily crushed, and the Sicilian volunteers, while endeavouring to effect their escape to Corfu, were ensnared by a Neapolitan vessel, hoisting English colours. It was vain for England to protest against this insult to her flag. The prisoners were conveyed to Naples, and confined in a loathsome dungeon in the castle of Sant' Elmo, where they remained for months without trial.

The news of the victory of Charles Albert at Goito on the 30th May, and the surrender of Peschiera, where his soldiers had saluted him King of Italy, spread joy throughout the peninsula. But in Rome and Naples, the people could only rejoice in secret; for the celebration of the event within the circles of private families in Naples was enough to raise suspicions of a conspiracy against Ferdinand in favour of the King of Sardinia.

On the 15th June, the day before the elections were to take place, Naples was relieved from a state of siege. Notwithstanding attempts at intimidation, nearly all the same deputies were re-

turned. Parliament opened on the 1st July. The king, who had never left his palace since the 15th May, deputed the Duke di Serra Capriola, to open it in his stead. The tri-coloured flag floated, as in mockery, from Sant' Elmo, but the city was silent and gloomy. Many of the shops were closed, and respectable families left Naples.[1] The deputies, to the number of about forty, met in the great hall of the Museo Borbonico; but it was only on the 7th July, the full number to constitute a chamber (eighty-three members) was complete, when the joyful shouts of a crowded gallery responded to the announcement of the first legal representation of the nation. The ministers were only feebly supported by the right; the left was led by Carlo Poerio; the extreme left by Carlo Troya; there was never therefore a more unanimous parliament, while within the precincts of the city reigned abject servility or brutal ignorance. The army and the great body of the clergy were opposed to a representative assembly; all confidence had ceased between the chamber and the king; the ministers, aware of the light in which they were regarded by the deputies, affected to treat them with contempt, and the citizens in terror mistrusted all parties, and began to detest the word liberty: for as men of enlightened views and discernment must form a small minority in every country, it is the wisest course for ephemeral despotism to throw obloquy on those whose vocation is to call forth generous aspirations in the heedless multitude, and keep the fire of patriotism and virtue alive; which, without their care, will smoulder away beneath the rubbish of temporal interests, or be extinguished by indolence and fear. Bozzelli assured the king of his power to silence the opposition, and on his first appearance in the Chamber, supported by his colleagues, he spoke at considerable length in praise of his royal master, while censuring the conduct of the late ministers. In his replies to questions addressed him by the deputies, he was especially discourteous towards his former friend and colleague, Carlo Poerio, and on his return to the king, he informed his Majesty the Parliament was made up of conspirators, and was unworthy of the royal confidence.

Ferdinand meantime recalled Admiral De Cosa from the defence of Venice, while Charles Albert was vainly petitioning for the aid of

[1] State Papers, Naples, 1848.

only four ships of war: the Minister Cariati, however, replied to these requests, "that though the state of the King of Naples' treasury, and his misfortunes, prevented his sharing in so noble an enterprise, he could admire the prowess of the Piedmontese army, and wish them a speedy and happy victory." The address of the Chamber to the king, composed by Roberto Savarese, was unanimously carried. They offered to support the ministers, provided an expedition was immediately sent to the aid of the King of Sardinia, and their constitutional rights restored. The first request was treated by the ministers as a proposal to deprive the king of his throne. The second led to a discussion on the late events in Calabria, which, with the treacherous capture of the Sicilian volunteers, Bozzelli undertook to justify, while acknowledging that Nunziante had acted under orders from the ministers. Reproaches and recrimination followed. Poerio related facts proving the unconstitutional conduct of the ministers, which a few days later called forth an insolent article by General Nunziante, addressed to the minister of war, and published in a paper (the organ of the army), heaping abuse on Poerio and Muratori (the deputy for Reggio in Calabria), which was followed by a spirited reply from Poerio in the Chamber. The ministers were disappointed in their hope that the question of Sicily would raise discord in Parliament, for the sympathy shown in the island for the victims of the 15th May, and the aid afforded by Sicilian volunteers in the insurrection of Calabria, had produced a better feeling toward Sicily.

The Parliament of Palermo was meantime occupied with the choice of a king. They hesitated between the Duke of Genoa, second son of the King of Sardinia, suggested by England, and the infant son of the Grand Duke of Tuscany recommended by the French, who were jealously watching the ascendency of their neighbour Piedmont, as well as the influence of the British Government. Agents in the Bonapartist interest strove, but without success, to obtain the election of Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte. The choice finally rested on the Duke of Genoa. Gioberti, who was then making an almost royal progress through the cities of the Peninsula, increased the ill-will between Naples and Sardinia, by urging, in his addresses to the Italian people, an extension of the Sardinian kingdom, and that it should include all the States now

without a sovereign; Lombardy, Venice, Parma, Modena, and Sicily; and, on his arrival in Rome, he privately received the assurance of Pius, that should the arms of Charles Albert prove ultimately victorious, he would crown him King of Italy. The Sicilians, anxious to obtain admission into the proposed Italian league, had sent commissioners to Rome, Florence, and Turin; they were received with enthusiastic joy by the people of these States; Pius and Leopold acknowledged the justice of the Sicilian revolution, and the King of Sardinia, while expressing his approbation of the conduct of Sicily, spoke disparagingly of the Court of Naples.

On the 11th July, the Duke of Genoa was declared king, under the name and title of Albert Amedeus I. On the 12th, the French and English admirals saluted the Sicilian flag, and on the 15th, Admiral Parker with the officers of both fleets attended a solemn mass, and received the Sicilian ministers on board their vessels with the customary salutations. An English steam-brig conveyed the envoy to Genoa with the offer of the crown, and bearing the draft of the constitution. He arrived at an unpropitious moment. Charles Albert had been forced to abandon Milan to the Austrians, and to retire into Alessandria. Unwilling in the hour of defeat to involve himself in a quarrel with Naples, he, after some hesitation, refused the crown of Sicily for his son. From that time forth the tone of England and France towards the Sicilians began to alter. They, indeed, offered to mediate once more between them and the King of Naples, but failing in their good offices, they prepared to abandon them to their fate. To the loss of that foreign protection on which they had imprudently leaned, was added those dissensions among themselves, which unhappily are sure to occur in the commencement of every new State, and rendered the situation of the Sicilians at this time the more critical, by weakening their powers of resistance when most needed.

The choice of the Duke of Genoa by Sicily, made Ferdinand more determined than ever not to comply with the wish of his Parliament to send aid to Lombardy; to which, on the other hand, the Chamber, moved by the disasters of the Piedmontese army, was equally resolved he should consent. An envoy who arrived from Tuscany with a request for the renewal of the scheme for

an Italian league was coldly received, and the very mention of the war of Italy was considered an insult to the Neapolitan army. Another attack was made on Poerio by the privileged organ of the press, comparing him to Caius Gracchus, and stigmatizing the Chamber as an illegal assembly. In a meeting of officers, presided over by Prince Torchiarolo, it was resolved to assassinate the deputies, Poerio, Scialoia, Massari, Conforti, and Spaventa. Though possibly only empty menaces, their friends took alarm, and endeavoured vainly to dissuade them from attending the Chamber.

On the 8th August, the peers sent up a humble address to the king, expressing their heartfelt gratitude to the august author of the constitutional statute.[1] The address of the Commons, composed by Roberto Savarese, followed; which was at once dignified and respectful. Besides the clauses already mentioned, they ventured to suggest the re-organization of the national guard by a definitive law, to express their regret at the recall of the troops, and to declare their conviction that the political regeneration of the country could not be completed without the independence and reconstitution of the whole Italian nation.

The misfortunes of the Piedmontese arms had produced a painful depression in Naples, from whence Lord Napier writes, August 14th: "The liberal party, which embraces the greater portion of honest and educated persons in the upper and middle classes, has been thrown into consternation by a catastrophe so unforeseen. They seem to have lost their last support and pretension to a permanent share in the conduct of public affairs. In the triumph of the Sardinian arms, and the consolidation of the representative form of government in the other States of Italy, the moderate liberals of Naples beheld a collateral security against the complete ruin of their hopes and destruction of their rights, which have been scarcely exercised. . . . Your Lordship may then conceive the dismay with which the party have learned that the Germans have found again their ancient strength, and have shattered in a week the fabric of Italian independence."[1]

On the 4th September the king signed the act for the prorogation of Parliament, although he had not yet consented to receive the deputations charged to present him with the address. The

[1] See State Papers, Naples, 1848.

ministers alleged in excuse, that the Second Chamber was illegally constituted, many persons having been elected without the requisite qualifications. This had been the case in some instances, in the hurry and excitement occasioned by the event of the 15th May, and the revolt in Calabria, but the deficiency had passed unnoticed until after the address had been sent up. On the 5th September, the Chamber was prorogued.

While the decree was reading to the members, persons were employed to stir up the people in the quarter of Santa Lucia (inhabited by the lowest populace of the city), to make a demonstration in honour of the king, and in contempt of the constitution. The deputies had returned quietly to their homes, when a rabble, composed chiefly of women, children, and young lads, formed themselves into a procession, and bearing the white flag, passed along the Toledo, shouting "Long live the king! Down with the Constitution!" As they proceeded, they encountered a band of Lazzaroni advancing from the district of Monte Calvario, where all were constitutionalists, and a dispute arose, which was followed by a battle of stones, ending in the discomfiture of the royalists, who fled home in disorder. Passing the palace on their way, they tendered their services to the king, mingled with lamentations on the treatment they had received, but they were dispersed by a patrol of hussars drawn across the square. The victors of Monte Calvario were next fired on by the troops sent to restore order; one man was killed and several wounded. During the night the police searched the adjoining houses for arms, and made many arrests, while the royalists who had commenced the disturbance were left unmolested. This demonstration in favour of the constitution from the Lazzaroni alarmed the king, who accordingly sent for the director of police, and removed him from his office. When reproached by Ferdinand for not having foreseen the riot, he replied he could not be responsible for a movement plotted within the palace by the servants of His Majesty; upon which the king only remarked, that his servants were likewise to be punished if they promoted public disorders. Bozzelli was dismissed from the ministry of the interior, and accepted that of public instruction, while Raffaelle Longobardi, a pupil of Canosa and Del Carretto, was appointed to his former office. Naples was filled with police

and soldiers, and many of the citizens fled or concealed themselves.

The expedition against Sicily started on the 3d September. It was composed of 16,000 troops, of which 2500 were Swiss, under the command of General Filangieri. Filangieri had always been opposed to the Sicilian Constitution both by his principles and interest. From the time of the dismissal of Del Carretto, he had enjoyed the entire confidence of the king, who found his military attainments useful. The influence thus obtained, the General had been careful to secure, by cautiously avoiding all expressions in favour of liberty, or any topic which could prejudice him in the eyes of his sovereign.

It was now that the error of the Sicilians, in leaving the citadel of Messina in the hands of the king, became apparent. As Filangieri could not effect a landing near the town, as he had at first proposed, he withdrew his troops to the opposite coast, and waited until the citadel had completed the preliminary work of destruction. The people of Messina were resolved to perish beneath the ruins of their city, rather than submit again to the hated yoke of Ferdinand. "Let Messina fall," they exclaimed, "so long as liberty is saved!" Women, children, and old men, indifferent to the shower of balls which fell around on their devoted city, stood at the windows, shaming the cowardly, stimulating those who hung back, and encouraging the bold. The expected aid from Palermo only amounted to two hundred men, for a false report which was believed there, that the real aim of the Neapolitans was the metropolis, and the attack on Messina only a feint (besides internal dissensions, and want of order and discipline), prevented the necessary succour being sent. The citadel maintained its fire during four days, yet not a voice was heard to demand capitulation. The valour of an undisciplined multitude, however, cannot long withstand the attacks of a regular army; Filangieri effected a landing; but as he himself afterwards wrote in his despatches, he had to contest the ground inch by inch. Three times bombarded in one year, exposed to shells thrown from the citadel during eight months, yet even now, after a desperate struggle of four days amidst their falling houses, the Messinese, with dauntless courage, were as determined as ever to resist the entrance of the

Neapolitan troops. On the fifth day the Sicilian batteries were silent from want of ammunition, and Filangieri recommenced the attack with redoubled ferocity. Fighting hand to hand, he made his way into Messina, setting fire to the houses, and sparing neither age nor sex, church nor monastery; a thick cloud of smoke filled the streets, and added to the confusion of the combatants; the soldiers fastened up the doors of the hospital, and burnt the wounded within alive. The battle raged during three days, and Filangieri would have levelled Messina with the ground, had not the English and French admirals, anchored in the port, and who had hitherto been passive spectators of the scene, at length interfered to stop the slaughter. The mediating powers persuaded the king to consent to an armistice, by which the Neapolitan troops were to occupy Messina and Mélazzo, with a circuit of several miles, in order to avoid collision with the Sicilian army, who were to be posted at a certain distance from the boundary line. This state of things continued five months, in which time both sides prepared for a renewal of hostilities. The stern spirit of hatred was not subdued in the midst of surrounding dangers. The Sicilians tore down the proclamations of the king beneath the eyes of his soldiers; women left the churches when prayers for Ferdinand were offered up, and priests contrived to smuggle the church plate across the boundaries for the use of the Sicilian government.

The Italians of the North meantime continued their efforts for a league, and it was hoped the King of Naples might be found more amenable to terms after the refusal of the Sicilian crown by the Duke of Genoa. Gioberti was actively engaged in Turin in the scheme for an association to be called *The National Society*, which was opened on the 27th September by him, as president; and Italians from all parts of Italy, and of all shades of opinion, flocked to the first meeting. Pellegrino Rossi in Rome, was at the same time forming the project of a league which should be confined to the sovereigns of Italy, and he commenced by making advances to Naples, hoping thus to smooth the way to a reconciliation with Austria. Associated as Rossi was in the minds of the Roman people with the intrigues of Guizot, his desire to conciliate the two courts who had shown themselves most hostile to Italian liberty, was not calculated to improve his popularity; and his con-

tempt of public opinion, which he took no pains to hide, while labouring to establish in practice his own theories for the future welfare of the people, was leading to an end as tragical for Italy as for himself.

Parliament was convoked to meet again in Naples on the 30th November. Once more the people returned liberals, and even Saliceti, who was in Rome, and Pepe at Venice, were invited to take their seats in the Neapolitan Chamber. On the 24th November, however, the meeting of Parliament was adjourned until the 1st February 1849.

On the 27th November, the king, the royal family, and a large body of the clergy, escorted by about 1400 of the troops, left Naples for Gaeta, where the Pope had arrived, seeking the protection of Ferdinand. He had forfeited the respect and attachment of his subjects from the time of the publication of the Encyclica. Want of confidence in the Government, the inflammatory language of demagogues, the absence of men of sufficient ability to control the frightful license devastating the provinces, and finally, the appointment of Rossi to the head of the administration, combined with other causes to precipitate Pius from his throne, and complete his alienation from the hearts of his people. The assassination of Rossi, shortly after his elevation to the ministry, overwhelmed Pius with grief and terror, and still further alarmed by the disturbances which followed, he resolved to take the advice of the foreign diplomatists at his court, and escape from the city. France, Spain, and Austria, disputed the honour of affording an asylum to the head of the Church. Count Spaur, the Bavarian ambassador, who, in the absence of a representative of Austria, acted for that court, perceived the necessity of caution towards France and Spain, while resolved that the Pope should not owe his protection to a republican or constitutional government. Pius had already shown himself too much inclined towards liberalism, to be again thrown within reach of infection, and he who was to return an absolute sovereign to Rome, must remain in the interim, the guest of an absolute sovereign. Count Spaur allowed the ministers of France and Spain to send to Civita Vecchia and Gaeta, to have vessels in readiness for the embarkation of the Pope ; and the Russian ambassador, assisting his schemes, increased the anxiety of Pius to

escape, by acquainting him that he had obtained information that the people intended to imprison him in the Castle of Sant' Angelo. While the Pope's minister, Cardinal Antonelli, was persuaded that his Holiness's destination was Civita Vecchia, or some place within the Roman States, and the French and Spanish ambassadors were respectively making arrangements for his departure, Pius left Rome secretly on the 24th November, and under the conduct of Spaur reached Gaeta, where the vessel he had expected to escort him further not being in readiness, he remained, as intended by the Count, the guest of the King of Naples; and Ferdinand hastened thither to offer him his devoted services.

At the time when the news of the assassination of Rossi reached Paris, the alarm of socialism had invested General Cavaignac with the power of a military dictator. He immediately sent telegraphic orders to Toulon to despatch three thousand five hundred soldiers to Civita Vecchia, and sent an envoy with the offer of their services to the Pope. The Parliament of Paris justified this interference, on the ground that the cause of the Pope was the cause of Christendom, and Cavaignac, who was a candidate for the Presidency of the Republic in the approaching election, was accused by some of a desire to gratify the Catholic and priestly party in the country, as well as the pride of the French nation; while others, who formed their judgment by his whole career rather than by a single act, believed him sincere in his intention to recall the French troops, when the danger of Austrian interference was removed.

Naples was, meantime, a prey to military anarchy. The press, which had lately exercised a liberty amounting to license, was now persecuted in every way, and the authors of newspaper articles threatened with death. This produced a series of servile paragraphs, encouraging those in power to add to the restrictions already existing, under pretence of restoring tranquillity. The metropolis was filled with soldiers, who insulted the peaceful inhabitants, and it was vain for the people to protest against the ill usage to which they were exposed, as the Government wanted either the courage or the will to interfere. Matters reached such a climax that the king sent for Filangieri to form a new cabinet, as his influence in the army was supposed to be paramount; but he declined taking office until the affairs of Sicily had been settled.

The condition of Naples is thus described by Poerio, in a letter to General William Pepe, in reply to one acquainting him with the death of his brother Alessandro, from wounds he had received in the engagement at Mestre, near Venice.

"Naples, *4th December* 1848.

"My excellent and highly respected friend, I begin by repeating the expressions of my lively gratitude for your kindness and affection, for the efforts you made, and the care you bestowed to preserve the life of my much loved brother; it was ordained that he should seal his political faith, and his pure love for Italy with his blood. Enough, he died fighting our eternal foe. . . . My good mother feeds her grief in the desire to come and weep over the stone which covers the bones of the beloved dead. I have promised her, as soon as my parliamentary duties give me leisure, to accompany her to fulfil this wish of her heart. . . . Our misery has reached such a climax, that it is enough to drive us mad. Every faculty of the soul revolts against the ferocious reactionary movement, the more disgraceful from its execrable hypocrisy. We are governed by an oligarchy. The only article maintained, is that respecting the taxes. The laws have ceased to exist; the statute is buried; a licentious soldiery rules over everything, and the press is constantly employed to asperse honest men. The lives of the deputies are menaced. . . . . Another night of St. Bartholomew is threatened to all who will not sell body and soul. Meantime the Ministers vacillate, and confess they have no power to arrest or diminish all these abominations. We deputies are resolved to submit to die in our places in Parliament rather than sacrifice the rights of the nation; our last cry will be for the freedom of our country; our blood will bear fruit. Yesterday, Filangieri arrived from Messina; it is said, to form a new ministry, and put a stop to the license of these brigands who, three days ago, maltreated twenty peaceable unarmed citizens, and among them two Frenchmen. Rayneval[1] has made an energetic protest on the subject. The Government has given out an order for the day, but (who would believe it?) the chiefs of the army dare not publish it. . . . . All fear a violent crisis. Heaven preserve this country from final ruin! . . . .

Carlo Poerio."

[1] Rayneval was French minister.

A junta was instituted in Rome to carry on the Government, as Pius refused even to receive the deputations sent to entreat him to return. It was therefore vain for him to protest against their acts, and declare them null and void. Gioberti, now minister to the King of Sardinia, saw danger for Italy in the Pope relying for his restoration upon foreign means, and sent him the offer of an asylum in Nice. Mazzini, on the other hand, wrote to the Roman government, urging them to establish a republic; and Garibaldi arrived in the capital, prepared for its defence. At Christmas, the Pope celebrated the nativity of our Lord in the church at Gaeta, in the presence of the King, the Queen, and the Royal Family of Naples, with the diplomatic corps assembled at his Court. Cardinal Antonelli, who had quitted Rome almost immediately after the flight of Pius, was now his principal adviser. A native of the kingdom of Naples, he had entered the priesthood in his youth, and rising rapidly, became Governor of Viterbo, where he had endeavoured to ingratiate himself with the liberal party; but after 1837, he found it more for his interest to court the favour of Pope Gregory. On the accession of Pius, he became an advocate for reform, and when chosen to preside over the new Council of State encouraged the institution of a representative assembly, but again changing with the tide, he was now on the side of despotism. On the 1st January, Pius sent an admonition to the Roman people, threatening those with excommunication who should assist at the approaching elections for a general Italian Parliament; but his admonition was treated with contempt in Rome, and was equally disregarded in Naples. Cardinals and priests, who believed themselves in danger, were daily arriving in disguise at Gaeta. Anxious to avoid having recourse to France or Spain, all turned with eager hope to Austria and Naples; while the Emperor of Russia himself offered his services as "a loyal ally to restore the Pope to his temporal and spiritual power in Rome." The election of Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte to the presidency of the French Republic, and his choice of ministers, whose principles leaned toward monarchy, was a good omen for the future of the despotic powers of Europe. No sooner were the designs of the Court of Gaeta known in Paris, than a minister was sent thither to assist the resident ambassador, the Duc d'Harcourt, and represent to the Cardi-

nals, that France would feel aggrieved by any scheme which was not first imparted to her. The Archbishop of Cambray likewise arrived with offers of an asylum, while an envoy from Turin repeated the hospitable invitation of the Sardinian king. Pius, while acknowledging to this last, that his restoration was to be effected by Austria, added with some bitterness: "*They* willed it so." Though Gioberti, in the hope of propitiating the pontiff, had stopped all intercourse with the government at Rome, Pius was forced to break off relations with Turin, and the character of Charles Albert was so basely maligned by the Neapolitan ministers themselves, that the Sardinian ambassador was recalled from that Court.

In February, all the foreign representatives at Gaeta visited Naples, in order to be present at the opening of Parliament, except Counts Spaur and Ludolf, who awaited the arrival of Count Esterhazy, as ambassador from Vienna. On the 2d February, a Republic was proclaimed in Rome, and the example was followed in Tuscany. The Grand Duke left Florence for Sienna, and thence proceeded to San Stefano, ready to quit his dominions. Gioberti offered the arms of Sardinia to Leopold to restore him to his throne, but the offer was rejected, and the Grand Duke sought refuge with the Pope at Gaeta, where he was joyfully welcomed, especially by the Austrian and Russian representatives.

The Neapolitan Parliament opened on the 1st February. Aurelio Saliceti, who had not been able to obtain a passport to return to Naples, was, a few days later, chosen one of the Triumvirs of the new Republic in Rome. In reply to the king's speech, the Chamber expressed their disapprobation of the conduct of his ministers, and entreated his Majesty to change his cabinet. The ministers, in return, hardly appeared to recognise the existence of a Parliament. Bozzelli and Ruggiero alone, endeavoured to conciliate the deputies, but without success. After a month had elapsed (during which time, a vain attempt had been made to sow dissensions between the Chambers of Peers and Commons, and the ministers had abstained from holding communication with either House), on the morning of the 13th March, the deputies were about to enter their hall of meeting, when the President Capitelli received a sealed packet from the hands of the Minister, Prince Torella, containing a decree,

dissolving the Chamber. As soon as the king's pleasure was made known, the members hastened to convert a royal decree (arbitrarily modifying the electoral franchise) into a law ; and thus, as far as lay in their power, to deprive the king of any pretext for erasing the form of a constitutional government from the Statute-Book.[1] The deputies departed two and two, taking different roads, to avoid exciting a disturbance, but were greeted by the people as they passed. The soldiers and police celebrated the day by feasts and rejoicings, while a gloomy silence pervaded the city. The sky itself was lowering, and Vesuvius sent forth clouds of black smoke from the crater, as if nature herself mourned this final deathstroke to liberty.

About the end of February, the Sicilians received an intimation from the mediating powers, of a proposal to re-unite the crowns of Naples and Sicily on the head of Ferdinand, with a promise on his part to guarantee them the Constitution of 1812, and an entirely separate administration and army. Despotism was now again rearing its head in Europe, and the Russian minister, Chreptowitch, did not hesitate to urge Ferdinand to break the truce with Sicily and renew the war. Lord Palmerston enjoined the British minister, Sir William Temple, to settle the terms of peace secretly with the French minister, and Louis Napoleon, the unsuccessful candidate for the Sicilian crown, anxious to ingratiate himself with the sovereigns, and having already taken up the cause of the Pope, ordered his representative, Rayneval, to yield to all the demands of the King of Naples to whom (as he declared) the desire of the Sicilians for a separate army was an insult.[2] After a few weeks' parley, the French and English diplomatists consented to admit Filangieri (although now called the butcher of Messina) to their conferences. He persuaded them first to renounce the condition of a separate army for Sicily, and next to exchange the Constitution of 1812 for the charter of the 28th February 1848, which had been formerly rejected by the Sicilians, because while Ferdinand offered to make the Constitution the basis for the new statute, he had reserved to himself the power of amendment, and totally ignored some of the most important clauses, securing the independence of Sicily. The Sicilians were, in addition, to pledge themselves to pay, besides

[1] *North British Review*, February 1858, p. 43.

[2] See *Storia d'Italia*, 1814-1850, vol. ii. p. 30.

the taxes, a subsidy of six millions of francs towards defraying the expenses of the war. These terms were refused, and the English and French plenipotentiaries left Palermo. Hostilities immediately recommenced, and General Filangieri resumed the command of the Neapolitan forces. All the inhabitants, men, women, and children, assisted to fortify Palermo; but without an efficient army or navy, badly officered (for in their hatred to all connected with the former government, they had refused the proffered services of General Statella), they were in every way inferior to the enemy. Filangieri's troops were joined by the royalist soldiers already in Messina and Mélazzo; a battle ensued in which the Sicilians were totally routed; and Catania was soon afterwards taken. When the news reached Gaeta, they caused great rejoicings. Pius and his cardinals joined their thanksgivings to those of the King of Naples, and a mock battle was fought at sea, as an entertainment fitting the occasion. The fall of Catania, the defeat of their army, and half the island in the hands of the Neapolitans, struck Palermo with terror, where want of union in their rulers had already shaken the confidence of the people. The French Admiral Baudin offered his mediation, and advised them to surrender at discretion, and trust to the generosity of the King of Naples. The Sicilians accordingly yielded to their hard fate, and only demanded an amnesty for all except the principal authors of the rebellion, who were reduced to forty-two persons. Filangieri entered Palermo as the lieutenant of the king, and immediately ordered all signs of the late revolution to be obliterated, proclaimed the restoration of the Bourbon government, and recalled those to power who had been noted for their devotion to Ferdinand. He then broke the terms of surrender by refusing the promised amnesty, and Sicily was again doomed to be the victim of Neapolitan tyranny.

On the 14th February, Cardinal Antonelli had addressed a letter to all the States of Europe, declaring the resolution of the pontiff to accept the assistance of Austria for his restoration. Hardly had this letter been despatched, when Neapolitan soldiers were sent to the frontiers, and Marshal Haynau with a corps of ten thousand men marched from Padua, where he was quartered, to Ferrara, from whence he only withdrew, after exacting a large sum

from the citizens, insulting the cardinal who governed the city, and who endeavoured to dissuade him from his exorbitant demand, and carrying away six of the most respectable inhabitants as hostages. This news raised the hopes of the Court at Gaeta, who believed that, ere long, the Pope would be reconducted to Rome by the Emperor and the King of Naples. In Sardinia, meantime, Gioberti's interference in Tuscany had led to his dismissal from the cabinet, and none were found of equal ability to take his place. He retired to Paris, where, unable to procure assistance for his country from France, and frustrated in all his endeavours by the Piedmontese ministers, he died in 1851. The king, in Alessandria, was absorbed in the project of a renewal of hostilities, and the desire to wipe out the shame of his defeat. On the 30th March, he again proclaimed war, but three days later he was totally routed at Novara by Marshal Radetsky. So bitter was this extinction of his last hopes, that he at once resigned his crown to his son Victor Emanuel, and retired to Nice, and thence to Portugal, where he died the following July. In April, a Neapolitan army of sixteen thousand men, with the king at their head, invaded the States of Rome, and took up their quarters at Albano and Frascati. Ferdinand seized on all republican magistrates he fell in with, besides travellers and the inhabitants of the country, shutting them up in the prisons with ordinary delinquents; while his soldiers scoured the country in search of cattle. On the 7th May, Garibaldi attacked part of the army, at Palestrina, put them to flight, and took a few prisoners. They were again defeated in a skirmish, on the 9th, with the loss of about a hundred men; and on the 16th and 17th May, when the Roman army marched out of the city to attack them, the Pope, alarmed for the safety of Ferdinand, sent to entreat him to return to Naples. The king thought it wisest to comply, and abandoning Albano, led his troops to Velletri, where, however, he fell in with the enemy; after the Neapolitans had been once more defeated, Ferdinand turned his back on the Roman States; and finding, by experience, his taste for war did not equal his taste for soldiers, he hastened to re-enter his kingdom. Garibaldi, in return, made incursions into the Neapolitan kingdom, where he encountered little resistance from the people, who soon discovered he meant them no violence.

In spite of protests from the Pope and cardinals, a French army, under General Oudinot, arrived at Civita Vecchia to the assistance of Pius. It was vain for Mazzini, who had reached Rome, to proclaim that the Republican Parliament were ready to leave the Pope the free exercise of his spiritual authority. Oudinot commenced the siege, refused the proffered aid of Spain and Naples, and declared that France intended to make her entry into the Eternal City alone. The Tuscans meantime had imprisoned the republican leaders in Florence, and had sent to invite the Grand Duke to resume possession of his throne. In September, the Pope left Gaeta for Portici on board a Neapolitan vessel, and was escorted thither by Ferdinand, who continued as assiduous as ever in his devotion to his Holiness.

From the day which had brought the news of the battle of Novara, the King of Naples felt secure that he might throw off the mask of constitutionalism which he had until then maintained; and the metropolis became a scene of arrests and arbitrary violence. Pietro Leopardi, on his return from Turin, and Silvio Spaventa, were the first on the list of those proscribed. One Gaetano Pechenada, under the title of prefect, superintended the prosecutions, and, contrary to the express law of Naples, was permitted to search houses, restore the system of domiciliary visits by night, and arrest suspected persons, without a warrant from an accredited court of justice. An obscure disciple of Del Carretto, Pechenada was not long in showing himself an adept of that school. Prince Torella and Bozzelli were dismissed from the cabinet; the last accepting from Ferdinand a pension of three thousand ducats annually. The Jesuits returned to Naples, on a petition from the archbishop, and the king restored to them the superintendence of all the schools and colleges.

With the return of the Jesuits recommenced the trials by inquisition for political offences. Filippo Agresti, a man of unsullied character, though rash and incautious, and who had returned from exile in 1848, was arrested in March, and confined in a horrible cave, excavated in a rock. In June, Settembrini, the friend of Poerio, and the author of the Protest of 1847, was thrown into prison; and on the evening of the 18th July, Carlo Poerio received an anonymous letter, warning him of danger; but concluding it to

be a trick of the police, he determined to remain where he was. The next day he was arrested, his house searched, and papers seized. He was first confined in the prison of San Francesco, where he demanded to be interrogated within twenty-four hours, according to law; but it was not until five days had elapsed that he was conducted before the commissary, who showed him a letter, supposed to be in the handwriting of the Marquis Dragonetti, dated Aquila, and informing him of fresh insurrections. The letter was so manifest a forgery, that the commissary quickly turned to a second accusation, by which Poerio was informed that he belonged to a society bearing the name of Italian Unity;[1] and he was then remanded to his dungeon, where he continued until the 1st October. The arrest of the Marquis Dragonetti followed; while Antonio Scialoia, the Archdeacon Luca Cagnazzi, and others, had to escape or conceal themselves. Orders for the seizure of some thousand persons were sent to the prefects and governors of the provinces, and those who had not time to fly, were thrown into prison. Seventy-six of the deputies to the late Parliament were in exile, or among the prisoners confined in loathsome dungeons with assassins and malefactors,[2] and where the atmosphere is described as "thick as a London fog, from horrible exhalations."[3]

The single-handed struggle of Venice against Austria was approaching its termination. The death of Alessandro Poerio had been followed by that of another Neapolitan of an equally distinguished name. One of the brothers Rossaroll, who conspired against Ferdinand in 1832, and had since then spent fifteen years in irons, perished at Venice in a gallant action on the 27th June. After enduring all the sufferings of famine and disease with exemplary patience and courage, and after exhausting every means of defence, the Venetians were obliged to surrender to the enemy on the 24th August 1849. Pepe returned to France, while the King of Naples ordered his arrest, wherever found, as "*a common malefactor.*" In the last days of June the French entered Rome,

[1] *Società degli Unitari.* First instituted at Turin for the Italian Confederation, and afterwards taken up by some rash hot-headed youths in Naples, where it only became the motive for more arrests, and was strongly disapproved of by all prudent liberals, and especially by Carlo Poerio himself.

[2] See *Letter to Lord Aberdeen*, by the Right Hon. W. Gladstone.

[3] Thus described by Mr. Cochrane. See *Apology*, the Right Hon. W. Gladstone.

and thus terminated the unequal war of the people against the disciplined armies of the great powers of Europe.

In the midst of the bitter misery caused by disappointed hopes, and of mourning families deprived of fathers, husbands, and brothers, who were languishing in horrible dungeons, the King of Naples was rejoicing at the birth of a daughter, on which occasion the Pope presented him with the consecrated golden rose, a gift reserved for favoured sovereigns, or persons of exalted lineage. Thus did self-interest and fear unite men of opposite characters to rejoice together, over the ruins of the nation which had given them birth.

The sufferings of the Sicilians induced the English Government to make one more effort in their behalf, and to send a protest to the king against annulling their Constitution. Ferdinand replied, that the Constitution of 1812 had been sufficiently discussed; that the rejection of his offers by the Sicilians had cancelled all his obligations towards them; and that they must bear the consequences of the war. Further, that the rulers of Great Britain ought to remember, that, by the right of nations, he was free to govern his own people as he pleased; that the Sicilians enjoyed peace, and the felicity of being restored to their lawful sovereign; and that the attachment and loyalty existing between him and his subjects would be uninterrupted, if it were not for foreign interference. His Majesty, however, thought it expedient to settle the affairs of the island without further delay. He accordingly decreed that the civil and judicial administration of Sicily should be separate and distinct from that of Naples; and that the Sicilians should contribute one-fourth to the common taxes. The king promised to send one of the royal family, or some person of distinction, to govern Sicily, assisted by ministers, and reserving the final approval of their acts to the sovereign; and he instituted a council at Palermo of members appointed by himself. The national guard was disbanded, and twenty millions of ducats levied on the people for the expense of the late revolutionary war. This heavy exaction was doubly oppressive to the Sicilians, since they were thus compelled to pay for the destruction of their own cities.

The Pope, to whom General Oudinot had sent the keys of Rome, was invited to visit Naples, in the expectation of rousing the reli-

gious enthusiasm of the people; but the Neapolitans only saw in Pius the man who had betrayed their hopes of liberty, and his presence tended to destroy the illusion of sanctity, and dispel the dream of slavish superstition. The day he arrived, a mine of gunpowder exploded near the palace. The act was so purposeless and so insane, that it was attributed to the prefect of police himself, in order to inculpate more persons, and cause a suspicion of fresh plots. Two men were arrested, and accused of belonging to the Society of Italian Unity. They were dragged through the streets, treated with the utmost barbarity, and finally shut up in a subterranean vault of the castle. More arrests followed, while many made their escape. Poerio, with others, was accused of complicity, and removed to the dungeons of the Castell dell' Uovo. He was there visited and interrogated by the governor, the Duke di San Vito, who, telling him all was known, urged him to have pity on himself and his aged mother, confess his guilt, reveal the names of his accomplices, and throw himself at the feet of a merciful prince, who would grant him his life; but at the same time assuring him, if he continued obstinate, he would be confined in a dark prison, where he would have to endure the most cruel torments, and only leave it a corpse. Poerio replied, that he had no fear of those who, though masters of his body, could not injure his fair name, but that if abandoned by man, he would trust calmly in God.

In January 1850, Palermo once more made an unsuccessful attempt at revolt. When all was over, the police arrested six men, who were on the morrow brought before a court-martial, by order of Filangieri, who sent the following message to the judges: "The criminals I send you for trial are to receive the punishment of death, and are to be executed *to-day* in the Piazza della Fiera Vecchia, where the revolutionary outbreak began in 1848, and where the second attempt was made." There was no proof that these men had taken any part in the disturbances of the previous day, yet the speech of their counsel was cut short by the arrival of the escort to conduct them to the place of execution; and time was not even allowed for the administration of the sacrament. After this, Filangieri allowed the law to proceed with the usual forms, although he appointed a certain Noce, president of the court,

a Syracusan, noted for his corruption and servility; yet by six votes against two, the court decided there had been no conspiracy, and even failed in attaching any guilt or concern in the late riots to the six who had already perished by the hand of the executioner.[1] Arrests, however, followed in Naples as well as Sicily. In March, the municipality of Naples presented a petition, with upwards of twenty thousand signatures, among which were those of all the officials of the Government, praying Ferdinand to abolish the Constitution. Similar petitions were presented by other municipal bodies. In order to procure the requisite number of names, one-third of the municipal officers of the kingdom were changed in a single day, and those who retained office were threatened with imprisonment if they refused to sign. The king, satisfied with the fact that the Constitution was in reality no more, affected displeasure in an article which appeared in the official organ of the press. One thousand eight hundred and seventeen of the municipal officers were displaced in the course of a single year, from May 1849 to May 1850,[2] and men obsequious to the Government appointed in their stead.

Towards the end of March, Cardinal Antonelli announced the intention of his Holiness to return to Rome. He left Naples in April, accompanied by the king as far as the frontiers. Before quitting him, Ferdinand prostrated himself at the feet of the Pope, and, devoutly kissing them, asked his benediction. "I bless you," exclaimed Pius, "and with you I bless your kingdom. I bless your people; nor can I find words to express my gratitude for the hospitality I have received." "I have only fulfilled the duty of a Christian prince," answered the king. To which the Pope hastened to reply, in accents broken with emotion, "Your filial attachment has been great and sincere:" then pressing him in his arms, he saluted him on the forehead; and after the royal princes had kissed the feet of the Pontiff, his Majesty separated from his Holiness.

In June, those accused of belonging to the Society of Italian Unity, some of whom had lain more than twelve months in prison, were brought to trial. The president of the court appointed to

[1] See *North British Review*, February 1858, p. 59.

[2] *The Apology*, Right Hon. W. Gladstone.

judge them, was Domenico Antonio Navarro, who was guided by the axiom, *that all persons accused by the king's Government ought to be found guilty.* The pale and haggard faces of the prisoners sufficiently attested the sufferings they had undergone. Navarro, after haranguing them on the nature of their crimes, commenced the interrogation. Antonio Leipnecher, one of the accused, was so weak with fever as to be obliged to be removed; and when brought back a few days later, he was more dead than alive. The president, however, persisted in the interrogation, and almost immediately after his return to his dungeon, he expired. The rest of the prisoners retracted their first confessions, which they affirmed had been wrung from them by torture and threats. The judges were confounded, and Navarro furious. Poerio spoke at some length in his own defence, declaring how impossible it had been for him to refute unknown charges, and that when informed of them, his exculpation had not been listened to, nor had he been permitted to disprove them publicly, by the unanswerable documents he could bring forward. Michele Pironto, another of the prisoners, was beginning to relate the tortures used in the dungeons by the agents of the prefect, when he was interrupted by the president; but, persisting in his depositions, he added, "I cannot be silent; I myself was subjected to cruel proofs. Shut up in a horrible seclusion, lying upon the naked ground, in a stench generating every kind of vermin, my hair and beard shaved as an insult; deprived for a month and twelve days of the sight of a single human being, and forbidden to write to my absent family. I finally underwent a long and insidious examination from the commander of the fort, who, with promises and threats, assured me of the favour of the king if I would confess."[1]

Ferdinand Carafa, who, shrinking from the sight of torture, had signed a letter in prison, accusing several of his companions, now made ample amends, by asking their pardon publicly in the presence of the judges. Settembrini was reserved for the last. He at first answered the interrogatories calmly, but when witnesses of the

[1] His prison was a cell of the Vicaria, eight feet square, below the level of the ground, where no light could penetrate except through a grating at the top of the cell.—See *Letter*, Right Hon. W. Gladstone.

lowest character were brought up to be examined, some of whom were not even acquainted with the persons of those they accused, and words put into their mouths by the examiners, he could contain himself no longer, but loudly demanded to be led back to prison, that he might not sanction by his presence so infamous a proceeding. The court became agitated, the prisoners started to their feet, and it was some time before order was restored. As Navarro returned to his house, his carriage was attacked by the mob, a circumstance which did not improve his temper on the succeeding days.

Only six out of the forty-two under trial were acquitted; six were condemned to die, but an order from the king, that if eight were condemned, four were to be pardoned, if six, three, reduced the number to one-half. Those destined for the scaffold were Settembrini, Agresti, and Faucitano. Twelve hours before that fixed for their execution, their punishment was commuted into imprisonment for life. Poerio was offered pardon if he would sue for forgiveness to the king; but he replied, he would not separate his fate from that of his companions. These thirty-six innocent persons, after being clothed in the prison dress, were accordingly assigned to the same dungeon with homicides and assassins, and conducted, some to the island of San Stefano, and others to the Bagno of Nisida. Settembrini was with those sent to the former prison, and there confined with eight persons in a room sixteen palms[1] square. Among his companions was one Cajazzo, a man condemned for murder, who boasted of having assassinated thirty-five persons, and several of them in prison. Poerio and those with him, who were confined in the Bagno di Nisida, were chained two and two, day and night, and confined sixteen in a small room, with one unglazed window, while they were only permitted to see their friends for half an hour in the week. The pen of Mr. Gladstone, one of the few who, with risk and difficulty, have obtained a glimpse into these abodes of human misery, has already described a part of the sufferings and torture to which these honest patriots with many of their unhappy countrymen, were, many of them until very lately, and some, after a lapse of years, are still subjected; and the scenes at which we shudder in the tales of Roman hea-

[1] A palm, 10.38 inches.

thenism and Asiatic barbarity, hardly exceed those now enacting in Christian Europe.

In May, the ecclesiastics in the prison of San Francesco signed a petition to the Cardinal-Archbishop of Naples, praying for some alleviation of their unhappy condition, describing themselves as starving on an allowance of less than threepence a day each, pining in an imprisonment which had already lasted years, which made it impossible for their families any longer to provide for them, and outraged by punishment after acquittal. This petition was signed by canons of the church, priests, and missionaries, and was repeated on the 22d of the same month, when it was presented to the criminal court of Naples, but equally without result. Such were the number accused of political offences, that in 1851 the province of Teramo, containing 200,000 inhabitants, had above 2000 exiled or in prison for political offences, and of these last about 203 were in chains. In August, forty-seven persons who had been engaged in the disturbance of Santa Lucia on the 5th September 1848, and had already suffered nearly three years' imprisonment, were brought to trial, accused of having conspired to overthrow the Government; whereas the real cause of their arrest had been their turbulent demonstrations in its favour. Twenty-five were sentenced to imprisonment in chains, for a term varying from seven to even twenty-five years, and the rest were remanded for a second trial. The official journal of the 26th September 1851, admits that by the condemnation pronounced by the *special courts* alone, during the two preceding years, 794 were in irons, besides 86 priests, who were exempted from wearing chains; 765 in close imprisonment; 1132 relegated, mostly to the islands; 164 exiled, and 1500 visited with inferior punishments; the correctional judges are also acknowledged to have despatched during the same period no less than 42,670 prosecutions for the infraction of public order, while the military courts in existence at that time are not even alluded to.[1]

Fresh trials were instituted in October 1851, against those accused of conspiracy on the 15th May 1848. The principal victims were Scialoia, Pietro Leopardi, the Marquis Dragonetti, and Saverio Barberisi, upwards of seventy years of age, while first

[1] See *North British Review*, February 1858, p. 58.

on the list was the Archdeacon Luca Cagnazzi, confined to his house by age and infirmity. The accused were condemned, like those before them, to perpetual imprisonment; but their judge was no longer Navarro, who died that very month of a lingering disease. Cagnazzi died before the trial was completed, and Barberisi, whose bold denunciation of his iniquitous treatment, as well as that of his fellow-prisoners, forms the prominent feature in this trial, expired ten days afterwards in the prison, to which he had been condemned for life.

Naples did not suffer alone, for the same cruelties were enacted in other parts of Italy. The severest form of martial law was introduced into Lombardy, where all who were, or even appeared to be, enemies of the Austrian Government, were punished with death. Under the stern rule of Marshal Radetzky, the taxes were enormous to support a foreign army, and few families did not mourn sons carried off as soldiers, or relations and friends in irons, or publicly flogged and executed. The executions for political offences throughout Italy, from 1848 to 1856, are computed at 673; while the number of victims in Naples alone, since the accession of Francis, exceeded by at least one-half those recorded by Colletta at the end of his History, as having perished in the cause of liberty before that period.[1]

A memorandum was transmitted by Mr. Petre to Lord Clarendon, August 10, 1856, relative to the state of Naples at this time, of which the following are extracts:—

"*July* 26, 1856.—Whoever undertakes to speak the truth concerning the affairs of Naples, runs the risk of not being credited by those who are ignorant of the civil and political condition of that kingdom. A code of laws, both wise and liberal, among the best perhaps in Europe; a normal state of tranquillity among the people, in spite of many existing causes of discontent and agitation; perfect security and indifference on the part of the Government, in spite of the opposition of the greater portion of Europe, and of the threats of England and France, are certainly facts which must go far to deceive the ablest politicians. . . . .

"The tranquillity apparently existing among the people is certainly no sign either of contentment or resignation. Half a

[1] See *Narrazioni Storiche di Piersilvestro Leopardi*, Note, p. 65.

century of fatal experience has unfortunately associated in the minds of most Neapolitans the idea of government with that of oppression; and the failure of their various efforts to rid themselves of it, and the cruel deceptions which invariably followed, ended by converting their longing after amelioration into vague tendencies of destruction, which the fear of worse has now reduced to a state of apathy and prostration. . . . . The constant contradiction existing at Naples between right and fact, between the proscriptions of the law and the practices of the administration, could not fail to produce its effect upon the moral and the legal orders. Thence a general distrust in men and things; an instinct of illegality throughout the multitude as well as the Government. These circumstances render the situation of affairs in Naples widely different from that of the other Italian States." . . . .

After taking a general review of the events since 1848, he continues thus:—

"Now, as in 1847, it is a question of guarantees, not of reforms. If the civil and political conditions of society in the kingdom of Naples have grown *de facto* infinitely worse since 1847, *de jure* they have considerably bettered. The Constitution of the 10th February 1848, sanctioned and irrevocably sworn to by the king, has passed into the public law of the kingdom. . . . . The fact of the Constitution not being actually in vigour, is no argument or proof of its being no longer in existence. It exists in the same condition as all the other laws of the monarchy, *de jure* though not *de facto*. Arbitrary power supported by military force has usurped the place of all laws. 'The cessation of arbitrary power and the execution of the law,' such is the motto of the honest and enlightened portion of the people in the kingdom of Naples, and that portion includes the great mass of its inhabitants. Lord Clarendon declared in the House of Lords on the 14th July last, that the British Government had recommended to the King of Naples a better administration of justice, an amnesty, and the toleration of inoffensive opinions; and that, nevertheless, nothing could be less satisfactory than the answer of the Neapolitan Government. . . . . But allowing that the recommendations of the British to the Neapolitan Government were granted, of what advantage would it be to this country? The king would have the

appearance of bestowing, what is already established by law, without its putting an end to, or even curbing, the exercise of his arbitrary will and power. . . . . It is not to be supposed that Great Britain and France would constitute themselves the champions of the good and legal government of the kingdom of Naples, by the presence of a permanent squadron of both nations in the Bay of Naples. . . . . The sole remedy is to prop up the State by institutions which supply the place of confidence by the support of reason.

"The people suspect the good faith and probity of the Legislator; let the people themselves appoint him. They place no trust in the regularity of the administration; let them directly or indirectly lay down the principles which are to be its guides. They complain of the exorbitancy of the taxes; let them grant and discuss them. Suspicion is only cured by publicity, doubt by discussion, and distrust by reason. The representative system is the only appropriate system in similar circumstances; and as regards Naples, that system is not only a necessity, but happily at the same time it is an act of legality. . . . ." The memorandum concludes by urging the intervention of the great European powers to re-establish law and order in Naples.[1]

Some may perhaps question whether the interference of the European powers in the affairs of any one nation has ever been productive of good, though the experiments hitherto tried which have (with few exceptions) been in the interests of the sovereign and against the interests of the people, have been generally successful. Liberty, it must be remembered, has never yet been conferred as a boon, but has always been earned by the moral growth of the people; it may now be dawning upon Italy in the labours and martyrdom of her truest patriots; and even the frequency of those impotent attempts by the Italian people to rid themselves of their oppressors (however much to be lamented by the present generation), may be excused in a people goaded to frenzy by years of physical and mental torture from abroad as well as at home. These efforts against tyranny (which all concerned in them know will lead if successful to probable death, if failing to worse than death, certain infamy) may rather be regarded as the sign of an

[1] State Papers, Affairs of Italy, 1856.

undaunted spirit in a nation thirsting for liberty and independence.

The misrule of the Italian Governments after 1815, at one time made the people look back to the period of the French occupation as comparative freedom, and the institutions of France were associated with liberty, however unworthy of the name; but time and experience have taught a wiser lesson, and if the Italians have thereby learnt that they must trust to their own arm alone, the price of so much suffering has not been too dearly paid. Should the day ever arrive when those nations who sympathize with a people struggling for their just rights, will exercise their influence to prevent the unfair interference of other great powers in the interest of despotism, Italy may perhaps yet shake off her foreign yoke, and with it demolish the tyranny of her native princes. She has hitherto been like a ship in a tempestuous sea, where the crew have accepted, in their emergency, any pilot who volunteered to guide them into a safe harbour; and incapable or unworthy as each of these have proved themselves, and differing widely in means as well as aim, all hoisted the flag of Italian unity as the only sure hope of freedom. The ill-digested schemes of Mazzini, and of the Society of Young Italy, the fanciful theories of Gioberti, and the ambition of the House of Savoy (though for a time they have frustrated their own object) alike call upon the Italians of every State to join in a common cause; while the weakness of the Pope, and the tyranny of the King of Naples, have shaken the outworks of superstition, and strengthened the hatred to Austria. Even the selfishness displayed by foreign powers may perhaps have taught a lesson, not again to look to the stranger for protection, but that a people must solely rely on their own virtue, courage, and unanimity for independence; and that the separate States of Italy, whatever may be their ultimate form of government, must build their freedom as one nation on Italian tradition and history, apart from all servile imitation of France, or even of England.

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